

HISTORIES OF EDUCATION AND REFORM:

TRADITIONS, TENSIONS AND TRANSITIONS

ABSTRACTS



Budapest _____
18-21 July, 2023 _____

Online _____
24-25 July, 2023 _____



ELTE | FACULTY OF EDUCATION
AND PSYCHOLOGY



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Schedule overview

Monday, 17 July

1:00 pm–6:00 pm Pre-Conference Workshop: Changing Forms and Formats | Digital Writing and Digital Publishing in the History of Education

Tuesday, 18 July

9:00 am–10:30 am Guided tour in the National Educational Library and Museum
11:00 am–12:30 pm Parallel EC Special sessions
11:00 am–12:00 pm English language guided tour in the University Library and Archives
12:30 pm–2:00 pm Parallel sessions
2:00 pm–2:30 pm Coffee break
2:30 pm–4:00 pm Parallel sessions
4:00 pm–4:30 pm Break
4:30 pm–5:00 pm Conference Opening Ceremony
5:00 pm–6:00 pm Keynote address 1 (streamed)
6:00 pm–8:00 pm Welcome reception

Wednesday, 19 July

8:00 am–9:00 am Guided tour in the Jewish Quarter
9:00 am–10:30 am Parallel sessions
10:30 am–11:00 am Coffee break
11:00 am–12:30 pm Parallel sessions
12:30 pm–1:30 pm Lunch break
1:30 pm–3:00 pm Parallel sessions
3:00 pm–3:30 pm Coffee break
3:30 pm–5:00 pm Parallel sessions
5:00 pm–6:00 pm Keynote address 2 (streamed)
6:00 pm–7:00 pm Tertulia
6:00 pm–7:00 pm ECR Welcome event
7:00 pm–8:00 pm Hungarian Folk Dance

Thursday, 20 July

8:00 am–9:00 am Guided tour in the Jewish Quarter
9:00 am–10:30 am Parallel sessions
10:30 am–11:00 am Coffee break
11:00 am–12:30 pm Parallel sessions
12:30 pm 1:30 pm Lunch break
1:30 pm–3:00 pm Parallel sessions
3:00 pm–3:30 pm Coffee break
3:30 pm–4:30 pm General Assembly
4:30 pm–6:00 pm Museum Pedagogy Workshop–in the Villa Rózsi Walter
4:45 pm–6:15 pm Parallel sessions
7:30 pm–10:30 pm Gala Dinner



Friday, 21 July

- 8:00 am–9:00 am Guided tour in the Jewish Quarter
- 9:00 am–10:30 am **Parallel sessions**
- 10:30 am–11:00 am Coffee break
- 11:00 am–12:30 pm **Parallel sessions**
- 12:30 pm–1:00 pm Closing ceremony
- 1:30 pm–5:00 pm Guided tour–in the Hungarian Circus Art Museum

Monday, 24 July

- 9:00 am – 10:30 am **Parallel online sessions**
- 11:00 am – 12:30 pm **Parallel online sessions**
- 13:30 pm – 3:00 pm **Parallel online sessions**
- 3:30 pm – 5:00 pm **Parallel online sessions**

Monday, 25 July

- 9:00 am – 10:30 am **Parallel online sessions**
- 11:00 am – 12:30 pm **Parallel online sessions**
- 13:30 pm – 3:00 pm **Parallel online sessions**
- 3:30 pm – 5:00 pm **Parallel online sessions**

Session timetable

2023.07.17		
1:00 pm – 6 pm	A0 Pre-Conference Workshop	

2023.07.18					
11:00 am – 12:30 pm	A0 EC Workshop		A0 EC Special Panel		
12:30 pm – 2 pm	A1 SES 01.1	A1 SES 01.2	A2 SES 01.1	A2 SES 01.2	A3 SES 01.1
2:30 pm – 4:00 pm	A1 SES 02.1	A2 SES 02.1	A3 SES 02.1	A4 SES 02.1	A5 SES 02.1
5 pm – 6 pm	Keynote 1				

2023.07.19					
9:00 am – 10:30 am	A1 SES 03.1	A1 SES 03.2	A2 SES 03.2	A3 SES 03.1	A3 SES 03.2
	A4 SES 03.1				
11:00 am – 12:30 pm	A1 SES 04.1	A1 SES 04.2	A2 SES 04.1	A2 SES 04.2	A2 SES 04.3
	A3 SES 04.1	A4 SES 04.1	A5 SES 04.1		
13:30 pm – 3:00 pm	A1 SES 05.1	A1 SES 05.2	A2 SES 05.1	A2 SES 05.2	A3 SES 05.1
	A4 SES 05.1	A5 SES 05.1			
3:30 pm – 5:00 pm	A1 SES 06.1	A2 SES 06.1	A2 SES 06.2	A3 SES 06.1	A3 SES 06.2
	A4 SES 06.1	A5 SES 06.1			
5 pm – 6 pm	Keynote 2				
6 pm – 7 pm	Tertulia				

2023.07.20					
9:00 am – 10:30 am	A1 SES 07.1	A1 SES 07.2	A2 SES 07.1	A2 SES 07.2	A2 SES 07.3
	A3 SES 07.1	A3 SES 07.2	A4 SES 07.1	A5 SES 07.1	
11:00 am – 12:30 pm	A1 SES 08.1	A1 SES 08.2	A2 SES 08.1	A2 SES 08.2	B1 SES 08.1
	B3 SES 08.1	B4 SES 08.1			
13:30 pm – 3:00 pm	A1 SES 09.1	A1 SES 09.2	A1 SES 09.3	A2 SES 09.1	A2 SES 09.2
	A3 SES 09.1	A3 SES 09.2	A4 SES 09.1	A4 SES 09.2	B5 SES 09.1
4:45 pm – 6:15 pm	A1 SES 10.1	A1 SES 10.2	A2 SES 10.1	A2 SES 10.2	A2 SES 10.3
	A3 SES 10.1	A4 SES 10.1	A5 SES 10.1	B2 SES 10.1	B3 SES 10.1
	B5 SES 10.1				

2023.07.21					
9:00 am – 10:30 am	A1 SES 11.1	A1 SES 11.2	A2 SES 11.1	A3 SES 11.1	A4 SES 11.1
	B6 SES 11.1				
11:00 am – 12:30 pm	A1 SES 12.1	A2 SES 12.1	A3 SES 12.1	A4 SES 12.1	B5 SES 12.1
	B6 SES 12.1				

2023.07.24					
9:00 am – 10:30 am	A1 ONLINE 01.1	A1 ONLINE 01.2	A2 ONLINE 01.1	A3 ONLINE 01.1	
11:00 am – 12:30 pm	A2 ONLINE 02.1	A3 ONLINE 02.1	A3 ONLINE 02.2	A4 ONLINE 02.1	
13:30 pm – 3:00 pm	A1 ONLINE 03.1	A1 ONLINE 03.2	A2 ONLINE 03.1	A4 ONLINE 03.1	
3:30 pm – 5:00 pm	A1 ONLINE 04.1	A1 ONLINE 04.2	A2 ONLINE 04.1	A3 ONLINE 04.1	A5 ONLINE 04.2
	B1 ONLINE 04.1				

2023.07.25					
9:00 am – 10:30 am	A4 ONLINE 05.1	B2 ONLINE 05.1			
11:00 am – 12:30 pm	A1 ONLINE 06.1	A1 ONLINE 06.2	B1 ONLINE 06.1		
13:30 pm – 3:00 pm	A3 ONLINE 07.1	A4 ONLINE 07.1	A4 ONLINE 07.2	A5 ONLINE 07.1	
3:30 pm – 5:00 pm	A1 ONLINE 08.1	A2 ONLINE 08.1	A2 ONLINE 08.2	A3 ONLINE 08.1	A3 ONLINE 08.2



Peak Potential: Entangled Histories of Education Reform and Transformation

Noah Sobe

Loyola University Chicago

The idea of reaching one's full potential is an educational commonplace – and merits scrutiny not least because claims about potentiality have consequential futurities built into them. Our current Anthropocene times, however, raise questions about growth, limits, and indeed what human beings will ultimately prove capable of. This talk examines the history of human potential, particularly the ways that the uppermost possibility spaces of human experience have been understood in relation to education across different times and spaces. It uses an entangled history approach that brings together a late-19th-century drawing curriculum put forwards by the American educator James Liberty Tadd, Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and a widely ranging set of spaces and moments with the aim of better understanding the contingent, contextual and relational work of human becoming.

Imperial Reformers: Women Missionaries and Girls' Education in the Long XIXth Century

Rebecca Rogers

Université Paris Cité

In the 19th century, women were an essential part of the “civilizing mission” that sent Europeans and Americans around the world seeking to spread Western values. Bringing “civilization” often meant targeting families and the status of women within indigenous societies opening opportunities for specifically female cultural interventions. This talk draws attention to the European women teachers who helped shape imperial educational projects, emphasising their impact on local societies. Through the establishment of schools, orphanages, and workshops women were active participants in a wide range of cultural encounters, provoking resistance at times, but also modifying family and work dynamics that left a gendered legacy. The imperial archive opens a window onto the transnational networks that framed how both lay and religious female teachers conceived their reforming initiatives, drawing on humanist, socialist, religious, or feminist convictions.



Tertulia – New Ways of Presenting Histories of Education? Potentials and Pitfalls of Public History

Inés Dussel¹, Karin Priem², Thomas Cauvin³, Frederik Herman⁴, Johannes F.A. Braster⁵, Maria del Mar Del Pozo Andres⁶, Francisca Comas Rubí⁷, Gianfranco Bandini⁸, Ian Grosvenor⁹

¹CINVESTAV, Mexico; ²University of Luxembourg; ³University of Luxembourg; ⁴University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland; ⁵Erasmus University Rotterdam;

⁶University Alcalá; ⁷University of the Balearic Islands; ⁸University of Firenze; ⁹University of Birmingham

Public history has become a trending topic in the historiography today. Although its roots go back to the 1980s, this branch on the tree of history has gained undoubtedly importance in our post-truth era (Sevcenko, 2022; Noiret et al., 2022; Cauvin, 2022). History is no longer done in ivory towers by armchair historians, it has become a public affair, done for the people, and by the people. Archives are no longer treasure troves where only a selected group of trained academics are allowed to enter. The digitalisation of sources, amongst other things, has given access to engaged amateurs for writing their own stories or appropriating the histories of others. Books and university lectures are no longer the only media of communication within the historical realm. Other ways of disseminating are in vogue, like the organisation of exhibitions, the musealisation of educational objects, and the telling of stories using various formats. What is the position, role, and task of historians of education within the public and participatory turn? What are their experiences? What are good and bad practices so far? These are matters we would like to discuss with historians of education from all over the world. The ISCHE in Budapest seems to be the perfect place to do so. So, we propose to set up a discussion with the audience mediated by the ISCHE president and with the involvement of a panel of academics that recently have contributed to public histories of education, including the publication of manifestos (Bandini et al., 2022; Herman et al., 2022).

The panel members will be:

- Ines Dussel (ISCHE president)
- Karin Priem/ Thomas Cauvin (University Luxembourg, editors of the series *Public history in European perspectives*)
- Frederik Herman/ Sjaka Braster/ Maria del Mar del Pozo (editors of the volume *Exhibiting the past*)
- Xisca Comas (University of the Balearic Islands)
- Gianfranco Bandini (University of Florence)
- Ian Grosvenor (University Birmingham)

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Herman, F., Braster, S., & del Pozo, M. M. (Eds.). (2022). *Exhibiting the past*. Public histories of education. De Gruyter Oldenbourg.



Noiret, S., Tebeau, M., & Zaagsma, G. (2022). *Handbook of digital public history*. De Gruyter Oldenbourg.

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ISCHE 44 PCW – Changing Forms and Formats | Digital Writing and Digital Publishing in the History of Education

Josefine Wähler

DIPF | Leibniz-Institut für Bildungsforschung und Bildungsinformation

The Pre-Conference Workshop “Changing Forms and Formats | Digital Writing and Digital Publishing in the History of Education” takes place on-site on 17 July (from 1:00 to 6:00 p.m.) as part of ISCHE 44 in Budapest, Hungary.

The prevalence and demand for easier accessibility and unrestricted (re-)usability of digitised sources and technological applications for the creation and interpretation of research results in the field of the History of Education has significantly increased in recent years, particularly in the context of limited access to source materials and collecting institutions during the Corona pandemic. In addition to providing digital repositories and virtual archives, ‘new’ knowledge on the History of Education is created and disseminated at an accelerated pace in the ‘digital space’ beyond traditional print editions and common publishing programs.

The PCW will discuss the benefits and opportunities of digital writing and publishing, and the emergence of new digital forms and formats by looking at the creation, transformation and use of smaller, shortened and hybrid forms and formats, such as web and blog posts, and Twitter threads, as well as enriched articles in open access journals and on alternative platforms (publisher-independent, community-driven, interest-led).

The seemingly self-evident use of digital publishing formats and alternative platforms for scientific communication fosters a change in the culture of our discipline, in the practice of our scientific writing, and in the organisation or disclosure of our research processes (E.g. structure and layout of texts, reading habits, review processes). Of particular interest are procedures of persistent referencing, free accessibility, versioning, transparency of contributions, but also low-threshold access to professional exchange and cooperation, and opportunities of publishing initial research results or project-related data (E.g. preprints, workshop reports, comments, data papers). Thus, a critical and reflective discussion about the actual benefit for the scientific community becomes necessary, e.g. with regard to the legitimisation and accreditation of such fragmented formats.

‘Newer’ digital formats also require a certain technological understanding and training, e.g. in the use of structured text formats and dynamic integration of multimedia content (audio, video, geo-referential visualisation). Digital products are changing our view on educational-historically and scholarly exploitable sources (authorships, updates and versioning of publications, data security and copyright protection, long-term accessibility). Thus, the ongoing transformation from traditional to digital forms of publishing requires the active participation of the scientific community to be sustainable and demand-driven.

The PCW will be organised in three sessions. Each paper will be given approximately 15 minutes to leave enough time for comments and further discussion.

Convened by Josefine Wähler, Lars Müller, Klaus Thoden, and Sabine Reh (BBF | Research Library for the History of Education, DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education Berlin, Germany)



EC Workshop by the ISCHE Education & Pandemics Archive on Digital Source Criticism

Karin Elli Priem

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

Fanny Isensee

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Ami Kobayashi

University of Kaiserslautern-Landau, Germany

Rafaela Silva Rabelo

Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, Brazil

Daniel Töpfer

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Stefania Scagliola

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

After last year's successful panel on *COVID-19 and Public History: A Critical Take on the Silences of Web Archives and the Silencing of COVID-19 Experiences*, the ISCHE Education & Pandemics Archive Team would like to offer a new edition of its training program. This year's workshop will once again encourage a critical debate on digital archives and digital sources to foster professional expertise in digital history among historians of education.

The workshop looks at how a selection of sources in the ISCHE Education & Pandemics Archive were produced, collected, published, and communicated. Participants will therefore explore various types of digital source material. We will particularly focus on born-digital sources and use the Ranke.2 teaching aid that was co-designed by Stefania Scagliola at the Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History at the University of Luxembourg (<https://ranke2.uni.lu/assets/pdf/C3.1-visual-aid-3.pdf>). Relevant issues highlighted at the workshop will include the creation, dissemination and reception, and preservation of born-digital sources. This means that we will also go beyond the interface of the Education & Pandemics Archive and explore the following questions: Who built the Education & Pandemics Archive? Who decides behind the scenes and are these decisions transparent? What kind of technologies are used? Are there any biases? How much did it cost, and who is sponsoring it and responsible for maintenance? How will it be used in ten years' time? How many visitors does it have? Where is it hosted? If we imagine ourselves back in the pre-digital era, how could this type of information have been shared with audiences? What are the consequences of the radical changes in the way information about pandemics is disseminated and shared?

Participants are expected to engage in active participation and discussions with an international expert in digital history. We ask all participants to register for the workshop and to complete a survey ahead of time as we would like to prepare the workshop according to the profile and needs of those who will attend. Those who register for the workshop agree to the event being recorded so that it can be published on the ISCHE website for public use.



**EC Special Panel:
Revisiting "The myth of educational reform" 40 years later. A conversation with Tom Popkewitz**

Julie McLeod

University of Melbourne

Daniel Pettersohn

University of Gävle

Inés Dussel

DIE-Cinvestav

Tom Popkewitz

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Chair: Noah Sobe

Loyola University Chicago

'The Myth of Educational Reform', published in 1982 and co-authored by Tom Popkewitz, Bob Tabachnik and Gary Wehlage, set a framework for the critique of educational reforms that brought together reflections on the histories and epistemologies of school change. The book contributed to the dismantling of the notion of reform as equivalent to progress and evolution and had a long-lasting impact on subsequent studies. What are its legacies today? How can contemporary discussions on the history of educational reforms bring a different light on that critique? The panel will approach these questions and engage in a dialogue with Tom Popkewitz.

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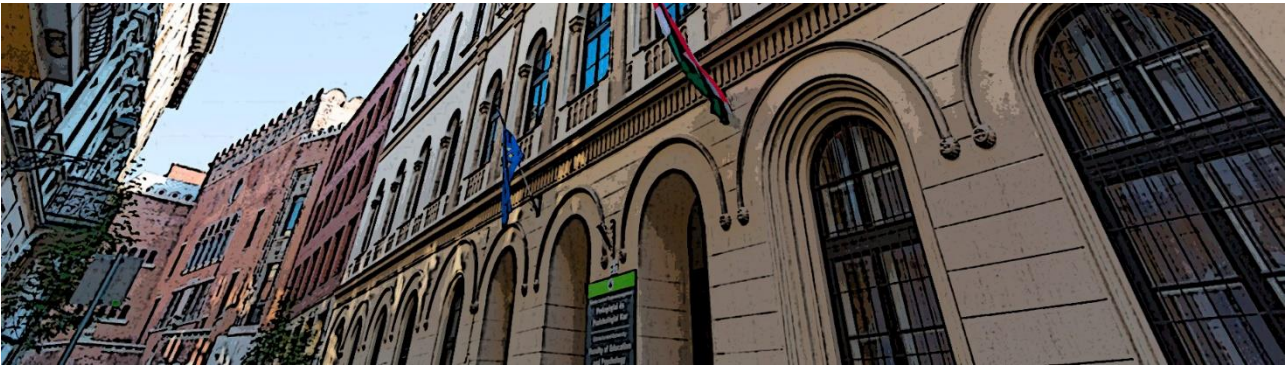
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Abstracts

in-person sessions

Budapest





Language Teaching And School Reforms, A Mutual Relation?

Chair: Sylviane Tinembart

HEP Vaud, Switzerland

Discussant: Elena Girotti

Universita di Macerata, Italy

The generalisation of public education and the gradual establishment of the “school” form (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2018) in the 19th century led to a pedagogical effervescence across Europe. At the heart of these processes and of the reform movements that punctuated the implementation and massification of school systems, language teaching played a particular role. Indeed, language “is both a language of learning for the pupils, with its different interlanguages (at speaking just as in writing) and its increasing specialisation in terms of knowledge and know-how [and] a transversal and specific language of instruction for teachers, immediately identifiable in the disciplines” (Spaeth, 2008, p. 76).

The aim of this symposium is thus to make visible the potential links and influences between language teaching and the pedagogical reforms that come throughout the history of the school between the 19th and 20th centuries. Indeed, we postulate that the socialisation, communication and teaching-learning functions of language (Verdelhan-Bourgade, 2002) make it a privileged vector of change. Similarly, pedagogical reforms and the new practices they generate influence the evolution of language teaching.

Based on case studies, adopting an approach oriented towards cross-history and cultural transfers (Espagne, 1999), the four papers of this symposium will thus adopt as a common thread one or both of the following questions: how is language teaching a vector of reforms and how do reforms modify language teaching? As much as possible, the presentations will also show the reciprocal links that may exist. The four contributions will seek to highlight, through the study of the circulation of models, ideas and values, the borrowings and specificities of the role played by language teaching in the changing of the modern school form. The dialogue between the case studies will thus allow a new perspective of this dynamic across national boundaries.

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Keywords: language teaching, educational reforms, interactions, school form, cultural transfers



**Radiography of a Complex Educational Process: from the Reform of Mother Tongue
teaching to the Reform of the School System**

***Radiographie D'un Processus Educatif Complexe : De la Réforme De L'enseignement De La
Langue Maternelle A La Réforme Du Systeme Scolaire***

Giorgia Masoni

HEP Vaud, Switzerland

The 1870s were marked in Ticino (a Catholic and rural canton, the only Italian-speaking canton in Switzerland) by political tensions between the liberal and conservative parties. In power since 1875, the conservatives tried to reform the program previously proposed by their liberal opponents. This period thus marks a new political, economic and cultural parenthesis in the canton of Ticino, which coincides with the peak of the pre-existing and persistent political oppositions and conflicts between the different regions of the canton of Ticino since the approval of the cantonal constitutional revision in 1870 (Masoni, 2019). This political parenthesis culminated fifteen years later, in 1889, with the new elections that put the Liberals back in power. A study of the educational press and of the educational essays published by the Liberals in the 1870s and 1880s allows us to understand how the opposition took a stance according to the changes imposed by the new government and what counter-project was developed to deal with the new direction of educational policy. We note that the debate proposed by the Liberals is developing around the reform of mother tongue teaching, particularly through the adoption and adaptation of the Pestalozzi methods (Masoni & Tinembart, 2023). This controversy around language teaching suddenly becomes part of a wider debate that aims at the implementation of a global reform of the public education system and particularly of the pedagogical and educational aims that it should ideally endorse.

This paper will analyse the debates put forward by liberals in the years 1870–1890 and reflect on language teaching as a vehicle for a more complex reform. By adopting the cultural transfer approach (Espagne, 1999) aimed at tracing the circulation of ideas and values, we propose to study a corpus of varied sources (laws, regulations, pedagogical press, pedagogical essays and reading books) in order to highlight the constellation of actors, with multiple profiles and interests, who are involved in these reform dynamics. Moreover, the analysis of the Ticino case study enables us to highlight the transnational dimension of this dynamic. In fact, the Ticino case is part of the more general debate concerning Western school systems during the same years and whose objective is to promote the generalisation of schooling and the transition to an increasingly heterogeneous mass school public by criticising the efficiency of the public education system and its adequacy to the requirements imposed by the new democratic values (Hofstetter, Schneuwly & Criblez, 2007).

Paper Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Les années 1870 sont marquées au Tessin (canton catholique et rural, seul canton italoophone de la Suisse) par les tensions politiques entre les partis libéraux et conservateurs. Au pouvoir depuis 1875, les conservateurs tessinois vont essayer de réformer les programmes précédemment proposés par leurs opposants libéraux. Cette période marque ainsi une nouvelle parenthèse politique, économique et culturelle dans le canton du Tessin qui coïncide avec l'apogée des oppositions politiques et des conflits préexistants et persistants entre les



différentes régions du canton du Tessin depuis l'approbation de la révision constitutionnelle cantonale en 1870 (Masoni, 2019). Cette parenthèse politique culmine quinze ans plus tard, en 1889, avec les nouvelles élections qui redonnent le pouvoir aux libéraux. L'étude de la presse pédagogique ainsi que des essais pédagogiques publiés par les libéraux aux cours des années 1870 et 1880 permet de saisir de quelle manière l'opposition s'est positionnée par rapport aux changements imposés par le nouveau gouvernement et quel a été le contre-projet élaboré pour faire face à la nouvelle orientation de la politique éducative. Nous constatons ainsi que le débat proposé par les libéraux se développe autour de la réforme de l'enseignement de la langue maternelle, notamment par le biais de l'adoption et de l'adaptation des méthodes pestalozziennes (Masoni & Tinembart, 2023). Cette controverse autour de l'enseignement de la langue se transforme soudainement en un débat plus large, qui vise la mise en place d'une réforme globale du système d'instruction publique et notamment des finalités pédagogiques et éducatives qu'il doit idéalement endosser.

Cette communication propose d'analyser les débats abordés par les libéraux au cours des années 1870–1890 et de réfléchir à l'enseignement de la langue comme vecteur d'une réforme plus complexe. Par l'adoption de l'approche des transferts culturels (Espagne, 1999) visant à retracer la circulation d'idées et de valeurs, nous proposons d'étudier un corpus de sources variées (lois, règlements, presse pédagogique, essais pédagogiques et livres de lecture) afin de mettre en évidence et, en même temps, de saisir la constellation d'acteurs, aux profils et aux intérêts multiples, qui sont impliqués dans ces dynamiques de réformes. De plus, l'analyse du cas d'étude tessinois permet de mettre en évidence la dimension transnationale de cette dynamique. En effet, le cas tessinois s'insère dans le débat qui concerne plus généralement les systèmes scolaires occidentaux lors des mêmes années et dont l'objectif est de favoriser la généralisation de la scolarisation et le passage à un public scolaire de masse de plus en plus hétérogène en passant par la critique de l'efficacité du système éducatif public et son adéquation aux exigences imposées par les nouvelles valeurs démocratiques (Hofstetter, Schneuwly & Criblez, 2007).

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Keywords: language teaching, educational reforms, interactions, school form, cultural transfers



The teaching of Reading, One of the Vectors of the New Education in French-speaking Switzerland?

Enseignement De La Lecture, Un Des Vecteurs De L'Education Nouvelle En Suisse Romande?

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The teaching of the mother tongue gradually became structured and organised during the 19th century in French-speaking Switzerland with the massification of public education (Schneuwly et al., 2016) and saw the formation of the discipline “French” at the dawn of the 20th century (Chervel, 2006). Taking as case study the elementary school in the canton of Vaud, this same period was marked by the adoption of a new school law for teaching (1889), the adoption of a new study plan (1899) as well as the publication of new textbooks for the intermediate and higher grades (Dupraz & Bonjour, 1899, 1903). According to their two authors, their works were no longer “small encyclopedias or scientific abridgments” (Dupraz & Bonjour, 1899, p. III) like their predecessors, but were “instruments of education” that should contribute “to the formation of men” (Dupraz & Bonjour, 1899, p. III). These new official texts and teaching means denote a desire for change in the school of the Canton of Vaud at a time when the Progressive Education movement was taking shape throughout Europe. This paper aims to analyse the teaching of reading between 1880 and 1940 in French-speaking Switzerland and especially in the canton of Vaud, by highlighting the potential signs of change in the official prescriptions, in the teaching methods and in the resources and textbooks made available to teachers. The analysis will be based on all the laws, regulations, study plans, around fifteen official textbooks (Monnier & et al., 2022) as well as the pedagogical press of the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland. This will enable to verify the hypothesis that the entry of children’s literature into the teaching of reading (Tinembart, 2018) is linked to both a renewal of the language teaching and, through the intermediary of the chosen texts, to a form of realisation of the principles of the Progressive Education (Brehony, 2004).

Paper Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

L'enseignement de la langue première s'est progressivement structuré et organisé au cours du 19^e siècle en Suisse romande avec la massification de l'instruction publique (Schneuwly et al., 2016) et a vu se constituer dès l'aube du 20^e siècle la discipline < Français > (Chervel, 2006). En prenant comme étude de cas l'école primaire du canton de Vaud, cette même période est marquée par l'adoption d'une nouvelle loi scolaire pour l'enseignement (1889), l'adoption d'un nouveau plan d'études (1899) ainsi que l'édition de nouveaux ouvrages de lecture pour les degrés intermédiaires et supérieurs (Dupraz & Bonjour, 1899, 1903). De l'aveu même de leurs deux auteurs, leurs ouvrages ne sont désormais plus de < petites encyclopédies ou abrégés scientifiques > (Dupraz & Bonjour, 1899, p. III) comme leurs prédécesseurs, mais sont des < instruments d'éducation > qui devraient contribuer < à former des hommes > (Dupraz & Bonjour, 1899, p. III). Ces nouveaux textes officiels et moyens d'enseignement dénotent une volonté de changement dans l'école vaudoise alors même que partout en Europe prend naissance le mouvement de l'Éducation nouvelle. Cette communication a ainsi pour ambition d'analyser l'enseignement de la lecture entre 1880 et 1940 en Suisse romande et en particulier



dans le canton de Vaud en mettant en évidence les potentiels signes de changements autant dans les prescriptions officielles, que dans les modalités d'enseignement et dans les moyens et manuels mis a disposition des enseignant-e-s. Elle s'appuiera sur l'ensemble des lois, des reglements, des plans d'études, d'une quinzaine de manuels de lecture officiels (Monnier & et al., 2022) ainsi que sur la presse pédagogique des cantons de la Suisse romande pour vérifier l'hypothese que l'entrée de la littérature jeunesse dans l'enseignement de la lecture (Tinembart, 2018) est a la fois en lien avec un renouveau de l'enseignement de la langue, mais également, par l'intermédiaire des textes choisis, une forme de concrétisation des principes de l'Education nouvelle (Brehony, 2004).

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Keywords: language teaching, educational reforms, interactions, school form, cultural transfers



The Influence of New Education on the Teaching of Mother Tongue: A Contrastive Analysis of German, French and Italian-speaking Switzerland (1920–1940)

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Numerous studies show the emergence and existence of a broad, heterogeneous movement of educational reforms made possible and necessary by the establishment of school systems in 19th century (Reese, 2019). From the turn of the century onwards, teachers' associations, researchers and pedagogical activists elaborated new teaching approaches which slowly penetrated the school system and influenced, in particular, the school discipline 'mother tongue'. The present paper aims to observe these influences in a comparative approach of three linguistic regions in Switzerland in order to see to what extent and how "Reformpädagogik", "éducation nouvelle" and "educazione nuova" transformed the teaching of grammar, reading and writing in German, French and Italian speaking Switzerland in the 1920s and 1930s at the peak of the reformist movements. What changes can be observed during this period? Do they affect the fundamental organisation itself of mother tongue education? Are these changes the same in the three different regions? What are the reasons for these differences?

For this purpose, a multilingual and multidisciplinary team (Criblez, et al., in press) compiled significant bodies of teaching material for pupils of about 12 years old in each of the three language regions:

- The mother tongue teaching programs
- Texts concerning the teaching of writing in teachers' journals in each of the three regions.
- Grammar teaching manuals (compulsory in Switzerland)
- Reading textbooks with texts to be read at school (also compulsory)

The main results of the analysis of this corpus are as follows:

First of all, new education values the experience of the child and its forms of expression: school writing on both sides of the language border was thus understood as a place and means of self-expression, and even, especially in German-speaking Switzerland, as a means of personality development.

Secondly, grammar teaching in German-speaking Switzerland remained relatively stable. In French-speaking Switzerland, the textbooks adopted many of the ideas of new education: the inductive approach for instance was expanded. In the Italian speaking region, there was a "grammar-free period" from 1915 to 1945, strongly influenced by the Italian "educazione nuova".

Third, as far as reading manuals are concerned, there is an orientation towards texts closer to the student's reality and local authors. However, while in French-speaking Switzerland there is a strong emphasis on literature and its analysis, textbooks in German-speaking Switzerland are more oriented towards moral education and the formation of mindset. Italian-speaking Switzerland is halfway between the two.

More generally, the following conclusions can be driven: the reforms in teaching mother tongue induced by new education in the 1920-30s did not change the fundamental architecture (See



Schneuwly et al., 2016): it can be analysed as a sedimentation process of new and traditional practices.

Furthermore, there are substantial differences between the different linguistic regions. These can be explained by different conceptions of mother tongue education since the 19th century and of new education itself (Hameline & Helmchen, 1995; Sahlfeld & Vanini, 2018). This opens the question of interaction between pedagogic realities as cultural products and their conceptualisation in reform movements.

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Keywords: language teaching, educational reforms, interactions, school form, cultural transfers



**The Sense of Hospitality of the Freinet School in Vence, a Suggestion for Reforming
Language Learning or Revolutionizing the School?**

***Le Sens De L'hospitalité De L'Ecole Freinet A Vence, Une Proposition Pour Réformer
L'Apprentissage Des Langues Ou Révolutionner L'Ecole?***

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The Freinet School in Vence opened between 1934 and 1936. This school, created by the pedagogues Elise and Célestin Freinet, was characterised by four features. This school is: a progressive school, because it mobilises pedagogical approaches related to the Progressive Education; private, because it is apart from the Public Instruction; naturist, because the questions of health and the body are at the heart of this school; and proletarian, because it welcomes children coming from the proletariat (Go & Riondet, 2020).

If this pedagogical experience is characterised by singular “didactic institutions”, including the free text, the conference and the cooperative meeting (Go, 2007), it is also characterised by specific targets: children close to the Freinet networks, orphans, children with health problems. From 1936 onwards, the Freinet School lived to the rhythm of the Spanish War and welcomed several refugees. As Balouette, the Freinet’s daughter, explains: “Little by little, we learned to speak Spanish, to write Spanish, to think Spanish, to sing Spanish, to dance the jota, to play the castanets” (Freinet, 1997, p. 419). In fact, for several months, the educational context is reminiscent of the famous situation of Jacotot, the ignorant teacher: French children who did not speak Spanish and Spanish children who did not speak French had to cooperate. In general, hospitality is about making place for the Other and is a major issue for educational institutions (Go & Riondet, 2021). This contribution aims to describe how this school didactically cultivates a sense of hospitality towards these children, focusing in particular on the local school newspaper, *Les Pionniers*, which gathers written and sometimes artistic productions of the pupils by integrating from 1936 onwards texts in French and Spanish based on the life and experience of the local children, whether French or Spanish. The focus to this episode will be an opportunity to ask whether it is a proposal likely to reform language learning or, more broadly, to radically change the school

Paper Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

L'École Freinet à Vence ouvre entre 1934 et 1936. Cette école, créée par les pédagogues Elise et Célestin Freinet, se caractérise alors par quatre qualificatifs. Elle est : nouvelle, car mobilisant des approches pédagogiques liées à l'Éducation Nouvelle ; privée, car en dehors de l'Instruction Publique ; naturiste, car les questions de santé et du corps sont au cœur de cette école ; et prolétarienne, car elle accueille des enfants issus du prolétariat (Go & Riondet, 2020). Si cette expérience pédagogique se caractérise par des < institutions didactiques > singulières, dont notamment le texte libre, la conférence et la réunion de coopérative (Go, 2007), elle se distingue également par des publics spécifiques : enfants proches des réseaux des Freinet, orphelins, enfants ayant des problèmes de santé. À partir de 1936, l'École Freinet vit au rythme de la Guerre d'Espagne et accueille plusieurs réfugiés. Comme l'explique Balouette, la fille des Freinet : < Peu à peu, nous avons appris à parler espagnol, à écrire espagnol, à penser espagnol, à chanter espagnol, à danser la jota, à jouer des castagnettes > (Freinet, 1997, p. 419). En effet,



pendant plusieurs mois, le contexte éducatif n'est pas sans rappeler la célèbre situation de Jacotot, le maître ignorant : il faut faire coopérer des enfants français ne parlant pas espagnol et des enfants espagnols ne maîtrisant pas la langue française. De manière générale, l'hospitalité consiste à faire de la place à l'Autre et il s'agit d'un enjeu majeur des institutions éducatives (Go & Riondet, 2021). Cette communication a pour objectif de décrire comment cette école cultive didactiquement un sens de l'hospitalité à l'égard de ces enfants, en se concentrant notamment sur le journal scolaire local, Les Pionniers, qui regroupe des productions écrites et parfois artistiques des élèves en intégrant à partir de 1936 des textes en français et en espagnol s'appuyant sur le vécu et l'expérience des enfants locaux, qu'ils soient français ou espagnols. Ce retour sur cet épisode sera l'occasion de se demander s'il s'agit d'une proposition susceptible de réformer l'apprentissage des langues ou plus largement de faire radicalement changer l'école.

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Euripides: Dramatic Socrates and a Secret Reformer of Education

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The general focus of postmodern methodology is to identify and discuss obvious / public phenomena and their non-obvious / non-public projections. For the history of education, this indicates the opportunity to study explicit and hidden discourses that occur when planning or implementing educational reforms. These discourses were recorded not only in the sources considered traditional for the history of education (laws, reports, diaries and letters), but also in the texts of ancient Greek tragedies, which only recently began to be treated as sources for the history of education (Gregory, 2019; Rogers, 2013). Euripides' tragedies reflected his perspective on the accessibility and costs of education, which allows viewing him as a secret educational reformer.

Euripides could not but comment on the confrontation between Socrates and the Sophists, thus initiating a broad-range discussion of reformative ideas in education and their implications for pedagogical practices (Criboire, 2001; Michelakis, 2002; Gregory, 2016; Scharffenberger, 2015).

In the tragedy *Bacchant Women*, Euripides cites a dialogue between Dionysus and Pentheus, stylistically reminiscent of the dialogues between Socrates and his disciples retold by Plato and Xenophon. Euripides illustrates the Socratic technique of "recruiting" disciples: in the course of conversation, one disciple is forced to admit the limitations of his knowledge to the other and arrive at the idea that he needs to expand this knowledge with a mentor's help. Indirectly, we could assume that Socrates held nothing against Euripides's perspectives on his teaching. Socrates saw Euripides' theatre productions and appreciated Euripides' wisdom and poetic talent (Ael. VH.II.13), although sometimes he disagreed with what he saw (Diog. Laert. II.33).

Euripides, a master of theatrical dialogue, includes speech in a sophistic technique in a number of his tragedies. In Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, Polyneices tells Eteocles that the words of truth are naturally simple, and justice needs no subtle interpretations. Eteocles responds that there would be no strife to make men disagree if all men had the same ideas of honor and wisdom. If the struggle for power between the brothers is unfair and dishonest, it is better for him to win it. Chorus Leader, who intervenes in the dispute, tells Eteocles a phrase that highlights the key points in Euripides' understanding of sophistry: "One should not speak well on deeds that are not good." (Eur.Phoen.527) In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Achilles, who initially promised Clytemnestra to stand up for Iphigenia, in the best sophistic traditions, invites the queen to handle the situation on her own. Such are Jason in *Medea* and Phaedra in *Hippolytus*. The last tragedy also includes a dialogue about the dangers of sophistry: when Theseus condemns those who teach numberless crafts, Hippolytus ironically responds that he does not know anyone who is able to force insensate fools to show sense (Eur. Hipp.916–924). Space limitations do not allow further examples, so it should be noted that Euripides acted on the stage like Socrates or the Sophists on the agora. Thus, he was the third full party in the triangle of educational reformers of his time.



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Keywords: ancient educational reforms, Euripides, Socrates, Sophists, secret reformer

Impacts and Challenges: The Relationship of Art and Education at the Turn of the Century

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Among many others, the Hungarian art critic, writer and teacher *Pál Nádai* (1881–1945) responded quickly and subtly to the challenges initiated by modernisation and industrialization at the turn of the 20th century. A basic source for his philosophy was the works of the English polymath *John Ruskin* (1819–1900). The principles Ruskin laid about art, education and society served as a reference point not only for Nádai, but also, for those Hungarian artists who connected to the emerging so-called life reform movements. Related to the latter plenty of his articles speak about modern arts and crafts, architecture and their socio-cultural impact on everyday life. The transitional period between the two world wars accommodated the operations of progressive organizations such as the *Galilei Circle* and various freemasonry lodges. Nádai not only joined these associations but also incorporated the doctrines and was ready to question further the contemporary Hungarian socio-cultural situation and (re)form it. He was continuously seeking multiple channels in order to find a way to express his social awareness and the values he believed in, and this made him betwixt between authorities and political parties, as in a Turnerian sense of liminality.

Already as a young journalist, he devoted many of his columns to art but soon started to focus on social issues including education as well. His topics covered the necessity of art education, children's drawings, children literature, *Alfred Lichtwark*, *Ellen Key* in the journals *Magyar Pedagógia*, *Népmívelés*, *Magyar Művészet*, *Új Idők*. He called for a reform in the Hungarian education system, and what is important to highlight, promoted the need for girls' education. Between 1910 and 1915, he taught Hungarian at the *Budapest Metropolitan Industrial Drawing School* and was a member of multiple educational societies. In 1911, he published the *Könyv a gyermekről: munka, játék, művészet* [Book on the Child: Work, Play, Art] in two volumes, where he argued that only the empirical way of learning should be followed and children should learn in nature, in the real world. However, as he came from a Jewish family the arising antisemitism in Hungary slowly suppressed his possibilities to publish and literally to live. His late manuscripts are still awaiting to be printed, his part to be fully researched and interpreted from various angles (for example as a follower of Ruskin's ideas, as a Jewish writer, his relations with the life reform movements) and in a broader – European – context.

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Keywords: life reform, education, art education, John Ruskin

Art education in the German language field of Reformpädagogik/New Education: Das Werdende Zeitalter - DWZ Magazine (1922–1932)

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The present study analyses the role played by arts education in the collection of the *Das Werdende Zeitalter* magazine, the organ for the dissemination, par excellence, of *Reformpädagogik*/New Education in German-speaking countries, together with the magazines *Pour L'ère nouvelle* in French and *The New Era* in English in the international context of NEF – New Education Fellowship. Articles, lectures and reports on the theoretical and practical dimensions of art education from 1922 to 1932 were analysed in the 99 notebooks of the collection. The arts education movement in the field of progressive education took place, as desired by the *Reformpädagogik*, by practicing drawing and observation, with the purpose of (re)educating the individuals and teaching them how to see, to look, in a “spontaneous” process, attributing to art a power of radical recreation in the lives of individuals, almost independently of the future of society (Magnin & Hofstetter, 2006). As subject, it became an educational principle, because it expands perception, imagination and manual representation, which is the basis for understanding any content in the formal and non-formal context of education (Ide, Korte-Beuckers & Rückert, 2016).

This movement had its genesis in the transition to the 20th century when the emerging modern industrial German society aimed, in addition to economic changes and cultural reforms, a new ideal of a complete human development, in which art was a guiding principle of education and predicted an “aesthetic turn” and the purification of society through its spirit. (Uphoff, 2002; Oelkers, 2012). The efforts of educators at the forefront of the arts education movement, who aspired free artistic expression, were guided by the ideals of Johann Amos Comenius, who in the 17th chapter of his “*Didactica Magna*” considers that the school should be a captivating place, referring to the building and the classrooms, as a way of contributing to the increase of character, education and the students' good mood (Flitner, 1966). Among the progressive or reformist pedagogues who contributed to the construction of the theory, the prominent names were Alfred Lichtwark and Gustav Hartlaub (Andresen, 2012).

The analysis identified 67 texts that address the process of construction and integration of the subject of arts education in the school curriculum through the creation of theoretical-practical aspects without pedagogical experiences in the *Reformpädagogik*/New Education schools. However, from a historical-critical perspective, we can distinguish several phases, which show the non-linearity and non-consistency of the arts education movement. The genesis of this subject is not homogeneous, because it had breaks, contradictions and paradigm shifts, as the existing rivalries between artists and educators, regarding the competences for their teaching.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O presente estudo analisa o papel desempenhado pela educação artística na reforma pedagógica/*Reformpädagogik* nos países de língua alemã e no contexto internacional. Foram então analisados nos 99 cadernos da coletânea da revista *Das Werdende Zeitalter (A Era Nascente)*, artigos, palestras e relatórios sobre as dimensões teóricas e práticas da educação artística, no período de 1922 a 1932. O movimento de educação artística no campo da educação progressiva reverberou em diversas áreas do ensino escolar, como o desenho e a



pintura, que foram orientados para as formas de experiência dos estágios de desenvolvimento da criança. Enquanto disciplina, tornou-se um princípio educativo, pois nela desenvolve-se a percepção, a imaginação e a representação manual, que é base de compreensão para qualquer conteúdo no contexto formal e não formal da educação (Ide, Korte-Beuckers & Rückert, 2016). Este movimento tem a sua génese na transição para o século XX, devido à necessidade da sociedade industrial moderna alemã emergente procurar, para além das mudanças económicas e reformas culturais, um novo ideal de formação integral do ser humano, no qual a arte era um princípio orientador da educação e predizia uma “viragem estética” e a purificação da sociedade através do seu espírito. (Uphoff, 2002; Oelkers, 2012). Os esforços da vanguarda dos educadores do movimento da educação artística na *Reformpädagogik* que procuravam uma expressão artística livre, foram guiados pelos ideais de Johann Amos Comenius, que no 17º capítulo da sua "Didactica magna" considera que a escola deve ser - aos olhos - um lugar encantador, referindo-se ao edifício e às salas de aula, como forma de contribuir para o desenvolvimento do carácter, da educação e do bom humor do aluno (Flitner, 1966). Entre os pedagogos progressistas ou reformistas que contribuíram para a construção da teoria, do discurso e da prática artística no ensino, figuravam entre os principais nomes, Alfred Lichtwark ou Gustav Hartlaub (Andresen, 2012). A investigação inseriu-se no contexto do estágio profissional Erasmus, desenvolvido na Universidade de Goethe, em Frankfurt, Alemanha, no período de Outubro de 2022 a Janeiro de 2023. Finalizando, a análise permitiu identificar 67 textos que abordam o processo de construção e integração da disciplina de educação artística no currículo escolar através da criação de vertentes teórico-prática sem experiências pedagógicas nas escolas da *Reformpädagogik*. No entanto, numa perspetiva histórica crítica, podemos distinguir várias fases, que mostram que o movimento da educação artística não tem sido linear e consistente e que a génese desta disciplina não é homogénea, tendo havido quebras, contradições e mudanças de paradigma, como as rivalidades existentes entre artistas e educadores, relativamente às competências para o seu ensino.

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Keywords: Reformpädagogik, artistic education, history of education



Early Reception of New Educational Ideas in Hungary in the Late 19th Century

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In recent decades, historians of education have moved beyond national settings to examine inter- and transnational influences and phenomena (Roldán Vera & Fuchs, 2019). The history of educational reform ideas can also be described from a transnational approach (Mayer, 2019). Another trend is the renewed interest in the social history of education, especially the social history of teachers (Westberg & Primus, 2023).

This presentation aims to link these two recent trends by analysing the role played by primary school teachers in the early reception of new educational ideas in Hungary in the late 19th century.

The analysis takes a microhistorical approach, focusing on the work of one teacher (Endre Szabo) and his role in a teachers' association in Kolozsvár (now Cluj, Romania). The case analysed here is an example of the early reception and dissemination of Herbert Spencer's educational ideas. Spencer's writings, which criticised school practice, had a great influence on the New Education movement.

In the 19th century, Hungarian pedagogy and the school system developed under the domination of German influence, due to the cultural and philosophical traditions and the strong relations between the two regions. The influence of Anglo-Saxon and French educators was also significant, but their ideas were found more in theoretical works than in practice (Németh, 2002; Németh & Szabolcs, 2021). There were some individuals, including teachers, who stood in opposition to 'official' educational trends. They kept an eye on new philosophical and pedagogical trends, such as positivism and the works of Herbert Spencer.

One of these educators was the kindergarten teacher Endre Szabó. He was the most influential and effective Hungarian advocate of Froebel's system and kindergartens. In the 1870s he lived in Kolozsvár, where he was the director of the Froebel Institute, a major contributor and editor of educational journals, and a very active member of the local teachers' association.

Spencer's book *Education: intellectual, moral and physical* was translated into Hungarian and published in 1875. In the same year, Szabo wrote a review of this book entitled "A New Star". A few months later he was asked to write a recommendation for the Teachers' Association on "The Means of Moral Education in Public Elementary Schools". He published his theses in the most important Transylvanian educational journal, *Család és Iskola* [Family and School].

He made his recommendation under the influence of his recent reading of Spencer's book, and textual analogies can be found between the book and the eight parts of his proposal. Szabo transformed Spencer's thoughts into a plan suitable for school practice. His proposal was adopted at the meeting of the Teachers' Association in November 1875.

Although there's no evidence that this recommendation had any real effect on school practice, it should be considered very important because it shows how 'ordinary' teachers laid the foundations of the New Education movement in Hungary with the early reception of new educational ideas. It also provides insight into the transnational travel of new educational ideas in the late 19th century.



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Keywords: Hungary, 19th century, Herbert Spencer, new educational ideas



Practitioners in Educational Reforms: The Headmasters of French Secondary Schools and the Shaping of a Reform (XIXth Century)?

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In 19th century France, secondary education was a keystone of the public educational system: the state chose to mainly invest and intervene in this type of schooling. However, throughout the century, secondary schools struggled on the matter of their specific orientation: should they offer, as they historically did, a training based on humanities or could they vary their curriculum by introducing more technical or scientific classes? By the end of the century, the second option was chosen and the reform of the curriculum in 1902 endorsed this orientation. This communication aims to question the role of headmasters in the advent and approval of this reform.

If headmasters were not the main actors when it came to preparing and voting for the reform at a national level, they held a strategic position during the upstream preparation being interlocutors of both administrative delegates of the state and local actors and families. As practitioners, headmasters were immediately confronted with how families perceived the role of secondary education and they often tried to act upon their understanding of students' needs. Therefore, it seems important to try to assess the means headmasters used to participate in the debate on the purpose of secondary education, and to evaluate their presence in political discussions.

To this end, different types of sources are studied to address two lines of analysis. To approach the way headmasters talked about the goal of secondary education or the way it could be reformed, professional journals will be first explored. Day-to-day administrative documents will also be taken into consideration: when communicating with the educational administration at a regional level, headmasters could discuss subjects that exceeded their initial prerogatives. A second orientation emphasizes the way headmasters' views appeared in the political debates. To this end, the debates at the National Assembly will be studied as well as the discussion at a local level, by selecting three case studies. These studies aim to depict different profiles of headmasters regarding the type of school they administer: a school in a big city (Lyon), in a smaller city (Saint-Etienne) and in a city where secondary education is mainly oriented towards science (Brest). These three situations are not thought of as representative of all secondary schools but they offer a first insight before a widening of the project.

By choosing to focus on headmasters during a curriculum reform, the aim of this proposition is to intertwine different levels of analysis (local, regional and national), while slightly shifting the way we can approach an educational reform by considering the practitioners that will have to apply it.

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Keywords: headmaster, secondary curriculum, humanities, educational reform

Debates on Coeducation in the Hungarian Pedagogical Press at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries

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Coeducation became a popular topic in the Hungarian pedagogical press at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Although it is known that there had been coeducational schools in Scotland as early as the 17th century, it was in the 19th century when coeducational schools were first organised in the United States and then in Europe (Mihályi, 2004). The emergence of coeducation provoked ambivalent reactions in the European pedagogical press, as Albisetti has pointed out. Pedagogical literature in Central and Eastern Europe began to analyse the reasons behind coeducation as well as its impact (Albisetti, 2001). Although Hungarian pedagogical literature has touched upon the topic of coeducation from several perspectives (See Rébay, 2012, 2019; Pálmai, 2015), no explicit analysis has been carried out so far.

In our research, we performed content analysis of texts on coeducation published in the Hungarian press between 1868 and 1914, supplemented by an analysis of the documents of pedagogical conferences of this period and a few randomly selected school yearbooks. In the course of the analysis, we found several types of documents in which the topic of coeducation appeared: in addition to pedagogical journals, daily newspapers and school yearbooks also dealt with this issue, providing arguments for and against. While analysing these documents, the following categories were identified: first of all, reasons for coeducation; secondly, ideologies associated with coeducation, and lastly, perceived or real effects of co-education. In addition, we considered it important to examine who the authors typically were and what ideologies their ideas were based on. The authors included representatives of Hungarian feminism as well as foreign authors.

Our analysis has clearly shown that the question of coeducation is strongly linked to the changing role of women in society, the characteristics of the economy and the increase in the number of female teachers. The emergence of coeducation also had an impact on the methodological culture of teachers: according to our sources, the coeducation of boys and girls posed a serious pedagogical challenge, and consequently, the renewal of the methodology of teaching became an issue to be addressed.

In addition to the content categories, we also considered it important to carry out a linguistic analysis of the texts: we explored what metaphors the authors used and what image of women appears behind the arguments for and against coeducation.

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Keywords: coeducation, female education, pedagogical press, document analysis



The Emergence of Elementary School Teachers as Professional Actors in the Swedish Educational Debate 1849–1860

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The purpose of this paper is to discuss the link between the professionalization of elementary school teachers and the more general pedagogical trend towards class-based teaching during the 19th century. The paper is based upon ongoing research on the Swedish elementary school teachers' collective agency 1849–1860.

In Sweden, a pivotal moment in the rise of mass education was the elementary school bill of 1842. The bill stated that every parish should build schools and gave instructions about the education and legal conditions of elementary school teachers (Fredriksson & Aquilonius, 1942). In these instructions, the teachers were legally, as well as regarding their education, subject to the church structure and its religious teaching. Furthermore, it was stated that every teacher should be taught the monitorial teaching method. Both in terms of their professional status and in their job description, therefore, the elementary school teachers were assigned a role that hardly can be said to have encouraged the development of a professional independent voice among them. To emphasize this point, the Swedish teachers had not themselves demanded teacher-training institutions or been involved in the discussion on the content of those, as had been the case for teachers in other European countries (Nóvoa, 2000). The reason behind this was that, in Sweden, state measures which distinguished teachers as a distinct occupation, through diplomas and tests, coincided with the creation of teacher-training institutions.

Yet, within approximately a decade of the implementation of the elementary school, many elementary school teachers were actively engaged in the pedagogical debate at the local as well as national levels (Florin, 1987). In this paper, I will analyse two key initiatives by teachers that were vital for this development. The first initiative came from a teacher association in the rural setting of southern Sweden, *Borrby folkskolläraryörening* (1846–1878), which formulated a vision of the systematizing of "school knowledge" through the activities of local teacher associations (Kaleen, 1966). Through magazines and correspondence, the association inspired the establishment and formation of other teacher associations around the 1850s. These early associations will be studied as arenas for establishing educational practices among teachers. The second initiative came from the teacher magazine *Föreningen* (1857–1864) and its editor F. A. Ekström. The magazine became an influential voice that challenged the leading pedagogical authorities of the time (Fredriksson & Aquilonius, 1942). Of special interest is the magazine's views on the monitorial teaching method.

I will argue that both these initiatives illustrate the interconnectedness of teacher professionalization and the pedagogical move towards class-based teaching. I will also argue for the fruitfulness of the concept of "teaching systems" in order to make sense of that connection (Caruso, 2015).

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Keywords: professionalization, teaching system, teachers, pedagogy, educational debate



Can Art Change Educational Norms? An Experiment in Archaeological Research into Education Past and Better Ways of Being

Chair: Angelo Van Gorp

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Discussant: Christine Mayer

University of Hamburg, Germany

In the last decade or so there have been regular critiques of the continuing national and international dysfunctional discourse about education with its focus on markets, competition, instrumentality, standardisation, metrics and measurement, and managerialism. These critiques have been accompanied by arguments for social transformation and 'social alternatives' in education. (Field & Moss, 2009; Sachs, 2018). Erik Orlin Wright in *Envisioning Real Utopias* (2010) summarised the steps on the journey to alternatives to the education models favoured by neoliberals and market fundamentalists as: "elaborating a systematic critique of the world as it exists; envisioning viable alternatives; and understanding the obstacles, possibilities, and dilemmas of transformation" (Wright, 2010). Transformation or Wright's 'envisioning of real utopias' disrupts the taken-for-granted nature of the present towards a given end – a better way of being. Imagining a life otherwise, as Ruth Levitas writes, "occurs as an embedded element in a wide range of human practice and culture – in the individual and collective creative practices of art as well as in its reproduction and consumption" (Levitas, 2013, p. 5). This brings us directly to the pre-planned panel.

The monograph *Can Art Save the World* documents the artistic practice of the French street artist and activist JR (Jean René) and how he uses graffiti to create 'alerts' about problematic social issues and 'clandestine' photography and cinema as a way of exploring the reception of street art in terms of what it provokes in spectators (JR, 2015). Like the English artist Banksy, JR is conscious of the limits of his art to provide solutions to global or local problems, but they both still believe in the challenging potential of art, especially when engaging in transformative processes that impact on cultural, intellectual, and social values. There is no doubt that as artists they produce art objects that reflect the cultural, social, and political atmosphere of the moment, but they do not simply reflect the present or make it visible rather they introduce different ways of seeing reality, focusing on what has been avoided or hidden aspects. Their art directly reaches out to the emotional or to the structural rationality of spectators. And in this way, artistic productions help to introduce new ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. The aesthetical experience becomes then a cultural and political experience. Within the framework of an artistic practice that disrupts the taken-for-granted nature of the present we want to explore the interaction between artists and education both in the contemporary present and in the past.

"Education has a long tail", as the English artist and educator Robin Tanner observed in 1964 and we want to see how artists have (re)presented education/schooling/learning and the extent to which they have challenged education norms through the transformative power of imagination and creativity (van der Eyken 1969, p. 124). In the first panel paper, CollelIdemont, Padrós and Vizcarra will review different research paradigms associated with the study of the history of education to explore the relationship between art as creator or transformer of cultures and education, what is understood and valued and what is conflicted, and how artistic



creativity and practices have challenged models. Grosvenor and Roberts in the second panel paper, will look at the intersection of activist artists with education in space and time and will argue for another way of seeing education pasts through using the lens of activist artistic production which questions and critiques received educational ideas. In the final paper, Paz and Felix will use an Art-Based Research approach to focus on the obstacles and possibilities which can prevent transformations in education. All the papers excavate evidence of past education futures.

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Keywords: artistic practice, activism, participation, art object



The Challenge of Thinking About If Art Affects The Imaginary of Educational Reform. A Methodological Proposal

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The relations between art and education have been studied from different perspectives. Most of the works are focused on how to improve art education, others address the question how art education can improve the integral education of children and how to understand children better through the study of their artistic productions. There are also studies about how artists have represented education, but there is still an open question about the influences between the two disciplines as cultural and normative practices in contemporary history.

With the aim of thinking methodologically about the links between art – as creator or transformer of cultures – and education – as an opening up of possibilities – we propose a review of different positions (paradigms) in the study of the history of education based on a journey which begins with the biografism – with its intention to understand singular lives through rethinking the studies carried about Hölderlin; continues with conceptualism – with its desire to understand phenomena and movements on the basis of research about maps; then goes to the historicism – and the praising of specific projects, like the construction of the remarkable “palace-schools” in Barcelona studied on the case-study of the Lluís Vives School; followed by structuralism – with its aim of understanding the basal conditioning factors with the aim to improve or to purge the whole system, as we can see through the study of the Francoist newsreels; after passing on to culturalism – with its interest in understanding the singularities of systems, specially focusing on the transgressions inside an educational system created to reproduce and to uniformise educational actions, as we could see with the proposals of Deligny; and, finally, arriving at the systematism of the ecological vision – with its interest in seeing the interactions between the parts in a system which has the aim to regulate in a minimum level the divers to domesticate the difference, as we could find in the translation into iconic status the main educational goals for the century.

We propose to create this route by taking in account the metaphor of the photographer Nakahira (2018) around the turn between documentary photography and monumental photography, and extending it in the moments of documentation – with its corresponding written narratives –, of monumentality – with its proposals of admirable pieces –, of structuring – with its narratives of propaganda –, of singular pieces – with counter-propaganda as the axis – and of de-monumentalising – with the tension of accommodating/unaccommodating. The journey as proposed has as a boundary marks, different singular artistic pieces of a history of education. It is drawn in a spiral form based on the interrelation between the moment of creation, physical form and impact on the professional imaginary of education as followed by politicians. After mapping the journey, presented in a travel diary form, we will reflect on the main question: How has art affected the educational imaginary and the rules of different historical periods?

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Keywords: artistic practice, activism, participation, art object

Another Way of Seeing' Education Past and Present: Art, Education, and Activism

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"In art, as in politics, the minority rules, but it exercises its rule by reaching out to the public, by recognising the anatomy of public opinion" (Bernays, 1928, p. 141).

Since 2003 the international journal *ArtReview* has published an annual ranking of the most influential 100 people in art. In 2020, the list was topped by the activist movement Black Lives Matter [BLM]. The journal declared that BLM symbolised "a global reckoning on racial justice and a paradigm shift in contemporary culture.' which had dramatically reshaped the cultural landscape, impacting 'on the world of art, [...] on how everyone makes work, displays collections and exhibitions, and engages with the public' and in the process triggering 'a self-reckoning, a consideration of our own biases, complicities, and allyships" (*ArtReview*, 2020). More recently, the artist, activist and academic Gregory Sholette observed that the influence of BLM underscored "the ascendancy of activist aesthetics within the mainstream art world" and reflected the "rapid rise" in general of activist art (Sholette, 2022, p. 17). Other commentators have characterised contemporary activist art as being about social engagement, with less emphasis on object-based artwork and more focus on the social process of gaining and sharing knowledge through participation; a politicised artistic practice where collaboration and the production of 'situations' is at the core. It is an artistic practice which "reacts to changes in public education" and constitutes what has been termed the "Educational Turn in Art", where "art converges with the activities and goals of education" (Bishop, 2012, pp. 4–7; Rogoff, 2008; Lázár, 2012). It is about community, empowerment, and agency.

Activist art has been identified as a "new phenomenon," a 21st century art form where artists seek to change society "by means of art" (Groys, 2014; Weibel, 2015). Sholette takes a contrary view and argues that "it is possible to construct a credible backstory for art activism, one that stretches back decades," albeit a "fragmented" chronological record of "past interventions, experiments, repetitions and compromises [...] minor victories and outright failures;" a record that would document the politicisation of artistic practice, over time and space (Sholette, 2022, p. 18). Following Sholette, the present paper will look at how artists have related to, responded to, and intersected with education, both formal and informal. Tracing a range of past interventions, international but not global, it will map across time and space different forms of activist art engagement with education from the individual artist to artist collectives, from formal associations to activists attached to different social movements. In doing so, the paper will make the case for, to paraphrase John Berger, "another way of seeing" educational past and presents through the lens of artistic production: art which questions and critiques received educational ideas, art which empowers people to organise and to act, and art which disrupts, corrects, and educates (Berger, 1972). In sum, artistic production is a source for understanding histories of education reform and renewal.

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Keywords: artistic practice, activism, participation, art object

'They say I must be in school'. Children's freedom to play in 1940s–1960s, Portugal. Experimenting with Art-Based Research

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"The idea that the photograph has a life of its own poses questions about our own histories and desires as viewers" (Brett & Lusty, 2022, p. 4)

Recent decades have seen an extraordinary increase of education history research laying theoretical and methodological foundations for the use of visual sources to understand educational pasts (Allender, Dussel, Grosvenor, Priem, & Karin, 2021). Drawing on cultural and social history, most of the studies developed theoretically. 'They say I must be in school'. Children's freedom to play in 1940s-1960s, Portugal. Experimenting with Art-Based Research as a hybrid, i.e. in a cross-disciplinary way and in some cases in articulation with meta-perspectives, such as posthumanism. According to Dussel and Priem, "the so-called material, visual, and linguistic turns have merged into a promising interdisciplinary landscape of research" (2017, p. 642). Methodologically, education historians have developed analytical tools to broaden historical perspectives (Mietzner, Myers, & Peim, 2005; Burke & Grosvenor, 2007; Gómez & Casanovas, 2017; Miquel-Lara, Sureda Garcia, & Comas Rubí, 2020; Braster & Pozo Andrés, 2020) considering the "ways of seeing and representing the world across time" as pertaining to changing "regimes of visibility" (Cunningham, 2019, p. 120). In this sense, education historians have been reflecting on the "relation between words and images" (Cunningham, 2019, p. 119) and exploring some of the possibilities offered by examining new sources (spaces, objects, images, sounds) and their contribution to the field.

The present paper aims to take and yet another step in approaching the visual and the arts in education history. By experimenting with an Art-Based Research (ABR) approach to film and photography, it aims to discuss the challenges posed by such an approach to the education historian's craft. Ultimately, we ask: how does ABR challenge our ways of seeing, thinking about and discussing educational pasts? Departing from Aniki Bobó – Manoel de Oliveira's 1942 film about a group of children who constantly skip classes to play on streets –, we explore and problematise the imagery of children playing and its relation to schooling processes as it was visually (re)presented in films and photographs during the 1940's–1960's. To do so, we focus on the tensions arising from the schooling and literacy campaigns in 1940s Portugal and on how the school strategy seemingly limited children's liberty to play by increasingly regulating and controlling young people's time and spaces (Candeias, 2004), as opposed to their own informal learning tactics of being, doing and playing. We take up the challenge to experiment with some epistemological possibilities brought by ABR (Barone & Eisner, 2011), such as the experience of art and the radical understanding of the subject as the basis of knowledge building (Grunditz, 2021), and the notion that the image and the reality are complementary (Sontag, 2008). Thus, we regard images as means to multiply and unfold understandings and not as merely illustration or evidence (Hernández, 2008). Such an experiment has the potential to open-up our ways of thinking about and thus understanding past and present education's imageries and experiences.



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Keywords: artistic practice, activism, participation, art object



Innovations or Preservation? Reforms of the Regula Benedicti in the Educational Care of the Young in the Early Middle Ages

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With this contribution, we intend to ask the research question whether the Rule of Benedict and its reforms, in the early Middle Ages, contained real attention to the educational care of childhood and youth or simply placed a functional discipline to maintain a specific lifestyle. The research work intends not only to analyze the Rule of Benedict by focusing on the space and attention devoted to childhood, but also to follow its evolution and the main reforms it underwent during the early Middle Ages in order to evaluate whether and how this attention developed.

We will retrace the history of the Rule in the early Middle Ages to verify how the attention to childhood and youth changed in the main reforms it underwent from its birth until around the 11th century.

Three main reforms will be analyzed: the Cluniac, the Cistercian and the Camaldolese.

We will make use not only of the sources and constitutions of the rules themselves, but we will also try to support our considerations through epistolary or secondary sources such as hagiographic literature, taken with due consideration, analysing possible topoi.

Was youth, with its impetuosity, its impulses, and developing sexuality, considered merely a period of life to be regimented and constrained? Or did the attention paid to that period of life in some way presage, even if in a germinal form, a sensitivity to childhood and youth not so much as an object, but as a subject of educational attention?

Consequently, we will try to understand if the Rule, and its reforms, contained for this phase of life only instances of discipline and control, or can be considered heralds of attention and sensitivity to be rediscovered.

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Keywords: Benedictine Rule, renewal, history of education, childhood, traditions



Studying for the Sake of Heaven: The Peculiarities of Jewish Education in the Reformation Era

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The latter half of the 16th century witnessed a surge in educational initiatives across Europe. Through the age of the Reformation and confessionalization, education was pivotal in the battle over faith and authority. Protestant thinkers maintained that schooling is of such paramount importance that it cannot be left for individuals to handle. Luther explained that the pursuit of true faith overrides parents' natural right (*Elternrecht*) to educate their children and entrusted schools to the hands of the "common father" – the secular sovereign. While Lutherans entrusted the supervision of educational institutions to the hands of princes and magistrates, the Pope had the teaching orders at his disposal. The Society of Jesus was the most dominant and capable of these orders, establishing schools and educating Catholic functionaries all across Europe and beyond.

Both Protestant and Catholic institutions based their curriculum on Renaissance humanism, seeking to cultivate disciplined members for their denominations. Melanchthon expected children to recite the rules of grammar by heart. The Lutherans, it is argued, used the repeated drilling of grammar as a way of instilling a sense of discipline and obedience in their students (Strauss, 1988, p. 203). The Jesuits' curriculum almost reduced learning into linguistic studies. It began with three grammar classes followed by classes in the humanities and rhetoric, in which grammar was still a central component. In doing so, they attempted to hit two birds with one stone; through the study of grammar and rhetoric, the Jesuits intentionally exposed the students in their school system to the ideas and moral values of classical authors, such as Horace and Cicero (Kainulainen, 2018). Both Catholic and Reformed education invested a great deal of effort in monitoring the Latin curriculum, which was designed to develop the type of man who would be a member of a well-ordered society, whether or not they continued to pursue higher education at a university. The official bureaucracy, the Church, and some learned professions demanded a high level of literacy, and for that, a good command of Latin was needed.

In my paper, I intend to show that early modern Ashkenazi society – namely, Yiddish-speaking Jewry from Metz in the west to Kraków in the east – viewed schools and education quite differently from its Christian neighbours. In the age of the Reformation, Ashkenazi Jewry did not devise its educational system with an explicit intention to discipline its members nor did it utilize its learning institutions for the training of future clerics and bureaucrats. Rather, Jewish society organized its schools around the conduct of religious practice – that of study. Early modern Jewish religiosity held to the idea that much like prayers, studying (and especially Talmud study) was an integral part of its ritual practice. Furthermore, based on diverse archival materials from multiple locales, I intend to demonstrate how despite its geographical dispersion and lack of centralized administration, Ashkenazi society followed a consistent educational policy. This policy, although essentially informed by religious values, was established and transmitted through civil institutions and differed from the canonical rabbinic outlook.



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Keywords: Jewish history, the age of Reformation and confessionalization, religious education, early modernity, social and cultural history of education



The Habsburgian Teacher: Reforming Teacher Education for Ever Greater Professionalism, 1770s–1800s

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Teacher blame is deeply rooted within the grammar of schooling and its reform (D'Amico Pawlewicz, 2022). It comes as little surprise that nearly all school crisis narratives address the need to revamp initial teacher education or further training in order to overcome unpleasant conditions (Hemetsberger, 2022). When public schooling became increasingly popular and teacher education more systematic throughout Europe, reforms started to serve as a tool to adapt the training in order to enable teachers to face the detected social problems.

Teachers, their competencies and applied teaching method(s), methodical and didactical instructions as „professional technique“ to teach and educate useful citizens are the focal point of this contribution that seeks to portray how teacher education has continuously evolved over time, yet needed to permanently be readjusted in quest for greater efficiency of schooling. In the course of the 19th century, and essentially with the recognition of public schools as the increasingly sole and ‘real’ educational institution, systematically trained teachers have seemingly become the main guarantors of a school system’s quality (or failure if they fell short) – using specific method books (Winandy, 2022). The present contribution draws on Johann Ignaz Felbiger’s 1775 *“Methodenbuch für Lehrer der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserlich-königlichen Erblanden“* [Book of Method for Teachers in German Schools Throughout Imperial Lands] and Joseph Peitl’s 1808 *“Methodenbuch oder Anleitung zur zweckmäßigen Führung des Lehramtes für Lehrer in Trivial- und Hauptschulen“* [Book of Method or Instructions for Efficient Teaching for Teachers in Trivial and Main Schools], each of which were published in the realm of major school reforms in the Habsburg Empire (i.e. 1774 and 1806) as but two examples of early German-language educational historical publications that showcase how such textbooks served as popular medium for educational reformers to express their ideas of what *good* teachers should know and how they should – or should not – behave.

Beyond that, in administrative support of the first attempts at nationalizing schooling in the Habsburg Empire’s German lands, and different (educational) reform movements, not only the teachers’ role but also the supervision of their activities underwent tremendous changes by the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the 19th century (See e.g. Caruso, 2013). Governmental authorities were entrusted with the assessment, monitoring and controlling of the teachers’ professional performance. Evaluating these adaptations as (control) techniques that should not only lead to an increase of *professionalism* and *efficiency* in schooling, the presentation aims to retrace how the teacher’s role in the Habsburg Empire shifted from the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, at a time when public schooling became a common live experience for large parts of the population.

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Keywords: Method Books, Habsburg Empire, Reform, Teacher, Professionalism



Reforms of Teaching Career. Private Lives of Female Teachers: Celibacy, Work or Marriage in Hungary 1900–1945

Reformen vom Lehrberuf. Privatleben der Lehrerinnen: Zölibat/Beruf oder Ehe in Ungarn zwischen 1900 und 1945

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In my presentation, focusing on crossing social and family boundaries, I would like to present the question of getting married, which was one of the cornerstone questions in the private lives of female teachers living at the turn of the century and at the beginning of the 20th century. It was this era when women in middle-class families started to appear in employment in Hungary, similar to other European states, and unlike former social traditions, women also appeared in teaching jobs in a slowly growing number. The National Education Act of 1868 and the following regulations paved the way for teacher training institutions and so for the women in teaching careers. However, there was a question about how long a female teacher could hold her job. To what extent was the not-always-told celibacy of female teachers present and when did married female teachers begin to appear in greater numbers? In my research, I am looking for the answer to the question of how many female teachers crossed this social boundary by retaining their jobs and staying in the teaching career, despite the opinions expressed in the press, according to the statistics of the time. How many of those teachers who graduated from female teaching institutions went into the teaching profession as actual teachers? Along these questions, I am examining the statistical data of the time – census data series, educational data showing the number rate of female teachers – between 1900 and 1945. How many female teachers worked in this period and what age group distribution and marital status can we find in the contemporary data?

It seems from the data that women's lives had similar problems in their teaching career as in other European countries, but besides female teachers living in celibacy there were more and more married female teachers and by the middle of the 20th century it was no longer a question that they can fulfil teaching roles besides their family roles.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Reformen vom Lehrberuf. Privatleben der Lehrerinnen: Zölibat/Beruf oder Ehe in Ungarn zwischen 1900 und 1945.

In diesem Vortrag möchte ich eine wichtige Frage vom Privatleben der Lehrerinnen in Ungarn von der Jahrhundertwende bis Ende des 2. Weltkrieges vorstellen. Dürfen die verheirateten Lehrerinnen in den Elementarschulen unterrichten oder nicht? Beruf oder Ehe?

In Ungarn, wie in anderen Ländern von Europa, begannen die Frauen am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts arbeiten und öffnete sich das Bildungssystem immer mehr für Frauen. Mit dem 1868: XXXVIII.§. (das erste Gesetz der Schulpflicht von Ungarn) und mit den weiteren Regelungen haben der Frauen zum Lehrberuf ermöglicht und ihre expansive Kopfzahl errichtete ein anderes Problem. Wie lange dürfen die Frauen als Lehrerinnen arbeiten? Können sie gleichzeitig Lehrerinnen, Mütter und Hausfrauen sein? Wie streng war in dieser Zeit das nicht ausgesprochene Lehrerinnenzölibat und wann können wir in der Statistik vom Lehrberuf die verheirateten Lehrerinnen in größerer Zahl finden?



In meiner Forschung suche ich nach der Antwort, anstatt der in den Zeitungen lesenden Artikel, wie viele verheiratete Lehrerinnen unterrichteten in den Elementarschulen von Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Wie viele Frauen haben diese Grenze vom Privatleben übergetreten und arbeiteten weiter als Lehrerinnen neben ihren Familien und Kinder? In meinem Vortrag entlang diese Fragen analysiere ich die Statistik der Lehrerinnen von Ungarn – die Volkszählungen, die Statistik vom ungarischen Kultusministerium – zwischen 1900 und 1945. Wie waren die Altersklasse und der Familienentstand der Lehrerinnen?

Aus den Daten geht hervor, dass Frauen in ihrer Lehrerkarriere ähnliche Probleme hatten wie in anderen europäischen Ländern, aber neben Lehrerinnen, die im Zölibat lebten, gab es immer mehr verheiratete Lehrerinnen, und Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts war es keine Frage mehr, dass sie neben ihren familiären Aufgaben auch eine Lehrtätigkeit ausüben konnten.

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Keywords: private lives, female teachers, celibacy or marriage, Hungary, 1900–1945



Reforms and Reformers in Music Education

Chair: Villő Pethő

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From the turn of the 20th century, several concepts of music education appeared, which introduced new ideas and thoughts about music education, as well as about the education with music and for music. This was not accidental. Already at the end of the 19th century, the fin de siècle period signalled a crisis in society that were waiting to be resolved. It was due to this crisis that life reform and its movements sought a solution. Among the solutions were art and music, which were regarded as having the spiritual power to bring about a happier, more humane life. Contemporary musical and music educational culture were criticised as exclusory and contributing to the societal crisis, therefore reformers argued for a renewed relationship between people and music, not only for musical and professional reasons, but also for social change. Compulsory public schooling – and music lessons in it – also required educational concepts, repertoire, and techniques that could engage musically not talented children as well. Most music educational methods that gained worldwide attention and acclaim in the 20th century originated from this era: Carl Orff in Germany, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze in Switzerland, Maurice Martenot in France, Edgar Willems in Belgium, and Zoltán Kodály in Hungary.

Our panel aims to introduce the origins and afterlife of these movements, centring Hungarian music education reform based on Kodály's ideas as an example. The presentation of Andrea Daru, "The role of folklorism in 20th century music education reforms", introduces the impact of folklorism – a trend contemporaneous and ideologically connected to life reform movements – on music education. The paper examines the pedagogical works of Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, Emil-Jacques Dalcroze, Maria Montessori, Carl Orff, and Maurice Martenot in general pedagogical and social context. The research reveals hidden connections that show how a new understanding of music affects the child, the individual and society.

The presentation of Zsuzsanna Polyák, "Hand-signs to listen to for: an innovative technique in music education", presents the history of Curwen hand-signs as a tool for music education and inner hearing, and their Hungarian reception. Curwen developed his music teaching techniques mostly in the second half of the 1800s in England, and they became well-known abroad as well. The adaptation of hand-sings into the Hungarian music educational toolkit and its subsequent dissemination resulted in them now being associated with Kodály's name. Therefore, they serve as an example of how a teaching technique transitions from one culture and concept to another.

The paper of Márta Dallos, "Choral singing in the 20th century – the writings of an outstanding music teacher in the professional press", gives an example of the survival and adaptation of Kodály's music pedagogical ideas across generations. The researcher used qualitative content analysis to study the publications on choirs by László Lukin, a distinguished music educator and choir leader. The first result showed that elements of Kodály's concept, which related to choral culture were still dominant in practice decades later.

The presentation of Jian Cui, "The historical background of the introduction of Kodály Concept to China in the late 20th century", gives an example of the reasons and possibilities that arise in



the adaptation of a pedagogical concept from another culture. The presentation will summarise how the reform of Chinese music education led to the discovery and subsequent adaptation of the worldwide known and accepted Kodály concept in Chinese music education.

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Keywords: music education, Kodály-pedagogy, folklore, choral singing, adaptation



The Role of Folklorism in 20th Century Music Education Reforms

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The turn of the century and the first half of the 20th century was a period of great reforms. Reforms were needed in all areas of life to counterbalance the changing social situation. Prominent representatives of the arts sought to counteract this decline, to transform society and to create a new image of mankind. The thinkers and artists of the period saw the creation of a new image of society and humans as being equal in the education of children, aided by the current trends in general reform pedagogy. Music, and music education, played a specific role in this process.

One of the most influential artistic sources of the turn of the century, which permeated all artistic disciplines, was peasant culture, which not only provided artists with new and hitherto unknown artistic tools, but also carried a complex set of values of outstanding social importance. Artists sought first and foremost to adopt and pass on this value system, using elements of folk culture as a specific tool in their art and art pedagogy, thus creating the trend towards folklorism.

In my research, I will review and examine the work of international musicians from the 20th century who have made significant contributions to music pedagogy through the influence of folk music. Some of these include Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, Emil-Jacques Dalcroze, Maria Montessori, Carl Orff and Maurice Martenot. Comparing the characteristics of their pedagogy, despite the cultural differences, we find not only hidden connections, but also a new view of man and children, and a new way of thinking about music. The new values are simplicity, purity, naturalness, openness, and non-violence, which are values that have existed since time immemorial and are recurrent. The artists of the turn of the century found all this in the peasant culture in its uncorrupted form, for artists popular culture was the living past itself.

The focus of my lecture will be on the relationship and impact of folklorism on music education, which I will first examine in a general pedagogical and social context. The aesthetic and practical pedagogical role of folk music in music education has been widely studied. However, less attention has been paid to the way in which folk music has been integrated into music education from a social and general artistic pedagogical perspective and to its impact on children and society. I am looking for answers to the following questions: what artistic instrumental and content values has folk music brought to music education, and how can these values be described from the perspective of the child and society? And how has folk music helped music education to shape the image of the child of reform education?

As a result of my research, hidden connections emerge, such as a new musical perception based on rhythm, which can also be linked to a new anthropological perspective on the human and artistic perception of time. This new musical perception had an impact on the child, the individual and society as well.

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Keywords: music education, Kodály-pedagogy, folklore, choral singing, adaptation



Hand-signs to Listen to for: An Innovative Technique in Music Education

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The aim of the presentation is to summarise the history of Curwen hand-signs as tool for music education and inner hearing, and their Hungarian reception.

The Tonic Sol-fa system, created by the English congregational minister and educator John Curwen (1816–1880) is one of the foundations of the Hungarian music teaching methodology now associated with Zoltán Kodály's name, yet this connection is not often discussed in the literature beyond mentions, especially in Hungary.

Curwen began to develop his music teaching method in the early 1840s, based on the relative solmization system of Sarah Anna Glover (1786–1867). He published his first methodology book, "Singing for schools and congregations" in 1843. His innovations included modified sol-fa syllable names, a new type of letter notation, and hand-signs to indicate sol-fa sounds. The hand-signs were developed to facilitate musical inner hearing and musicality. Beyond being mere gestures assigned to sol-fa syllables, Curwen aimed to capture emotional – "mental" – effects of musical sounds in a particular key (in contemporary language: the sense of tonality), and express those with the hand-signs. He took the idea of "mental effects" from Édouard Jue de Berneval (1794–) and formed the gestures following Jue's shape notations.

Curwen continued to develop the system throughout his life, drawing on the popular and contemporary music education and music theory trends of his time. In addition to methodological techniques, his teaching also represented a change of approach, influenced mainly by Pestalozzi.

His method was adapted in other countries during Curwen's lifetime. In Hungary, it was already known in the late 1800s. Its widespread diffusion, however, was the result of Zoltán Kodály's and his followers' work, who took inspiration from German adaptations of Tonic Sol-fa, as well as Curwen's own writings, and utilised many of his techniques. Hand-gestures were first introduced to Hungarian teachers in the mid-1930s by German educator, Fritz Jöde, and became popular within a few years. Based on writings published in music pedagogy journals between 1930–1975, Hungarian (and German) adaptors saw many benefits of hand-signs, however, they did not really emphasise the "mental effects" of them – what Curwen saw as their primary function. The history and the intended use of hand-signs – a wide-spread technique – show a story of how innovations are transformed, gain new meanings, and live on in new eras and circumstances.

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Keywords: music education, Kodály-pedagogy, folklore, choral singing, adaptation



Choral Singing in the 20th Century – Writings of an Outstanding Music Teacher in the Professional Press

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In the first half of the 20th century there was a huge transformation in Hungarian school music education. The ideological foundations of music pedagogical reforms and the means of their implementation were laid down by Zoltán Kodály. The music pedagogical model of Kodály's concept strongly linked the Central European life reform and pedagogical reform trends of the early 20th century (Pethő, 2011). One of its significant elements was the soul- and community-shaping power of the human singing voice and the collective singing. Kodály advocated the introduction of choral singing in schools, composing new choral works for children's choirs, forming amateur choirs and organising concerts for choirs (Nemes, 2017). The renewal of the choral movement was initiated by Kodály's students, who organised the national network of the Singing Youth (Éneklő Ifjúság, 1934).

László Lukin (1926–2004) was an outstanding, versatile music teacher of the 20th century. Between 1950 and 1982 he taught singing and music at Fazekas Mihály Primary School and Gymnasium in Budapest, where he also supervised teacher trainees. He wrote musical textbooks, edited and hosted concerts, radio and tv- broadcasts for children, and he was also a choirmaster in several choirs.

Lukin's teachers at the Liszt Academy of Music (between 1945–1949) were Lajos Bárdos, Jenő Ádám, Miklós Forrai and Zoltán Vásárhelyi. They are all Kodály's students, who played an important role in the Singing Youth. Lukin acquainted them directly with Zoltán Kodály's reforms in music education.

László Lukin was constantly published in the professional press until his death in 2004. The aim of our presentation is to present his writings about choral pedagogy in the music trade press. We will examine the extent to which he adopted and adapted Kodály's instructions on choral singing.

The sources of the investigation are composed of Lukin's articles from the most important music education journals in Hungary (Muzsika 1958–, Az ének-zene tanítása 1959–, Parlando 1959–, Zeneszó 1991–). We were narrowed down the sample based on thematic classification. We highlighted fifty of his writings, the choral reviews and the writings on school choirs. We used an inductive method to classify the relevant quotations into thematic categories. We analysed the texts using qualitative content analysis methods (Krippendorff, 1995), but we also used quantitative classification for categorisation.

The first results show that the important aspects of Kodály's choral pedagogy are clearly visible in Lukin's articles. The principles laid down by Kodály's college and founder of the Singing Youth, György Kerényi (1936), such as singing Hungarian contemporary choral works and choosing the right works, a highly skilled and empathetic choirmaster, an "entrance exam" to the choir or support for those who sing unskilfully, are reflected in his concert reviews.

By providing high-quality music and choir education, and education for the love of music, Lukin sought to realise the musical reform aspirations of the early years of the century: the 'education of the whole person' through singing communities and musical experiences.



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Keywords: music education, Kodály-pedagogy, folklore, choral singing, adaptation



The Historical Background of the Introduction of Kodály Concept to China in the late 20th Century

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This paper discusses the historical background of the introduction of the Kodály to China. The Hungarian music education system that was developed in the 1930s by composer Zoltán Kodály and his followers, and was named after him by foreign adaptors was first introduced in China during the 1980s. Today, it has been successfully used in teaching music in all types of schools at all levels. Prior to the 1980s, most of the research on the Kodály Concept in China was focused on Kodály's research and musical compositions on Hungarian folk music. Multiple conditions of domestic education and policy adjustments, as well as the influence of the international Kodály movement from the mid-1960s resulted in Chinese scholars going to Hungary to specialise in Kodály-based music education and introduced it to China in a comprehensive manner. The Kodály Society of China was founded in this period, and the first monograph on the Kodály Concept was subsequently produced. Many others followed, and today, it is taught at all levels of music teaching and has thousands of followers country-wide. Chinese musicians and music teachers regularly attend yearly or short courses in Hungary, hoping to further develop Kodály-based music education in their homeland.

The paper will summarise how the aim to renew Chinese music education led to the discovery and subsequent adaptation of the Kodály Concept – one of many reform movements from the turn of the 19th–20th century – into Chinese music education.

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Keywords: music education, Kodály-pedagogy, folklore, choral singing, adaptation



State Power in Introducing Reforms in Secondary Education in Argentina: The *Enquête Naón* at the National Schools

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This paper analyses the characteristics of the exercise of state power when introducing reforms for national secondary education in Argentina by the beginning of the 20th century. To do so, it takes a rarely studied object as a source: the 1909 survey on secondary school instruction known as *Enquête Naón*.

In Argentina, the creation of free and compulsory elementary education was preceded by the development of secondary education, which took the Prussian and French form of organization together with a propaedeutic function. Secondary education, in the figure of the *Colegio Nacional* [National School], became responsible for the formation of the ruling classes and was oriented to the university.

Since the late 19th century and the first part of the 20th century, the expansion of the institutional offer for secondary education came from the national state. To ensure the process of creating institutional offers homogeneous, the federal state exercised control power through two tools: bureaucratic centralization and curriculum control. However, the provinces had pre-state educational institutions and reacted to the national state's attempts at concentration and control.

Several decades after the establishment of *colegios nacionales* and in the context of a debate on the need for a law on secondary school instruction, in 1909, the Minister of Public Education, Dr. Rómulo S. Naón, decided to undertake a "Study on the status of secondary school instruction" in Argentina. The study was aimed at all professors and rectors at *colegios nacionales*. Enrique de Vedia, the rector of the *Colegio Nacional Central*, was in charge of systematizing and later publishing the reports and submitting their results to the minister; he named his release *Enquête Naón*.

The fact that De Vedia used the French word *enquête* to refer to the study can be taken as a reference to a similar survey that, in 1899, the French State assigned to a commission under Alexandre Ribot entitled *Enquête sur l'enseignement secondaire*. As Karila Cohen (2010) asserts, during the 19th century, the state can be conceived as a product of the survey; everything became part of the state's inventory, which thus turned into a well-organized state.

The analysis is carried out in two dimensions: a) survey contextualization in a scenario of the emergence of secondary education reforms and b) description of its main characteristics as a tool of the nation-states to foster reforms. The paper is based on studies on the place of the state in shaping educational systems (Archer, 1979; Green, 1990; Mueller, 1992; Savoie, Brutter & Frijhoff, 2004). In particular, on the concept of state systematisation (Acosta, 2019) while the central state's ability to ensure the coordination of schools in a territory from a logic of educational concentration.

This analysis will deepen the knowledge about the national state's ability to exercise its power of systematisation amid schooling expansion in Western nation-states. At the same time, it provides the opportunity to profit from overlooked sources such as school inquiries.



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Keywords: school surveys, state, secondary education, national schools



Key Actors and Factors in the Development of the Revised Programme of Instruction (1900) in Ireland

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The programme of instruction or curriculum in schools has always been central in directing not only the content of learning, but also the wider values, skills, attitudes and dispositions inculcated in pupils. The curriculum in Ireland in the 1800s was largely determined in Westminster and was employed as a tool to foster political and linguistic assimilation (Lyons & Maloney, 2018). As the 19th century drew to a close, there was a growing realisation that the narrow and didactic approaches introduced by the system of Payment by Results in 1872 were no longer sufficient for the education of the masses in an increasingly industrialised world (Walsh, 2012).

This paper traces the initiation and workings of the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction (1897–98) which was established following a request of the National Board of Education in Ireland. Its purpose was to determine “how far, and in what form, manual and practical instruction should be included in the Educational System of the Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland” (Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, 1898, p. 5). The industrious workings of the Commission and the key actors involved will be examined by critiquing the four volumes of minutes it published between 1897 and 1898. This incorporated evidence from its 93 public meetings, interviews with 186 witnesses, as well as witness accounts and documentary evidence gathered from study visits across Ireland and a range of European countries. A specific focus will be placed on the final report of the Commission published in June 1898, as this synthesised the voluminous evidence gathered and formed the basis of the subsequent recommendations for curriculum reform. These recommendations were ambitious in range and scope, proposing the introduction of a wide range of additional subjects underpinned by a child-centred and discovery-oriented philosophy of education (Walsh, 2007). International and Empire factors will also be explored as many of the progressive elements of the reform were inspired by the theories and philosophies underpinning the diverse New Education Movement in Europe (Selleck, 1968). Central to the analysis will be a focus on the voices and positions that were privileged or marginalised in the selection of witnesses.

The paper concludes by delineating the process undertaken to devise the *Revised Programme of Instruction* (Commissioners of National Education, 1902) between 1898 and 1900, paying particular attention to the role of Dr. William Starkie, the Resident Commissioner in Ireland, in this regard. The various drafts of the programme, and the involvement and reaction of interested parties, are documented, culminating in the publication of the *Revised Programme of Instruction* in September 1900. The contents of this programme, and its relationship to the Commission’s report in 1898, are analysed and compared to the system of Payment by Results previously in operation.

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Keywords: Curriculum, Ireland, New Education Movement, power



Academics as Actors in Education Reform: Lyle Spencer and the University of Chicago Department of Sociology in the 1930s

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When invited to address the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Education in 1962, Lyle M. Spencer testified, “hard-minded, sensible investments in education research can provide the most effective single method of strengthening our schools” (quoted in Cain & Hevel, 2022, p. 74). As a graduate-school dropout and successful purveyor of standardized tests and other for-profit education services, Spencer seems like an unlikely advocate of academic research in the interest of reforming education and, ultimately, society. But he used most of his considerable fortune to establish the education-focused Spencer Foundation in the same year that he addressed the House committee. This paper considers the role of academics in education reform through an investigation of Spencer’s experiences as a doctoral student in sociology at the University of Chicago (UC) in the late 1930s.

Spencer arrived at UC with a master’s degree in sociology from the University of Washington and inspiration from a worldwide trip in 1934–1935 in which he debated students in other countries and sought to answer the question, “What is a salvation from international depression?” (2 U Students, 1934). The trip sparked his interest in using social-science research to improve societal conditions (Spencer, 1989), which accorded well with the reputation of the UC sociology department. When Spencer arrived, the renowned “Chicago school of sociology” was just past its peak. Between the mid-1910s and the mid-1930s, scholars in the department had been on the cutting edge of theoretically-informed, first-hand empirical investigation of social problems in their specific context (Bulmer, 1984; Abbott, 1999). Also informed by the pragmatism of former UC philosopher and education scholar John Dewey, the Chicago school paved a path toward reform through “humanist” sociological research (Deegan, 2013). By the late 1930s, more quantitative, less context-oriented research was on the rise among UC sociology professors including William Ogburn and Samuel Stouffer, with whom Spencer studied. But the humanist strain did not entirely disappear, as Spencer’s undertakings demonstrate. With an eye toward economic reform, he and fellow student Robert Burns researched vocational trends and helped Chicago schools better guide students toward finding work during the Depression (Burns, 1984). Expanding their education-focused social-science work, Spencer and Burns founded Science Research Associates (SRA) and Spencer ended his doctoral studies to run the company for the next three decades. Ever mindful of the role that academics could play in reform, Spencer included prominent scholars on SRA’s advisory board (Levine, 1939) and the company produced only products that were “well done from a research point of view” (Burns, 1984, p. 64).

Lyle Spencer’s doctoral studies (and his professional work and legacy) reflected (and ultimately helped to shape) the trajectory of academics’ involvement in education reform, yet have received little scholarly attention. This paper fosters a deeper understanding of what Ellen Lagemann (1989) terms “the politics of knowledge,” which she defines as a ranked hierarchy of academic fields and approaches to research. Spencer’s determination to strengthen the schools through academic research illuminates another important dimension of the politics of knowledge: academics’ roles in reform.



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Keywords: academic research, sociology, University of Chicago, Lyle M. Spencer



The Contribution of the Ceméa Movement to Teaching Innovation in Italian School (1960–1980).

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The Ceméa movement (Centre d'Entraînement aux Méthodes d'Éducation Active) [Training Centres on Methods of Progressive Education] was founded in France in 1937 by Gisèle de Failly, with the aim of spreading the principles of progressive education through multi-day residential stages addressed to educators, free-time animators and teachers. De Failly's initiative, who was closely familiar with the Scout experience, the work of Célestin Freinet and the Montessori method (De Failly, 1976; Freinet, 1981), was part of the panorama of intense exchanges between educational theorists and practitioners – particularly fruitful in the early 20th century – whose common horizon was the idea of learning based on hands-on experience, in which the child's interests and sensitivities constitute the core element of every educational pathway (Guisset, 2009).

In the post-war period, the Ceméa, whose *stages* attracted an increasing number of participants, gradually spread outside France: they arrived in Italy in 1950, a few years after the fall of the fascist regime. The appearance of the Ceméa in the peninsula was connected to the pedagogical debate of those years, aimed at innovating the whole educational system in a democratic direction: one of the main points of reference was the group that developed around the Scuola-Città Pestalozzi, an innovative reality inspired by Dewey's school-laboratory, founded in 1945 by Ernesto Codignola (Cambi, 1982) and inspired by Dewey's school-laboratory (2007). Codignola, who would later also hold the position of vice-president of the *Fédération Internationale des Ceméa*, was in close contact with key figures in the pedagogy of the time, such as the aforementioned Freinet, Henri Laborde and De Failly herself, and established an important link with the Centro Italo-Svizzero in Rimini directed by Margherita Zoebeli (Trentanove, 2012).

The Italian Ceméa, through its local delegations – each characterised by its own marked identity –, beyond organising training courses on music, dance, painting and theatre as Progressive education techniques, held study days on methodological and didactic issues, as well as “seminari di discussione” [discussion seminars] on topics concerning teaching in compulsory schools; in the 1960s Ceméa, together with the Educational Cooperation Movement directly inspired by Freinet's work, was the associations most followed by innovation-oriented teachers. As emerges from the publications, information bulletins and still unpublished class journals examined, as well as from the analysis of the interviews with former teachers who trained and collaborated with Ceméa, the experience with De Failly's movement triggered in those who approached it – often through summer work in the holiday camps run by the movement – a process of change in everyday school work; teaching became more open to a multiplicity of languages (for example music, theatre) and to the contact with the natural environment – object of a direct study with pupils –, oriented towards the protagonism of the child and the sharing of ideas and experiences among colleagues (Clementi, 1960).

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Keywords: Ceméa; progressive education; Italy; Ernesto Codignola; Margherita Zoebeli



Education Reforms in Portugal During the *Processo Revolucionário Em Curso* (1974–76): The Perspective of Three Engaged Political Actors

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The *Processo Revolucionário em Curso*/ *Ongoing Revolutionary Process* (PREC) lasted in Portugal from the date of the Carnation Revolution (25th April 1974) until the approval of the new Constitution (2nd April 1976). From the institutional point of view, this period has known six different provisional governments, whose compositions reflected the balance of forces on the political chessboard.

Previously to the analysis of the reforms undertaken during the PREC, it is important to frame that a significant set of education changes were decided, in the final period of the authoritarian regime of *Estado Novo* by the Minister of National Education José Veiga Simão (1971–1974): the expansion of compulsory schooling from six to eight years/grades; the spread of the secondary schools network; the establishment of new higher education institutions (Correia, 1998). Nevertheless, the recurrent emphasis on the “democratization of education” (Carvalho, 1986, p. 808) expression in the Minister discourses, the so-called Veiga Simão’s reform was implemented in a politically blocked society.

This paper sought to combine the analysis of the pressing problems that marked the educational agenda under the PREC period and the action of three engaged (historians and) political actors: Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (Minister of Education and Culture, July–November 1974), Rui Grácio (Secretary of State for Educational Guidance, July 1974–August 1975), and Rogério Fernandes (Director-General of Primary Education, 1974–1976).

The reforms implemented during the PREC period represent an important cornerstone in several education areas. The most relevant reforms are the cooperation of the educational system in the process of democratization and development of society; new objectives for the education of students/citizens; the widening of social participation in the democratic management of schools of secondary and higher education; the de-fascistization of curricula (1974/75); the launching of the “unified secondary education” (January 1975) – low secondary level; the dignification of the professional, social and remunerative status of teachers (April 1975); the remobilization and densification of the democratic contents embedded in Veiga Simão’s reform (Silva & Tamen, 1980; UNESCO, 1982; Stoer, 1986; Teodoro, 1999).

The political experience of the above mentioned historians, two of whom with important published work in the field of history of education (Grácio & Fernandes, 1988), is evoked here in order to bring some light on the important debates that were at stake. Magalhães Godinho (1918–2011), one of the most influential historians of the 20th century, has resigned from the charge of Minister for considering that the Government did not have enough authority and conditions to pursue the policies that were imposed at the time (Godinho, 1974, 1975, 1981; Marques & Pedreira, 1989). Rui Grácio (1921–1991), who ran the Centre for Pedagogical Research of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, implemented the curricular area of Civic Education, the democratic management of schools, the reformulation of teachers’ education programmes and the unification of the low secondary education (Grácio, 1995–96). Rogério Fernandes (1933–2010) was a key actor in the modernization of primary education (Fernandes, 1977, 1988, 1999).



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Keywords: Portugal, Carnation Revolution, ongoing revolutionary process, education reforms



Overcome Underdevelopment through Education: Analysis of the Extent of the Effects of Nationwide School Reforms and Dedicated Legislation (Sardinia, 1860–1921)

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In the first Italian census (1861), the region with the higher percentage of illiterate citizens was Sardinia with a rate of 91,17%. In 1921, one year before Mussolini's dictatorship, which will mark a chronological break for this paper, it stood at 49%. This was the result of a slow-starting mass education process and of the pragmatic adaptation and reformation of a state school that was born in and for a very different social context, and that was blind to the needs of the underdeveloped areas of the country.

Despite its belonging to the Savoia Kingdom before it became the Italian Kingdom in 1861, Sardinia was one of the most underdeveloped regions of the newborn nation-state. Therefore, also the Casati Law of 1859, which define the structure and organization of the kingdom's school system, was not easy to apply. The lack of preexisting civil as well as scholastic infrastructures, the opposition of fringes of the population, and, sometimes, of the same institutions that were supposed to apply it, affected the effectiveness of this constitutive law that was perceived as a reform of consolidated (but weak) schooling costumes.

The first 60 years of Italian school's history changed and shaped the school both as a concrete place where lessons take place and as a community of teachers and learners. The Municipalities of Sardinia slowly developed a new urban layout with school buildings that became central in the towns' and cities' lives. This happened also thanks to some important dedicated measures taken by the Italian government for the most underdeveloped Regions of Southern and Insular Italy. These reforms also changed the professional figure of the teacher and, with it, the teaching practices. The sources used to collect the data for this paper are both first and secondary types of materials, from local and State Archives. Most of them were collected in the wider frame of the PRIN project *Literacy and Development in Southern Italy from Italian Unification to the Giolittian Era (1861–1914)* and of the S.I.ST.eM. project (*Sardegna: Istruzione, Storia e Memoria; Sardinia: Instruction, History and Memory*).

The paper aims to analyse the tangible effects of these school reforms and the legislation against underdevelopment especially when it involved schooling as a way to overtake it. The paper will highlight, with a large sort of examples, how the rise of education, in particular primary education, influenced and, at the same time, was influenced by the social needs during this chronological range and in a diversified region such as Sardinia. It will show how the dialogue between the centre and periphery has changed during those decades and how school reforms and legislation shaped the life and the urban outline of cities, towns, and villages of the Island.

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Keywords: School in Sardinia, Italian school reforms, Southern Italy, school buildings, teachers' career



New Education and Educational Reforms in Brazil: Transnational Connections and National Specificities

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In October 1930, Ad Ferrière landed in Rio de Janeiro. He traveled throughout Latin America with the aim of publicizing the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and had his last stop in Brazil. The forecast was to spend a period in Brazilian lands, but the coincidence with the 1930 revolution, which raised Getulio Vargas to power, meant that contact with Brazilian educators, whom he had previously met through letters or visits to Switzerland, was shortened. In his luggage back to Geneva, Ferrière took papers by Deodato de Moraes and Fernando de Azevedo on the reforms carried out in Espírito Santo and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. The articles were published in *Pour l'ère nouvelle* in April/May 1931. The episode is not fortuitous. On the contrary, it is just one of many evidences of the harmony of Brazilian educators with the international movement of new education.

However, unlike other countries, where initiatives related to the ideal of new education were limited to specific actions, in the Brazilian case (as well as in Russia), new education became a state investment. Between 1920 and 1930, reforms of the educational systems were carried out in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Espírito Santo, Pernambuco, Ceará, Minas Gerais and Bahia, based on principles of new education, which led to changes in the curriculum guidelines of primary schools and teacher training. At the time, the illiteracy rate in Brazil was around 80%, with significant local variations. The lack of a national educational system had repercussions on regional disparities in terms of attending the school-age population, construction of school buildings and equipping schools and the number of teachers in service since public education was subject to state budgets, which were unequal due to the wealth of each state. On the one hand, the reforms of the state educational systems aimed to overcome this scenario, betting on active methodologies such as the centres of interest and the project method. On the other hand, Brazilian educators at the forefront of these reforms proposed national integration through a ministry that would offer general guidelines for teaching levels and a budget fund that would compensate for regional differences.

The model, which was based on a pedagogical proposal based on new education, was recorded in the document *Manifesto of the pioneers of new education*, published in 1932, containing 26 signatories. However, the setbacks in Brazilian and world history with the rise of authoritarian governments to power and the beginning of the World War II. had an impact both on the course of education in Brazil and on the movement led by the NEF. Alternating between micro and macro analysis, this presentation intends to demonstrate the connections of Brazilian educators with the transnational network organized by NEF, while paying attention to the specificities of the national reality.

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Keywords: New education, educational systems, transnational history



The Reform of Jewish Studies in Israel's State Education System (1991–1999) – An “Exemplary Failure”

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One of the challenges that accompany the state (non-religious) education system in Israel since the founding of the state is to develop curricula for deepening Jewish identity amongst students of all ages. In 1994, the Israeli Ministry of Education instituted a reform in the teaching of Jewish and humanistic studies in the state (non-religious) education system at all age levels and provided the budget necessary to implement it. This was the first time that the Ministry of Education devoted attention to its obligation to strengthen Jewish identity and recognized the importance of teaching Jewish subjects as part of the process to shape a student's identity and spiritual worldview. One might have expected that Judaism in particular and the teaching of humanistic subjects in general would have undergone a fundamental transformation in the State education system as a result of the reform, on both the conceptual (conscious) level and the professional-educational level. This lecture deals with the reform in the teaching of Jewish subjects in the State (non-religious) education system during the period 1991–1999 and the political, social, and educational-administrative effects that led to its failure.

The research is based on a categorical content analysis of various archival documents, including Ministry of Education protocols, correspondences, reports issued by policymakers, and the press; and Interviews with educators and educational professionals who were part of the policy formulation and decision-making processes.

My main argument is that the reform was doomed to failure. Based on the committee discussions, the content of the recommendations and the ways, in which they were implemented, it appears that there were two main factors that had a critical impact on the implementation of the reform in the education system:

First, the political factor: (a) Political instability – The frequent turnover of the government and the ministers of education who represented parties with different ideological, political, social and cultural platforms. (b) Each minister's policy was to “repair”, trim or cancel the educational accomplishments of his predecessor. (c) There was a difference in approach towards practical values and universal values in the planning of the Jewish curriculum, which was manifested in different budget allocations.

Second, the educational (administrative-organizational) factor – On the level of policy makers and the connection with the educational domain: (a) The committee that submitted its recommendations to the Minister of Education was characterized by polarization of its members and deep differences in opinion on the issue they were examining. (b) An overly broad and unclear concept of “Jewish Studies”. (c) An elective subject without an allocation of hours – No change was made in the schedules at the various age levels nor were hours added in Jewish and humanistic studies. This led to a reduction in the scope of Jewish studies in the schools. (d) The parallel implementation of other reforms in the education system. (e) The lack of coordination and cooperation between the various departments and sections within the ministry.



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Keywords: educational reform, educational policy, Jewish studies, religion in education, state education



Student Mobility in the First Half of the 20th Century: A Gendered Approach to Western Education and Its Impact

Chair: Paul Nilanjana

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This panel discusses the development of student mobility on the imperial and international levels during the first half of the 20th century. To do so, each presentation will analyse this migrating process through a gendered lens, participating in highlighting commonalities and differences between men and women involved in educational sojourns abroad.

Recently, scholars have stressed the necessity to consider student mobility as a gendered phenomenon (Rangharam & Sondhi, 2021). However, studies generally focus on the second half of the 20th century, fostering a scientific gap between colonial and postcolonial studies. Additionally, the compartmentalisation of research based on a specific departure or arrival territories blurs the long-term role of Western countries in the trajectories of student travel. By questioning the traditionally accepted chronological frame that begins with World War II., we argue that comparing different countries and migrating populations in the long term gives us a better understanding of how higher education became a global issue during the last century. Consequently, this panel brings together three historians analysing flows towards three different Western territories, either in Europe or the United States. Dr Sara Legrandjacques and Dr Nilanjana Paul both look at migration related to India: the former focuses on their enrolment at a women's college in London, the Maria Grey Training College dedicated to teacher training; the latter examines the role played by Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in providing medical education to Indian women like Anandibai Joshi and Dora Chatterjee. Annalise Walkama studies the trajectories of student refugees leaving Eastern Europe for France just after the 1939–1945 conflict.

Furthermore, all three studies give space to actors – whether they be individual or collective: first, we will identify who the mobile students were and the reasons that led them to engage in higher education abroad. While some decided to study in a foreign country because of institutional reputations, financial opportunities or even persuasion by word of mouth, others were forced to go abroad because of war or political violence. Second, we look at any person or organization – public and private – that took part in organising, funding and/or supervising the educational sojourns. Collectively, this shows the different networks the students used in order to pursue their intellectual or practical training and by extension, to build their future through this mobile experience. Finally, all three papers underscore the diversity of archival material that still needs to be explored by historians of education. Beyond official papers by Ministries of Education and public authorities, documentation coming from institutions welcoming the students is a real goldmine and allows scholars to use micro and local history to provide a global perspective on student migration in the 20th century.

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Keywords: higher education, student mobility, gender, international mobility, Western education, war



Anandibai Joshi, Gurubai Karmakar and Clara Swain: Education, Empire and Women's Rights in Colonial India

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The social reform program followed by the expansion of female education in the 19th century allowed Indian women to pursue higher education, including medical education. Initially, most of the female medical students were Eurasians or Indian Christians. This pattern continued till the 1930s. Between 1935 and 1947, a large number of Hindu and Muslim women pursued medicine as a career. Outside India, Indian women pursued medicine at Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania (hereafter WMCP) established in 1850. In that context, this paper examines the roles played by Anandibai Joshi, Gurubai Karmakar, and Dora Chatterjee who studied at WMCP in the spread of medical education among women in India. It examines the struggle faced by Joshi, Chatterjee, and Karmakar in traveling to the United States to study medicine. The study highlights the role played by missionaries like Clara Swain from WMCP in the spread of education and female hygiene among women in India. Based on education reports, institutional reports, and personal memoirs, this paper examines the expansion of women's medical education in India and the discrimination faced by them in a profession dominated by British men and women.

Based on previously unexplored archival sources, the study helps us to evaluate how Western education created a new generation of Indian women who took responsibility for their own future, but also shows how colonial rule resisted Indian women's fight for their rights, healthcare, and social development in general.

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Keywords: higher education, student mobility, gender, international mobility, Western education, war



A Mission to Educate. Indian Women and the Maria Gray Training College in the Early 20th Century

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This paper will explore the global history of a specific institution, Maria Grey Training College located in London, through the enrollment of women coming from the British Raj during the first half of the 20th century. By associating gender history with migration studies, I will show how student mobility on the imperial scale participated in shaping educational dynamics and initiatives in colonial India.

In 1878, the British educationalist Maria Georgina Grey participated in the foundation of the Teachers' Training and Registration Society College, renamed shortly afterwards Maria Grey Training College. It was, at the time, the first British institution dedicated to the training of women teachers. Its audience soon became international, admitting teachers-to-be from colonial territories including India. Anni Shunmugum from Madras was the first known Indian woman joining the school in 1882. She benefited from a funding bestowed by the Carpenter Trust, an organization led by Mary Carpenter, a fervent supporter of female education in India. Despite the failure of Shunmugum's training in London, admission of women from South Asia increased in the early 20th century. They were more than a hundred in the Interwar years, including Native Indians but also European women born or settled in the colony. Most of them were already involved in educational activities, as headmistresses or missionaries, and planned to go back to the subcontinent after their studies' completion. Some alumni kept a close tie with their former school, publishing news or longer papers about their lives and colonial experiences in the Maria Grey College's journal. However, World War II temporarily froze these academic flows: if a significant number of Indian students arrived in 1939, none of them was mentioned on the student lists the following year.

This paper will mobilise material coming from Maria Grey College's archives kept at Brunel University in Uxbridge (United Kingdom) and so far, overlooked by historians of education. This documentation includes issues from the college's journal, lists of students and official records. Thus, by mixing quantitative and qualitative methods, we will expose, on the one hand, the social and educational profile of students coming from India and, on the other hand, the strategies, and networks they used to fulfil their training. Thanks to articles drawn from the aforementioned journal, we will also try to seize the impact of metropolitan studies on post-educational – and especially, professional trajectories.

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Keywords: higher education, student mobility, gender, international mobility, Western education, war



Rebuilding the Student Body: Eastern European Refugee Students in France, 1945–1955

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Student Contribution

This paper will explore the role of refugee students in the reconstruction of France after World War II. I focus specifically on the experiences of Eastern European students from Poland, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia using records from the French refugee student organisation the *Entraide Universitaire française* (EUF), or French University Mutual Aid. Until now, neither historians of migration nor of education have fully examined the place of refugee students in modern France. My research illustrates how despite being non-citizens, refugee students fit into the new vision for the nation. I argue that the integration of these students into French society drew on discourse about the body and a gendered and racialised vision of citizenship.

In the first decade after the war, many of the students who received support were former prisoners of war or members of the resistance in occupied Eastern Europe, and most were men. To promote their physical and mental rejuvenation, the EUF established a student convalescent home in 1946 at Combloux, a small village in the French Alps. This *maison de repos* became a highly sought-after residence where students went to live during the summer or prior to beginning their studies in France. Unlike other dormitories, Combloux was first and foremost a health resource. The EUF's focus on revitalisation for students mirrors a broader trend in postwar public discourse that centred on the literal and metaphorical rebuilding of the nation. Scholars have shown that gender and race informed this discourse, leading to an emphasis on traditional gender roles and whiteness as the foundation for citizenship. Contemporary notions of gender also elevated men for their labour capacity and ability to reconstruct the economy, whereas women constituted a reproductive labour source to help sustain the population. My research builds on these insights about citizenship and examines how refugee students experienced the reconstruction of postwar France. I furthermore illustrate how physical rejuvenation became part of the integration process for refugees.

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Keywords: higher education, student mobility, gender, international mobility, Western education, war

Professors of Medicine in the Service of Public Education in Hungary 1900–1945 **Medizinprofessoren im Dienst der ungarischen Volksbildung 1900–1945**

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With our research, we are drawing the attention to such a part of the history of the Hungarian medical education and medicine, which, in the first half of the 20th century, meant an active participation in general public education activities. Many of the professors of medicine who taught at universities took a significant role in educating the public and increasing their general health knowledge, with the help of the media of the time, both the press and the radio. During the 20th century many Hungarian professors of medicine believed that it was necessary to tell and emphasize the teaching role of those doctors who taught at universities, besides their excellent professionalism.

Our presentation focuses on the lectures for the public, radio recordings and newspaper articles by Dr. Károly Berde, Professor of Dermatology (1891–1971) at the University of Szeged, then Pécs and Cluj Napoca and the members of the Department of Medicine and Pharmacy of the Transylvanian Museum Association. We would like to present the process of how was the area covered by the professors of medicine of the period and especially of the period between the two world wars expanded their ethnographic activities from the big cities (E.g. Pécs, Cluj Napoca, Szeged, Budapest) to the smallest settlements of the Carpathians.

During the research of the topic, in addition to newspaper articles and radio recordings from the period, the preserved personal papers of Prof. Dr. Károly Berde are a primary source of information, which are analysed by us using traditional methods of historical research. As a result of our research, it can be claimed that, during the given era, medical professors, at the same time also internationally renowned researchers, who gave at least one lecture a month in their field of specialisation at the invitation of various urban associations (E.g. women's associations) and visited smaller settlements several times a year, appeared at all Hungarian universities in the field of public education.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

In unserer Vorschung möchten wir einen Teil der ungarischen Medizingeschichte vorstellen, der bedeutete in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts die Teilnahme an allgemeinen Volksbildungsaktivitäten.

Mehrere an den Universitäten lehrenden Medizinprofessoren übernahmen eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Aufklärung der Bevölkerung und der Erweiterung ihres allgemeinen Gesundheitswissens. In dieser Arbeit urden sie von den zeitgenössischen Medien, sowohl der Presse, als auch dem Radio, stark unterstützt. Im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts sahen mehrere ungarischen Professoren die Notwendigkeit, die Rolle, der an medizinischen Fakultäten lehrenden Lehrkräfte neben ihrer hervorragenden fachlichen Vorbereitung zu artikulieren und zu betonen.

Im Fokus unseres Vortrags stehen die Vorträge, Radioaufnahmen und Zeitungsartikel von dem Dermatologieprofessor Károly Berde (1891–1971), der in den Universitäten von Szeged, Pécs, Cluj-Napoca arbeitete. Daneben möchten wir das Volksbildungsaktivität von den Mitgliedern der Abteilung für medizinische und pharmakologische Wissenschaften der Siebenbürgischen Museumsverein vorstellen. Wir darstellen den Prozess, wie sich das Gebiet, das die



Medizinprofessoren zwischen der Weltkriegszeit von ihren Bildungsaktivitäten von den grossen Städten (z.B. Pécs, Szeged, Cluj-Napoca) bis zur kleinen Siedlung in den Karpaten beeinflussten. Als Ergebnis der Forschung können wir sagen, dass im Bereich der Volksbildung in dieser Zeit an allen ungarischen Universitäten lehrenden Medizinprofessoren auftraten, die auch als Forscher international anerkannt waren und sie haben mindestens eine Vorlesung pro Monat über ihres Fachthema auf Anfrage verschiedener städtischer Vereine – z. B. Frauenvereine – gehalten und besuchten jedes Jahr auch mehrmals kleinere Siedlungen von Ungarn.

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Keywords: Hungary, medical professors, public education, 20th century



Psychology in Brazilian Educational Reforms in the Context of the International Dissemination of the New School

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During the decades of 1920 to 1940, several educational reforms were carried out under the influence of the international New School movement in different regions of Brazil. However, depending on the conceptions and competing interests of the groups in charge of its proposal, Catholic and liberal educators, the reforms expressed different ways of appropriation of the international ideas and experiences, as well as distinct proposals from the transformation of the school and educational practices (Miguel, Vidal & Araujo, 2011). In 1932, through the publication of the *Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education*, the liberal group sought to establish the official version of the renewal movement of education and culture in the country. In the *Manifesto*, they defended that the school should be free, mandatory and lay for all children, boys and girls. They also stated the need to taking into consideration the new scientific discoveries, especially those related to child psychology, in the renewal of teaching practices. The aim of this paper is to analyse the presence of psychology in the Brazilian educational reforms carried out in the indicated period, in the context of the international dissemination of the New School. By proposing that the child should occupy the center of the pedagogical activity, and no longer the teacher, the New School movement gave prominence to psychology which was considered as an innovative field of study that would scientifically substantiate teaching practices. In its experimental aspect, focused on the elaboration and application of mental tests, psychology was able to measure differences in aptitude among students. In its evolutionary aspect, as psychology of development, describes the transformations that children go through during their growth, indicating their needs, which should be considered when designing curricula and planning of pedagogical practices. It presents the results of the research project *Knowledge and Practices in Frontiers: Toward A Transnational History Of Education (1810-...)* (FAPESP).

This paper analyses the references to psychology in the decrees and laws that instituted the reforms carried out in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s in different Brazilian states. The analysis of references to psychology and psychological themes in the texts of the reforms uses the contributions of Thomas Popkewitz on educational reforms, Reinhart Koselleck on the emergence, in modernity, of the idea that men make history. It also resorts to discourse analysis from the Foucaultian perspective, to understand how psychology was considered necessary for the scientific foundation of teaching practices for the fabrication of the citizens desired by the reformers.

The Brazilian educational reforms that sought to promote the modernization of educational practices resorted to the active school and to prestigious theorists of the New School movement in the United States and Europe, among which Dewey, Decroly, Kerschensteiner and Maria Montessori. In many cases, the reformers sought to ensure the study of psychology by teachers and to promote the application of psychological testes to students, with a view to allocating them to classes appropriate to their capabilities.

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Keywords: development, progress, pedagogy, childhood, teachers training

Educational Reforms and Identity Changes in Tunisia (1956–2002). What Impact Did They Have on Teaching Materials and Teachers' Practices?

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Since independence in the 1956, Tunisia has undergone three major reforms of the education system. Undoubtedly, the Charfi reform of 1991 was the most profound, when, with the educational system already Arabized from a linguistic point of view, the minister redefines the Tunisian identity as independent from the rest of the Arab world, in line with a general revisitation of Tunisian identity by the ruling class (Ayachi, 2013, 2015; Lucenti, 2017). The purpose of this paper is to understand how major reforms have affected and been incorporated into teaching materials and teachers' practices. In addition to the analysis of a sample of textbooks – which have contributed to shape the new identity, due to the mandatory use of a unique school textbook produced by the state (Abbassi, 2009) –, the paper is based on primary and secondary sources, such as interviews with teachers and inspectors of education.¹ The interpretation of some historical or mythological characters helps us to understand this element: if previously, before the Charfi Reform, they were conceived as enemies, as they had opposed the Arab advance (given that the main identity axis was the Arab-Muslim one), following the enhancement of the pre-Islamic Mediterranean history of Tunisia, these characters are incorporated into the historical narrative as heroes of the homeland (Jemaï, 1998). However, teachers do not always acknowledge this change. The aim of our analysis is also to highlight discrepancies between the reforms and the effective application and incorporation of their assumptions both in teaching materials and in teaching practices. Between Islamist pressure and institutional repression, the school, through the reforms of the education system, has tried to mediate, defining a “standard” version of what it means to be a Tunisian citizen (Pouessel, 2010). This concept of citizenship was analysed above all starting from the curricula of history, geography and Islamic education, disciplines directly involved in the construction of identity.

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Keywords: Educational reform, Tunisia, identity, school textbooks, teachers' practices



Practices of Indigenization and teacher development

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Indigenous peoples have had educational practices and complex knowledge systems for thousands of years, yet assimilative policies and procedures have resulted in the displacement of Indigenous peoples from their territories, communities, families and educational traditions. As a result, there remains a gap in the inclusion of Indigenous peoples, praxis, ontologies and epistemologies within post-secondary environments.

Canada is currently in an era of reconciliation: having implemented the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and working to fulfill the 94 *Calls to Action* set out by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. As a result, Canada's responsibility is to transform education so that education is no longer a tool of cultural genocide, but one of cultural empowerment. There is a growing demand for Indigenous faculty to teach within post-secondary institutions, and for non-Indigenous teachers to broaden their knowledge base and pedagogies so that they are inclusive of Indigenous knowledges and teaching praxis.

Indigenous models of education present opportunities for transforming traditional, primarily Euro-centric models of education. Though not uniform in nature, Indigenous education calls for centering our responsibility to land and other non-human relations in our curriculum. It encourages respectful relationship building and offers a holistic approach to learning that honour the mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional aspects of all human beings. Indigenous education calls for curriculum to become inclusive of Indigenous voices and asks educators to create space for Indigenous knowledges and ways of teaching and evaluation that may challenge the foundation of their own practice.

This session will provide historic and contemporary context to the importance of braiding Indigenous knowledges into post-secondary education and teacher training, as well as provide examples of best practices in Indigenous pedagogy and curriculum development offered within post-secondary institutions in Canada.

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Keywords: Decolonizing education, Indigenous education, Reconciliation



Disruption and Recovery: Transitions, Transformations and Trends in Histories of Education

Part 1

Chair: Karin Priem

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Discussant: Johannes Westberg

University of Groningen, Holland

In times of radical global precarity and unprecedented change, how might histories of education be researched and written and what might be their utility? This symposium explores how we might do histories of education in times of disaster and disruption, and how methods, theories and sources in the history of education are being transformed or reinterpreted in light of our precarious planetary and emotional condition (E.g., Grosvenor & Priem, 2022; Priem, 2022; Novella, 2022; Sriprakash, 2022).

The unfolding global pandemic, ecological crises, and reckoning with colonial violence have exposed the hubris and failure of anthropocentrism. Human vulnerability and entanglement with the material and natural world has been laid bare. Today, modernist developmental conceptions of change over time, which position the future as the potential fulfilment of that development, look decidedly less assured in a world where the future now heralds unprecedented, catastrophic change. The frameworks of nationhood that rationalised the idea of history as a process of continual movement towards the future with the transcendental human subject as its hero, are now threatened by entangled planetary forces of epidemic and ecological collapse.

The myth of human exceptionalism has been sustained by modernist historiography's emphases on human sovereignty, agency, and development. Histories of education specifically have justified anthropocentric worldviews. Education has been invoked as the place where ideals of human autonomy, freedom, progress, and rights might be developed, realised and learned. Histories of education as a modernising tool, histories of the stratifying effects of education systems, and the development of human subjects and societies have long been written without recourse to their ecological consequences.

This symposium asks: what modes of historical understanding are needed to orient us in the maelstrom of our times? It confronts questions of planetary responsibility and centres entangled relations and post-anthropocentric perspectives. Historians have a crucial role to play in the broad-scale historical thinking needed to provide orientation, build community, and open possibilities for generative ways of making sense of our present and repairing our past and future (Pietsch & Flanagan, 2020). Papers in this symposium consider transformations, transitions, and trends in the history of education that are responding to these conditions.

The first panel explores questions of repair, representation, and ecological relations. Presenters in this panel discuss the ways that the recent pandemic and ecological crises are reshaping conversations about historical research, educational media, and school education. The second panel addresses the vulnerability of humans against concepts of human exceptionalism. Presenters in this panel focus on long lasting emotional disruptions caused by extraction mentalities and past political violations. They unanimously agree that related anxiety, injustice, and trauma urgently need to be addressed in histories of education.



At first sight, the papers of this symposium seem to be surprisingly diverse and unconventional. However, the convenors' ambition is to bring together a wide array of approaches that could inspire new pathways for the history of education in times of socio-ecological disruption. The central question of this symposium is how historians of education could overcome anthropocentric world views and human exceptionalism by acknowledging the vulnerability of the planet, the human body and mind, other living beings, and the material world.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma.



Ethics of Repair: Towards Some Principles of Reparative Histories of Education

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In the wake of the global pandemic and ecological crises, Karin Priem laid down a series of directives for the future of the field. Priem urged historians to “adopt a critical view of the history of human exceptionalism and its educational consequences,” shift analytically towards ecological relations, and radically historicise “educational norms and values from a post-anthropocentric perspective” (Priem, 2022, p. 11). This conceptual paper takes up that challenge by introducing the idea of “reparative justice” to the conversation. It suggests that an “ethics of repair” (McLaren, 2018) underpinning future research agendas in the field might open paths towards reparative histories of education.

Approaching an ethics of repair prompts consideration of the “moral debts” of injustice (i.e., climate, colonial, and racialised injustice) and compels us to consider interrelations between past, present and future in order to address intergenerational ethical failure and responsibility. In this way, histories of education might form part of a broader project – recently theorised as “reparative futures of education” – which asks what forms of reparative redress are required to make education systems more just and to prevent the recurrence of injustice (Sriprakash, 2022). Historians of education have a vital role to play in making sense of the afterlives of violence which are history’s present. This includes exposing the role of education broadly in “justifying human exceptionalism” (Priem, 2022, p. 12) and radically re-historicising educational pasts from entangled, post-anthropocentric perspectives, work that is already underway (See i.e., McCoy et al., 2016; Nxumalo, 2019; Sriprakash et al., 2022).

This expository paper resists a normative rendering of reparative histories asking instead: What might reparative histories of education look like? How might reparative principles support historical research in education? It surveys some established examples where histories of education have been used for reparative projects including truth commissions, restitution of cultural artefacts, and heritage restoration. Drawing on these examples, it canvasses a series of principles from which to conceive an ethics of repair for histories of education including care/concern (Honig, 2017), complex implication (Miles, 2022), and integrity.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma.



Towards Ecological Perspectives in Southern African History of Education

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The implications and consequences of the global pandemic, ecological crisis and colonial violence require the attention of historians of education. But how is this addressed from African perspectives? This paper will take Southern Africa as a case and juxtapose emerging frameworks, themes and debates in environmental and educational historiography.

The field of environmental history has a long history in South Africa. Its broad outlines, changes over time and differing schools of thought have been traced in recent overviews. (Carruthers, 1990; Carruthers, 2013; Swart, 2018; Wynn, Carruthers & Jacobs, 2022). What Swart termed “a strong tide of environmental determinism,” the “geographic expression” of the biological determinism of social Darwinism was displaced in the latter part of the twentieth century by social historians who explored a range of new themes. These included racialised state regulation of the environment, land dispossession and alienation, and struggles over resources. Environmental history became embedded within a social history frame. Human exceptionalism and sustainable development frames were questioned. Connections with and differences from Northern environmental histories have been traced. The nature and politics of ecological justice initiatives in relation to those in the North has been explored. The decolonial turn and emphasis on indigenous knowledge have recently also been taken up. It can be argued that the field is alive with debate about the broader questions posed by colonial violence, the global pandemic, and climate crisis, and that post-anthropocentric approaches have a clear place within it. The field has grown exponentially, in contrast to history of education, a sub-field that has dwindled. History of education in South Africa is a small field with disparate emphases and limited debate specifically focused on the implications of the pandemic and ecological crisis, but more debate on the history of colonial violence. Assessments since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994 have come to the paradoxical conclusion that the history of education has tailed off considerably since a high point in the late apartheid period (Cross Carpentier & Mehdi, 2009; Kallaway, 2012 and 2017). This decline has been linked to how neoliberalism and a market orientation in higher education have driven out interest in history. Nonetheless, pockets of research remain. The bulk of it is linked to the history of apartheid and education. But there is also significant research on empire and education (Kallaway and Swartz, 2016; Swartz, 2019) and a new wave of work that emphasises the importance of delinking from hegemonic Western ways of knowing through rescuing indigenous knowledge systems from “the snare of global coloniality.” (Ndlovu, 2014)

By examining major differences and synergies between these two broad fields, the paper will raise the question of the extent to which each addresses and enables post-anthropocentric perspectives. The paper will conclude with an extrapolation of the implications for new thematic directions in histories of education within African contexts that focus on ecological relations.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma.



Revisiting the Past, Setting Grounds for the Future: Exploring Ecological Shifts in Brazilian Education Narratives

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One of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic worldwide was renewed interest, from different segments of society, in revisiting previous pandemics including their impacts and measures. During the first year of the pandemic in 2020 with the suspension of on-site classes, Brazilian magazines and newspapers published articles exploring previous health crises, characterising this as a “rediscovery of the process”. These articles often mentioned school architecture, open-air schools, and the Brazilian hygienist movement. They focused on the impacts of COVID-19 on Brazilian education, explored international and Brazilian experiences since the beginning of the 20th century, and reflected on solutions for the present and possible changes for the future. Different conceptions of school space appeared in these discussions, from the typical classroom in a building, to the classroom integrated into the external environment, and the virtual classroom. At stake is the concept of the “school model”. This paper explores how recent discussions and research on the environment and sustainable development have affected how the impact of health crises in the history of Brazilian education are being reinterpreted and used to shape new proposals.

In the second half of the 19th century, the hygienist movement took shape in Brazil and greatly impacted the organisation of space and school practices. It included the design of school buildings, furniture, body education and a series of hygiene measures. These measures aimed at the health and formation of a civilised nation to guarantee the country’s progress. At the beginning of the 20th century, with the circulation and appropriation of principles from the new school movement, new practices were incorporated, mainly in children’s education. The concern with the school, with appropriate sanitary conditions and adaption to the child’s body, remained. Still, other characteristics emerged – for example, outdoor activities and greater integration of children with nature. Brazil was undergoing a rapid industrialisation process in this period, and education focused on preparing for life in a liberal society.

As an initial hypothesis, I assume that the recent perception of the relationship between children and their surroundings preserves some structuring elements from the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, but that it also incorporates new understandings related to sustainability and the protection of the environment. News published during the COVID-19 pandemic identified during a survey for the Education & Pandemics Archive is the starting point for my analysis which is primarily based on the notions of school space and school model. Some guiding questions are: What changes in the perception of school space/school model can be identified in the news when revisiting past experiences motivated by current health crises? To what extent are recent discussions about environmental preservation incorporated into these reinterpretations?

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma.



How to reform infant education: training courses for Montessori teachers organised by Umanitaria Society in Milan (1911–1920)

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The aim of this paper is to investigate the significant role played by the Umanitaria Society, an Italian reforming socialist institution, in promoting social and educational changes in Italy at the beginning of the 20th century. The sources of this archival research are: the documents preserved in the Historical Archive of Umanitaria in Milan; the Italian Journal “La Cultura Popolare” [The popular culture], publishing years 1911–1922.

Through the study of the articles published in this journal, which were analysed in detail by the author and categorised by keywords, it was possible to trace the main directions of a reform movement called “Unione dell’Educazione Popolare” [Popular Education Union], that was guided by the Umanitaria Society. The Union had been working to promote culture in several fields, such as popular libraries, popular universities, social housing, professional education, schooling. In particular, to reform educational practice, they believed that it was essential to start from the beginning: infant education. Therefore, when the Montessori method came to the attention of the General Secretary of Umanitaria, Augusto Osimo, he enthusiastically decided to seek the collaboration of Doctor Montessori to organise a House of Children in Milan, in 1908 (Pironi, 2022). There was a strong common denominator between Umanitaria and Montessori pedagogy: the idea of self-help and self-education (Pozzi, 2015). But how was it possible to reform educational practise without teacher training?

Osimo, with the collaboration of Montessori’s disciples Anna Maria Maccheroni (Pironi, 2021) and Anna Fedeli, organized and implemented six training courses for Montessori teachers between 1911 and 1920. The analysis of the documents collected in the Historical Archive of Umanitaria has helped to reconstruct the characteristics of the training and its purposes. These courses were an innovative experiment, in particular the ones that took place between 1914 and 1916, because the program included, in addition to the Montessori Method, several different subjects, such as: Infant psychology and physiology, Pedagogical anthropology, PE, Natural Sciences (or observation of natural facts), Drawing. The purpose of this curriculum was to train globally the future educators. As the key competence for a Montessori teacher is to stand back and observe the child, the lesson of Drawing was particularly aimed to develop and improve student’s observation skills. The last course took place in 1920 and it was very important, because Maria Montessori herself came back to Italy to teach. In 1923, unfortunately, the extremely significant collaboration between Maria Montessori and Augusto Osimo came to an end, because of the death of the General Secretary. In conclusion, this paper might help to examine an educational reform movement that tried to initiate change in Italian infant education by implementing the Montessori method. The topic can also encourage a critical reflection on the importance and complexity of teacher training when introducing new educational methods.

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Keywords: Umanitaria Society, Maria Montessori, Pre-school education, Italy



The Reform of Teacher Training Colleges in Times of Revolutionary Crisis (1974–1976)

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Portugal, April 1974. At dawn on the 25th, a military movement broke out that determined the end of the Estado Novo. A certain ambiguity remained around the concept of democracy (or democratic regime). For more than a year and a half, Portuguese society experienced a time of transition where the question of the regime was open, the so-called Ongoing Revolutionary Process (PREC).

In terms of education, the Ministry of Education was caught up during restructuring. Circumstance to be considered given that the State held (and holds) a central role in educational policy. Also, a very particular moment due to the central role given to education in the debate on the social model of development. The political conjuncture generated a mandate for the educational system, assigning it the objectives of achieving the democratization of success and combating social inequalities (Stoer et al., 1990).

In the field of education, at the level of debate and ideological action, two ways of conducting the revolutionary process were confronted, that of grassroots dynamics and that of instrumentalization (Ferreira & Mota, 2013). The grassroots dynamic was based on the mobilizing action of the actors' intervention in the life of each school and on the local construction of the democratic process, defending direct democracy. It presented itself as a democratically legitimized power, alternative and limiting of a more uniform intervention by the Ministry of Education. The other tendency followed a centralizing logic based on a defined ideological model, associated with the experiences and logic of regimes of centralizing (statist) socialism. It fought for a dynamic from the center to the periphery, based on the instrumentalization of dimensions of school knowledge, ideological principles and techniques for organizing society. It asserted itself in domains where democratic legitimacy did not guarantee the popular social movement. The path of instrumentalization, supported by the homogenizing intervention of the State combined with some permeability to local circumstances, initiated a reform of teacher training colleges, fighting for the teacher training that the transformations demanded and attempted to create an anti-fascist and democratic school.

The communication focuses on the ideological debate, purposes, content and meaning of the 1974–1976 teacher training colleges reform. It seeks to elucidate which teacher was intended to form. The analysis calls for documentary sources, actors' speeches, produced in the education and teaching press, in different publications, and in oral testimonies collected in an interview situation. The sources were subjected to the critical method and content analysis, proceeding also to their triangulation. We approach study plans and new subjects, as well as initiatives such as contact activities, intervention activities and optional subjects.

The experiential and innovative character of some initiatives should be underlined. Although ideologically marked and temporally dated, they were worthy of a closer appreciation. The period of the pedagogical experiments proved to be too short to allow for any consolidation or



to draw significant conclusions from it. Furthermore, the very special conditions experienced at the time did not facilitate any attempt or rehearsal, more or less naive, of transposition.

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Keywords: teacher training colleges, teacher training, Ongoing Revolutionary Process (PREC), pedagogical experiences



The Research Seminar and Writing as an Experimental Craft in Walter Benjamin

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While notably heterogenous, Walter Benjamin's formative path in higher education – having attended the universities of Freiburg, Humboldt zu Berlin and Bern (1912–1925) – took place under the model of the research seminar. Its origins can be traced back to late 18th century Germany (Paz & Ó, 2018), with further developments in the early eighteenth hundreds, when – under the influence of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Schleiermacher – the University of Berlin (1810) was founded on the principles of academic freedom and the merger of teaching and research (Anderson, 2004). This model posits a *methodology of singularisation in access to knowledge* (Ó, 2019) through communal readings, “a model that the student should follow so that he might scientifically grasp an object in order to arrive at new, rationally scrutinised, knowledge”. In such a setting “study should aim for the acquisition of specialised knowledge” (Rüegg, 2004, p. 22).

Despite never attaining a professorship, with Frankfurt University officials recommending that Benjamin withdraw his thesis from consideration as his Habilitation (1925), Benjamin was able to map out a very concrete plan of his research process around the practice of writing, which we regard as a particular development of the research seminar. This paper seeks to examine a number of research seminar *topoi* in Benjamin's work – a highly experimental brand of “constructive fragmentarism” – as a means to reflect on the historian's craft (Ó & Vallera, 2020). We thus propose an analysis of and in the company of Walter Benjamin focusing on four primary themes in which the connection between his work and the research seminar is most apparent:

First of all, the German academic ecosystem: determining its historical and geographic context will allow us to examine the higher education universe in which Benjamin trained and worked and that he would eventually leave behind in the mid-1920s.

Secondly, Benjamin's yearning for a “a free life for youth unsupervised by parents or other authorities of the bourgeois world” (Witte, 1991, p. 23). By describing the German philosopher's social and intellectual circles, we hope to identify a specific kind of literary community, circulating both within and on the margins of academia, which could be defined as both an experience of and a thought from the Outside.

Thirdly, the idea of the seminar as a heterotopia, a space or counter-site that is entirely *other* in relation to conventional schooling praxis: by looking at Benjamin's radically experimental archival and research practices, we aim to uncover the operative writer's unwavering focus on method and methodological problematisation, in other words, on the experiential and constructive aspects of writing that are seldom discussed in present-day scientific and educational institutions.

Lastly, the philosopher's quasi-messianic aspiration towards a “communism of writing” and his desire to inhabit a world in which the text has become a “common good”: locating Benjamin's statements on the democratisation of writing will enable us to reflect more broadly on the idea of the research seminar as a space for imagination and projection into the future.



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Keywords: research seminar, history of university, academic writing, Walter Benjamin



School Attendance and Truancy: The Tensions Between Inclusion and Exclusion

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The issue of school attendance is a prominent contemporary concern, demonstrated by the presence of the International Network for School Attendance which promotes research, resources and projects related to addressing school attendance. The issue of absenteeism, and in particular truancy, has been a reoccurring concern over the last half century with Denis Gleeson arguing that “compulsory education and school non-attendance constitute two faces of the same coin” (Gleeson, 1992, p. 438). Scholarly and pedagogical attention to this problem is prominent in the United Kingdom (E.g. Reid, 2003, p. 347), however, less historical and scholarly attention has been afforded this issue in Australia.

This paper examines reports on the problem of truancy and school attendance from the 1980s and 1990s in Australia, including “Truancy and Exclusion from School: Report of the Inquiry into Truancy and Exclusion of Children and Young People from School” from 1996 and “Skipping School: An Examination of Rruancy in Victorian Secondary Schools” from 1984. Through this examination, the tensions between school desires for inclusion of students and problems of exclusion are discussed, particularly in relation to the settler colonial context of Australia. By paying close attention to how institutions of the settler colonial state have positioned and related to Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, including how the welfare system and education system have worked together to control Aboriginal young people’s movement (See McCallum, 2017; Marsden, 2021), this paper considers how truancy and school attendance agendas may be woven into broader settler colonial state functions.

Education reform in Australia has been strongly concerned with notions of school inclusion as migration and First Nations activism has produced growing awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity, however, racial politics and the legacies of colonialism produce tensions between inclusion and exclusion. The lens on debates about school attendance and truancy at the end of the 20th century offers insights into these tensions and the challenges for considering possibilities for education justice beyond inclusion.

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Keywords: Truancy, inclusion, exclusion, settler colonialism, Australia



Identical Roots, Different Development Outcomes: Professional Training of Secondary School Teachers in Central and Eastern Europe in the Interwar Period

Part 1

Chair: Zoltán András Szabó

Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Discussant: Simonetta Polenghi

Univerity Cattolicá del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy

The Prussian concept of higher education reforms in the early 19th century under the idea of neo-humanism and thus the concept of training secondary teachers for the newly emerging secondary schools played a pivotal role in shaping the contours of a new professional group. The neo-humanistic ideal of secondary school teachers was to foment slow social reforms and thus transform social structures without causing an upheaval.

The Humboldtian ideas-inspired reforms in higher education influenced universities in the Hapsburg Empire in consequence of the revolutions in 1848–1849, which almost toppled the ruling dynasty. As a result, reforms were put in place including those related to higher education and the training of secondary school teachers which had been inspired by the Prussian decrees of 1810 and 1831 associated with teacher training. Since the Prussian concept of the unification process created the German Empire in 1871, it became obvious that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its higher education institutions would remain in a recipient role thanks to the enormous political and cultural influence of the new empire on nations in Central and Eastern Europe. The impact of the Prussian-type teacher training appears to have been the outcome of shared historical experience and the German language that was regarded as a lingua franca in countries with heterogeneous ethnic backgrounds such as those in the Monarchy.

The Prussian decrees of 1866 and 1887 were to further determine the trajectory of the development of the teacher training systems in the Monarchy. For the last time before the Great War, the teacher training system was modified on 15th June 1911 by decree 24.113 of the Ministry of Religion and Education. This order could be regarded as a reference point at least from two perspectives. First, the reform implied augmented the Prussian model of teacher training structure. Second, the decree inspired legislative initiatives in all parts of the Monarchy, which were to secede later on as a result of the Paris Peace Treaties between 1919 and 1921.

The primary aim of the symposium is to reveal how the training systems of secondary school teachers were transformed in Central and Eastern Europe in the interwar period, in which political, economic and social circumstances dramatically changed as a result of the war. The liberal political order and the Herbartianism within it as primary drives of the professionalisation processes of secondary school teachers came to an end only to be replaced by authoritarian and totalitarian regimes with nationalistic motives fuelled by sentiments of revenge for the perceived post-war injustices traumatising their countries and setting them against the beneficiaries of the Peace Treaties.

Participants of the symposium are to set out in their contributions as to how the teacher training systems in their countries were altered by the new social and political realities after 1918. Special attention will be focused on whether the training of secondary school teachers could be regarded as a continuation of professionalisation or rather that of



deprofessionalisation due to state intrusion into the professional affairs of the training institutions.

The symposium will feature two panels. In the two panels, German, Austrian, Hungarian, Czech and Romanian cases are to be discussed since these countries were badly shaken by the outcome of the war or arose as new states as a result of peace treaties. Various case studies with different relations to the new political reality resulting from the end of the war might shed light on how reform initiatives in different political systems affected the professional training of secondary teachers that once used to have common origins.

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period

The Professionalization of Teacher Ethos in the Interwar Period – The Case of Humanistische Lebenskunde

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After World War I., there were numerous attempts in Germany to improve the nation's situation by improving the training of teachers. Despite extensive research on professionalisation measures that led to a standardisation and identification of teacher training in Germany after the World War I., the intensive, yet unsuccessful, interventions and efforts to professionalise teacher training offered by liberal-humanist educators in the context of the Movement for Ethical Culture in Germany have so far remained unconsidered (Engelmann, 2022; Wright, 2008). In the context of the German Society for Ethical Culture – influenced by the Lebensreform movement – a secularised conception of morality – which in turn was an adaptation of the moral education outlined by Max Adler in the USA – was used as the basis for advocating the introduction of the subject Lebenskunde (Penzig, 1918a, b). The aim was clear: In particular, the moral code of conduct of teachers had to be improved to prevent another catastrophe like the Great War. The ethos of the pedagogical profession was to be professionalised by rationalisation to shape society in turn (Engelmann, 2023). Actors such as Rudolph Penzig, Otto Conrad and Wilhelm Müller advocated a professionalisation of teacher training, which they saw in the change of ethos, the abolition of compulsory religious education and a democratisation of teachers' pedagogical practice. In the context of this talk, the question of how the professionalisation of teacher ethos and practice was discussed in the interventions of aforementioned network of communication. Additionally, the talk answers the question what attempts were made to redesign school in the sense of secular morality. The questions are answered with recourse to discussions in the journal *Weltliche Schule – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Bund für weltliche Schule und Moralunterricht* and other key texts of the discussion. At the same time, this line of debate is linked back to the larger discussion about the professionalisation of teacher education in this period. In this way, the article complements the research discussion and offers new insights into the various – politically motivated – attempts to professionalise teacher education.

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period



Teacher Education for Secondary School Teachers in Austria in the interwar period

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This paper intends to contribute to the proposed symposium “Identical roots, different development outcomes: professional training of secondary school teachers in Central and Eastern Europe in the interwar period”. Teacher education in Austria is closely connected to questions of school organisation, especially with regard to the question of whether secondary level 1 is or should be run as a comprehensive school or in performance-selective school types. After World War I. and the end of the monarchy, in the phase of the constitution of the First Republic of Austria, the school laws of the monarchy initially remained in force: thus, two tracks of lower secondary schools were available: “Bürgerschulen” [citizen schools] on the side of the lower (compulsory) school system alongside “Gymnasien” and “Realschulen” for higher education.

Teachers for citizen schools were trained at teacher training colleges introduced in 1869 by the Reichsvolksschulgesetz [Imperial People’s School Act]. Teachers for Gymnasium and Realschule were trained at the universities. In the 1920s, this two-tracked secondary education was fiercely debated, starting from Otto Glöckl’s school experiments on comprehensive schools in Vienna. These debates concerned school organisation, teacher training as well as the legal basis, and were strongly influenced by the positions of the two establishing political directions: Christian-social and socialist.

The contribution deals with positions, debates and provisions regarding teacher education in the 1920s in Austria leading to the compromising legislation in 1927 (“Hauptschulgesetz” and “Mittelschulgesetz”), and gives an outlook until the end of the First Republic as well.

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period

State Intrusion into or Self-fulfilment of Professionals: The Reform of Teacher Training in Hungary in the early 1920s

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After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a new age commenced in Hungary, which is often referred to as the Horthy-era. In that new epoch, the country had to adapt its social structures to the new geopolitical realities resulting from the Paris Treaties of 1920 severely affecting the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

In the early 1920s, several economic and social reforms were put into place to cope with the crisis arising from the imposed curtailment of the country. These reform initiatives also impacted the training of secondary school teachers, whose training system had been considered outdated even before the war. The reform process took six years to give rise to the amendment of the teacher examination regulations and the implementation of a dedicated bill for secondary school teacher training (the 27th Act of Parliament in 1924).

The aim of this presentation is twofold. The primary one is to analyse both the reform of the teacher examination regulations and the legislative process leading to the passing of a dedicated bill for teacher training. The second is to offer a different interpretation of the reform process deviating from the current perception prevailing in the ongoing Hungarian secondary teacher training-related literature.

To fulfil these aforementioned aims, primary sources of the Hungarian National Archives and the Archive of the Eötvös Loránd University are to be involved in the investigation. The primary sources are going to be examined by the documentary analysis of archival sources. Furthermore, a secondary literature review as an additional method will also be used in this investigation to compare the findings of the archive research with the claims of the literature. As for the interpretation theory, the critical approach to the professionalization processes will be adopted as an interpretive frame for explaining the findings of the research. This approach has been invented by historians convinced that the role of the state power cannot be ignored in the professionalisation process of intellectuals in Central and Eastern Europe. Within this theoretical framework, the notion of deprofessionalisation might offer a different perspective on the reforms of the examination regulations and the approval of the bill. Deprofessionalisation in itself appears to suggest, however, that the professional development of intellectuals could be hindered or “reversed” in case of the direct intervention of state power into professional affairs.

By using the notion of deprofessionalisation in the interpretation of the reform processes, a different perspective is to arise, which is deviating from the perception of the current literature. The professional institutions finalised the text of the new teacher examination rules in early 1923 and submitted it for approval by the ministry. However, the ministry responsible for higher education affairs managed to pass a bill related to teacher training in 1924, which brought pressure on the professional institutions to amend the already finalised regulations abiding by the new law. A direct intrusion into the reform process gives prominence to the end of cooperation between the state and professionals once prevalent in the era of the Monarchy.

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period



Natives, Settlers and Nature: Ecological Impulses and the Scramble for Empire in Progressive Education

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When he was “a little boy,” Francis Parker (1889, pp. 480–481) recalled at the 1889 meeting of the (United States) National Education Association, “my father died, and I went out in the country to work on a rocky farm.” Although “I did not know I was studying botany,” he explained, “there was not a plant, a flower, or a tree on that dear old New Hampshire farm but what I know to-day.” Still, despite anticipating John Dewey’s notion that productive homestead activity constituted an ideal education, Parker, whom Dewey deemed “the father of progressive education,” associated the beginnings of childhood as much with the Native as with settlers. “The little child is [...] a savage [...] a little ‘Injun,’” Parker preached to the NEA. The (white) child’s education was best initiated by impersonating the “savage” and interacting savage-like with the natural world. In order not “to crush divine tendencies out of a child,” educators needed to offer “less spelling-books, less grammar, less figures, and more of the light of nature.”

Parker’s comments suggest the complex history of educators’ efforts to develop children’s ecological consciousness through the experience of nature. Simultaneous calls to emulate the Native and the settler were commonplace among the progressive educators who promoted nature study and activity in the United States. This paper traces their thinking and activity simultaneously to a democratic critique of industrial capitalism and to the rationalization of colonialism. Doing so, the paper argues that US nature study and activity mirrored the contradictory impulses of progressive education more broadly, not only in the US but across the colonizing world.

While nature activities sometimes encouraged critical social consciousness and social reform, as Mischa Honeck (2018, p. 284) argues, it “recast imperial practices” as the innocent “masculine adventure,” a stance that allowed “white upper- and middle-class men [...] to engage the world with clean hands.” Meanwhile, for girls, nature activities (such as those described, for instance in Agnes Baden-Powell’s (1912) *How Girls Can Help Build Up the Empire*) modelled ways to combine active learning by doing with self-abnegation. This paper argues that in this, as in its effacement of imperialism through images of benevolence and innocence, it epitomized progressive education.

As Marcelo Caruso, Sabine Reh and Eckhardt Fuchs (2020, p. 3) argue, progressives simultaneously championed “natural,” Rousseauvian methods of teaching and the transformation of “untamed, animal-like creatures” into “real,” civilized humans. This paper places colonialism at the center of that incongruity. Whereas the Native’s presumed failure to transform nature rendered his activity unproductive, play-like and child-like, white settlers’ cultivation of the land marked the start of productive activity. Thus, what Katrin Sieg (2009, pp. 76–77) calls “colonizing acts of ventriloquizing the subaltern” served to set the stage for their antitheses – experiencing pristine nature foreshadowed settlement and rendered it innocent. The paper traces these impulses in nature study and in Boy and Girl Scouts, summer camps, and playground creation, which were arguably progressive educators’ most pervasive and successful reform initiatives. The paper relies on archival collections and the published works of educators and reformers.



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Keywords: colonialism, nature study, progressive education



Bernard Crick and Education for Citizenship

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Bernard Crick (1929–2008) was a British political theorist and public intellectual who was actively engaged in British politics from the second half of the 20th century. Beginning in the 1950s, Bernard Crick took up teaching and published numerous influential works, such as *The American Science of Politics* (1959), *In Defence of Politics* (1962), *The Reform of Parliament* (1964) and *Political Theory and Practice* (1972). Throughout his life, Crick constantly promoted his political theories and emphasised the importance of political relevance. According to Jeffery (2009), Crick is a practitioner of British political science who stressed the need for political relevance. In this respect, through reviewing Crick's engagements in contemporary British society, it can be found that his theories, which serve as a coherent and consistent logic, play an influential role in shaping his political practice, such as citizenship education.

Specifically, in 1997, Crick was appointed by his former student, David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education, to chair the Advisory Group to provide advice on teaching citizenship and democracy in schools. A year later, on 22nd September 1998, the report 'Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools' was published, referred to as the 'Crick Report', setting out the vision and ambition for promoting citizenship education in secondary schools in England. As his abiding passion, Crick gained the opportunity to promote citizenship education as a compulsory subject in the national curriculum in England secondary schools when he chaired the Advisory Group, through which he incorporated his democratic ideals into practice. Based on this background, this paper will undertake a qualitative case study with a mixed approach of archives and semi-structured interviews to explore how Crick's democratic legacies influenced his contributions to citizenship education and evaluate the emergence, development, and outcome of the Crick Report and its impacts on citizenship education in England. In this regard, it is necessary to first introduce Crick himself and his democratic legacies such as civic republicanism and active citizenship, and his approaches towards citizenship education, seen as a means for Crick to achieve his democratic ideals.

By critically engaging with the literature, one of the rationales of this paper would be contributing to filling in a gap in current knowledge about Crick's democratic legacies and his contributions to promoting the development of citizenship education in England, and most importantly, the crucial link between them. This paper will also indicate how the particular case study of Crick's democratic legacies will contribute to the existing approaches towards the history of citizenship education. For policymaking, the findings of this paper may provide a unique perspective that might be of interest to education and policy analysis on future reforms in citizenship education. Last but not least, this paper will be helpful in shedding light on the values of Crick's legacies and the importance of citizenship education in resisting challenges and mediating democracy in a market society.

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Keywords: Bernard Crick, citizenship education, Crick Report



The Construction of “All” in a School for All – The Swedish Comprehensive School Reform 1946–1975

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In the mid 19th-century Europe, an increased belief in a democratic, equal education for all led to extensive educational reforms. In the Nordic countries, the Welfare model shaped the development of the Nordic school systems (Ydesen & Buchardt, 2020). The main idea was a uniform and free education for all children, regardless of background and social conditions, which would lead to equality, justice and social cohesion (Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006). With the implementation of the compulsory and comprehensive school, *enhetsskolan*, the Swedish school system brought about a school-for-all, where all children entered the same school form, and no ability- or intellectually-based differentiation was to take place until secondary school. We suggest, however, that comprehensive methods for early differentiation were used already at the time of school entry. Testing for School readiness was a pronounced form of sorting, which took place in most Swedish municipalities between 1946 and 1975. These tests were motivated to help the individual child and as a means to identify the right time to start school and receive the educational content. At the same time, there was a widespread ambiguity concerning the concept of school readiness, with different connotations and uses, on national as well as international levels (Ljungblad, 1965; Winter & Kelly, 2008). We here try to understand precisely how the ambiguities of the concept can be seen as a prerequisite for the implementation of the tests.

In order to better understand processes of educational reforms, and in particular the seemingly contradictory positions concerning sensitive topics like diversity and differentiation, we will look at various motives, arguments and actions when it comes to school readiness tests. This study is delimited particularly to the political debate between 1946–1975, when these tests were debated in the parliament and put into use through various reforms, to finally become abandoned. Our overarching question concerns how the idea of a school for all requires a definition and delimitation of all, and that these conceptions were constructed in relation to techniques for inclusion and exclusion. In this respect, we treat school readiness as a boundary object, in the sense of an ambiguous concept.

Theoretically, we argue that this ambiguity actually contributes to the attractiveness of ‘school readiness’, as advocates of different positions can unite behind it. Analytically we will treat school readiness as a boundary object (Star & Griesemer, 1989).

Our data consists of approximately 150 uses of school readiness in various government texts such as bills, investigations and propositions 1944–1975, extracted from open parliament data (riksdagsdata.oru.se).

In our data, we for example find that politicians were aware of school readiness being a contested concept, yet they promoted various techniques for early sorting, such as tests, observations and temporary placements. We also see tendencies to use school readiness as an argument both for and against early differentiation. In the political engineering of the tension between diversity and differentiation, our historical analysis shows that the vagueness of certain concepts becomes a necessity for systems to function.



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Keywords: school readiness, inclusion, boundary objects, school reform



Scientific Societies of History of Education: Connecting Researchers, Networking, and Promoting Changes

Chair: Andrés Paya-Rico

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The History of Education as a distinct field of knowledge has faced many changes throughout history. It burst into the academic and scientific spheres around the mid-20th century, especially since the formation of academic scientific societies and the apparition of specialised journals. Considering the fast-paced political, social, and intellectual environments that surround education and history, the history of education itself has experienced deep changes both in the subjects of study and in the objectives or the methods and sources. Therefore, the way technology spreads across countries is central to how the History of Education is generated and shared across countries.

In History of Education there is a broad community of highly active researchers, operating within a relatively dense network of communication channels, and global spaces for academics to mingle. Currently, it boasts no fewer than 31 scientific societies, and many local, regional, national, and international seminars, symposia and congresses.

Since the sixties, progressively, and sometimes synchronously, other national, transnational, and international scientific societies have appeared, intending to study and promote the history of education, both in academic spheres and through scientific communication networks and spaces. These scientific association initiatives have different scopes: global (International Standing Conference for the History of Education – ISCHE), regional (Sociedad de Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana – SHELA), and transnational (Australian & New Zealand History of Education Society – ANZHES; Baltic Association of Historians of Pedagogy – BPVA). Still, most of them have a national scope, trying to respond to the needs and interests of the communities of historians of education settled in those territories. It goes without saying that the mapping of a discipline must begin with the analysis of scientific production, fundamentally through journals, books, and dissertations and the study of the scientific societies that build up communication networks and spaces. This preformed panel, without pretending to be exhaustive, aims to clarify the role of scientific societies to support, shape, or promote the history of education, generating scientific communication networks and spaces by building on the literature and country examples. To this end, the similarities and differences among different societies and networks will be studied as it can thereby provide an integrative framework for understanding relations among distinct researchers and lines of inquiry. The processes of global configuration of the academic spaces of History of Education, particularly through some scientific societies and associations, and the series of congresses sponsored by them will be analysed. Some aspects related to the internationalisation of History of Education must be highlighted, such as language policies, places of production, geopolitical focuses of attention of researchers, the weight of comparative, international, or transnational approaches to study, and the global collaboration networks established through team research. Ten researchers from ten different universities and four countries participate in this panel, which consists of four contributions:



1. Scientific Societies of History of Education in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.
2. Scientific Societies of History of Education in France, Italy, and Greece.
3. Scientific Societies of History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula.
4. Scientific Societies of History of Education in Latin America.

This preformed panel is a continuation of previous works and participation in the SWG Mapping History of Education (ISCHE) and it is part of the Connecting History of Education Working Group activity.

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Scientific Societies of History of Education in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada

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This contribution aims to analyse the processes of configuration of the scientific societies and associations of the History of Education in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The sources used for this purpose are the documents produced by the scientific societies or associations (Statutes, Minutes of General Assemblies, programs and abstract books of conferences), as well as specialised literature. Some production aspects related to the internationalisation of the History of Education must be highlighted, such as language policies, places of production, geopolitical focuses of attention of researchers, the weight of comparative, international, or transnational approaches to study, and the global collaboration networks established through team research.

The two scientific societies studied will be the Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, ANZHES, and the Canadian History of Education Association/ Association canadienne d'histoire de l'éducation, CHEA/ACHÉ.

In Australia and New Zealand, the community of historians of education began to articulate itself around the ANZES established in 1971, during a time when many such scholarly associations were being formalised in Australia and internationally. A key impetus for the foundation of ANZHES was the expansion of university-based teacher education and the concomitant need to supply properly researched raw material for the history of education units that were then an integral part of teacher preparation courses.

In the society itself, there is a longstanding disproportion between representation from Australia and New Zealand, and membership within Australia has been dominated numerically by the eastern cities of Melbourne and Sydney. Given how small the history of education is as a field, societies like ANZHES can offer invaluable opportunities for debate and discussion, and for the development of new themes in the field, through their conferences and publications.

The CHEA/ACHÉ was established in 1980. Two scholars, Robert Stamp and Nancy Sheehan, agreed it was high time that a national conference be organised to capitalise on the history of education community already existing in Canada, both at the professorial level and at the levels of Master's theses and doctoral dissertations. Accordingly, they invited six prominent professors to present on topics provided by the two organisers. Since the inaugural conference in 1980, CHEA/ACHÉ has maintained a regular routine of biennial conferences. Four conferences have been held jointly with other national organisations, most notably the History of Education Society (US).

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Keywords: history of education, mapping the discipline, scientific societies, networking



Scientific Societies of History of Education in France, Italy, and Greece

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This contribution aims to analyse the processes of configuration of the scientific societies and associations of the History of Education in France, Italy, and Greece. The sources used for this purpose are the documents produced by the scientific societies or associations (Statutes, Minutes of General Assemblies, programs, and abstract books of conferences), as well as specialised literature. Some production aspects related to the internationalisation of the History of Education must be highlighted, such as language policies, places of production, geopolitical focuses of attention of researchers, the weight of comparative, international, or transnational approaches to study, and the global collaboration networks established through team research.

The scientific societies analysed and the cycles of congresses sponsored by them are: Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educativa (CIRSE); Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo (SIPSE); Service d'histoire de l'éducation (SHE); Association transdisciplinaire pour les recherches historiques sur l'éducation (ATRHE); and the Greek Society of Education Historians (GSEH).

The CIRSE was born in 1980 on the initiative of scholars in the history of education. It has progressively gathered within it both almost all the historians who belong to the specific scientific-disciplinary sector and scholars of other sectors.

The SIPSE was established on 13th September 2017 on the initiative of university professors from twelve Italian universities. The founding members were teachers belonging to the history of pedagogy research units of the universities that already have schools, didactic and educational museums or archives, laboratories, documentation and research centres or who are interested in giving life to these institutions and engaging in studies of the historical-educational heritage.

The SHE is a research structure that has not had and has no equivalent outside of France. From 1977 to 2010, it belonged to the National Institute for Educational Research (INRP), located in Paris. Reporting directly to the Ministry of National Education, the SHE's mission was to shed light on the history of its supervisory ministry by "encouraging and promoting" (in the words of its statute) research on this history, by all appropriate means. Theoretically, for the SHE, therefore, it was less a question of carrying out its own research, than of stimulating this field in the diversity of its actors, academics or not.

The ATRHE was created in 2011. Its members come from a variety of disciplines: education sciences, history, history of science, sociology, science and techniques of physical and sports activities, French language and literature.

The Greek Society of Education Historians (GSEH), a member of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), was founded in 2001. Its members are mainly academics from Greek Universities, as well as researchers and educators committed to this field. There are also corresponding members from other countries.

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Keywords: history of education, mapping the discipline, scientific societies, networking



Scientific Societies of History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula
Las Sociedades Científicas de Historia de la Educación en la Península Ibérica

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This contribution aims to analyse the processes of configuration of the scientific societies of the History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula. The sources used for this purpose are the documents produced by the scientific societies (Statutes, Minutes of General Assemblies, programs, and abstract books of conferences), as well as specialised literature. Some production aspects related to the internationalisation of the History of Education must be highlighted, such as language policies, places of production, geopolitical focuses of attention of researchers, the weight of comparative, international, or transnational approaches to study, and the global collaboration networks established through team research.

In Spain, the first efforts of articulation of the community of historians of Education materialised, first, in the Section of History of Education of the Spanish Society of Pedagogy (1979) and, later, in the Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación, SEDHE, in 1989. Synchronously, with the formation of the SEDHE, a group of researchers in Catalonia (Spain), gave rise to the foundation in 1979 of the Societat d'Història de l'Educació dels Països de Lengua Catalana, SHEPLC. More recently, in 2003, the Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico, SEPHE, was created. The three societies have since launched cycles of congresses, generally every two years.

For its part, the Associação de História da Educação de Portugal, HISTEDUP, was founded in February 2015 as a continuation of the work carried out in previous decades by the Secção de História da Educação of the Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação, SPCE. The process of establishing this Society took place between 1987 and 1989, legally formalised in 1990. Since March 1989, the different sections have been constituted, with Antonio Nóvoa being the coordinator of the History Section. In accordance with its objectives, one of the first initiatives of HISTEDUP was the organisation of the first Iberian Meeting on the History of Education, which took place in San Pedro do Sul, 24th–26th April 1992, from which it was published *The History of Education in Spain and Portugal: Investigations and activities* (Nóvoa & Ruiz Berrio, 1993).

Portuguese and Spanish researchers regularly participate in the annual ISCHE congresses, of which Portugal organized those in Lisbon in 1993 and Porto in 2019 and Spain those in Salamanca in 1985, Barcelona in 1992 and Madrid in 2000. Both countries also regularly participate in the congresses organized by CIHELA, whose organisation they have also been responsible for in different years. The themes of the different national and international congresses organized by the scientific societies of both countries, as well as the contributions presented, are an excellent source for understanding the evolution of the History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula. The scientific societies studied, and the cycles of congresses sponsored by them, are: SEDHE, SEPHE; SHEPLC, and HISTEDUP.

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Abstract (in Language of Presentation):

El objetivo de esta comunicación es analizar los procesos de creación de las sociedades científicas de Historia de la Educación en España y Portugal. Las fuentes utilizadas han sido documentos generados por las mismas sociedades (actas de las asambleas generales, reglamentos, programas de congresos y libros de resúmenes de estos), así como la bibliografía correspondiente. Se subrayan aspectos relacionados con la producción científica de las sociedades como idioma, lugares de producción y los focos espaciales elegidos por los investigadores, el peso de los enfoques comparado, transnacional o internacional, y las redes de trabajo establecidas.

En España, los primeros esfuerzos para articular la comunidad de historiadores de la Educación se concretaron en la Sección de Historia de la Educación de la Sociedad Española de Pedagogía (1979) y, después, en la Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación (1989). A la vez, un núcleo de investigadores en Cataluña (España), promovió la fundación en 1979 de la Societat d'Història de l'Educació dels Països de Llengua Catalana (SHEPLC). En 2003, se creó la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE). Las tres sociedades han puesto en marcha ciclos de congresos, generalmente bianuales.

Por su parte, la Associação de História da Educação de Portugal -HISTEDUP- se fundó en febrero de 2015 como continuación del trabajo desarrollado en décadas anteriores por la Secção de História da Educação da Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação (SPCE). El proceso de constitución de esta Sociedad se desarrolló entre los años de 1987 y 1989 formalizándose legalmente en 1990. Desde 1989 se fueron constituyendo las distintas secciones, siendo António Nóvoa el coordinador de la Sección de Historia. Una de las primeras iniciativas de la HISTEDUP fue la organización del primer Encuentro Ibérico de Historia de la Educación que se desarrolló en San Pedro do Sul en abril de 1992 a partir del cual se publicó *A História da Educação em Espanha e Portugal: Investigações e atividades* (Nóvoa & Ruiz Berrio, 1993).

Los investigadores portugueses y españoles participan de forma regular en los congresos anuales de la ISCHE de los cuales Portugal organizó las de Lisboa en 1993 y Oporto en 2019 y España las de Salamanca en 1985, Barcelona en 1992 y Madrid en 2000. Ambos países participan también asiduamente en los congresos organizados por la CIHELA de cuya organización también han sido responsables en distintos años. Los temas de los distintos congresos nacionales e internacionales organizados por las Sociedades científicas de ambos países, así como las aportaciones presentadas, son una excelente fuente para comprender la evolución de la historia de la educación en la Península Ibérica.

Las sociedades científicas estudiadas son: SEDHE, SEPHE; SHEPLC, e HISTEDUP.

Esta investigación forma parte del Proyecto I+D+i "Connecting History of Education. Redes internacionales, producción científica y difusión global" (CHE) / "Connecting History of Education International networks, scientific production and global dissemination" (CHE) (Ref.: PID2019-105328GB-I00. Convocatoria 2019 – <Proyectos de I+D+i>. Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación. España).

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Keywords: history of education, mapping the discipline, scientific societies, networking



Scientific Societies of History of Education in Latin America **Las Sociedades Científicas de Historia de la Educación en América Latina**

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This contribution aims to analyse the processes of configuration of the scientific societies of the History of Education in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, México, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The sources used for this purpose are the documents produced by the scientific societies (Statutes, Minutes of General Assemblies, programs, and abstract books of conferences), as well as specialised literature. Some production aspects related to the internationalisation of the History of Education must be highlighted, such as language policies, places of production, geopolitical focuses of attention of researchers, the weight of comparative, international, or transnational approaches to study, and the global collaboration networks established through team research. The scientific societies taken as a source and the cycles of congresses sponsored by them are: Associagao Sul-Rio-Grandense de Pesquisadores em História da Educagao (ASPHE) and Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educagao (SBHE), Sociedad Argentina de Investigación y Enseñanza en Historia de la Educación (SAIEHE); Sociedad Chilena de Historia de la Educación (SChHE); Sociedad Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (SOMEHIDE); Sociedad Uruguaya de Historia de la Educación (SUHE); and Sociedad Venezolana de Historia de la Educación (SVHE). They were all funded between 1994 (SChHE) and 2009 (SUHE).

Brazil has two societies. The first began to be articulated at the end of the 1990s, around the ASPHE, founded in 1995, which responded to the interests of a group of university professors from the south of the country, mostly trained in History departments, but who worked in centres dedicated to Educational Sciences and the training of educators. Shortly after, in 1999, responding to the concerns of the national community of historians of education, the SBHE was born, which has also held, since its origins, congresses every two years, which have taken place in different parts of the country.

The Argentine Society for the History of Education (SAHE) was established in 1995, although for administrative reasons, it has recently started to operate on behalf of SAIEHE. It stands out for the organisation of the Argentine Conference on the History of Education and for the publication of the Yearbook on the History of Education.

The organisational background of SOMEHIDE was the constitution of the Inter-institutional Academic Committee for the Promotion and Development of the History of Education in Mexico in 1994, which favoured the identification of those who carried out research activities in the field. The statutes of the SchHE were approved in 1994. The Venezuelan Society for the History of Education (SVHE) was consolidated on 20th November 2004, after a sustained effort over time, which resulted in the formation of Nuclei and Investigation groups. The Uruguayan Society for the History of Education (SUHE) carried out its first activity on 16th October 2009.

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Paper Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

El objetivo de esta comunicación es analizar los procesos de creación de las sociedades científicas de Historia de la Educación en Brasil, Argentina, Chile, México, Uruguay y Venezuela. Las fuentes utilizadas han sido documentos generados por las mismas sociedades (actas de las asambleas generales, reglamentos, programas de congresos y libros de resúmenes de estos), así como la bibliografía correspondiente. Se subrayan aspectos relacionados con la producción científica de las sociedades como idioma, lugares de producción y los focos espaciales elegidos por los investigadores, el peso de los enfoques comparado, transnacional o internacional, y las redes de trabajo establecidas.

Las sociedades científicas estudiadas, y los congresos promovidos por ellas, son: Associagao Sul-Rio-Grandense de Pesquisadores em História da Educagao (ASPHE) and Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educagao (SBHE), Sociedad Argentina de Investigación y Ensenanza en Historia de la Educación (SAIEHE); Sociedad Chilena de Historia de la Educación (SChHE); Sociedad Mexicana de Historia de la Educación (SOMEHIDE); Sociedad Uruguaya de Historia de la Educación (SUHE); and Sociedad Venezolana de Historia de la Educación (SVHE). Todas ellas se crearon entre 1994 (SChHE) y 2009 (SUHE).

Brasil cuenta con dos sociedades. La primera comenzó a articularse a finales de los años noventa del siglo pasado, en torno a la ASPHE, fundada en 1995, que respondía a intereses de un grupo de docentes universitarios del sur del país, en su mayoría formados en Facultades de Historia, pero que trabajaban en centros dedicados a las Ciencias de la Educación y la formación de educadores. Poco después, en 1999, respondiendo a las inquietudes de la comunidad nacional de historiadores de la educación, nació la SBHE, que también ha celebrado, desde sus orígenes, congresos cada dos años, que han tenido lugar en distintos puntos del país.

La Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación - SAHE se constituyó en 1995, aunque por cuestiones administrativas recientemente en nombre de SAIEHE. Destaca por la organización de elijo las Jornadas Argentinas de Historia de la Educación y por la publicación del Anuario de Historia de la Educación.

El antecedente organizativo de SOMEHIDE, fue la constitución del Comité Académico Interinstitucional para el Fomento y Desarrollo de la Historia de la Educación en México en 1994 que favoreció la identificación de quienes realizaban actividades de investigación en el campo. Los estatutos de la SChHE se aprobaron en 1994. La Sociedad Venezolana de Historia de la Educación (SVHE) se consolida el 20 de noviembre de 2004, después de un esfuerzo sostenido en el tiempo, que se traduce en la conformación de Núcleos y Grupos de Investigación. La Sociedad Uruguaya de Historia de la Educación (SUHE) realizó su primera actividad el 16 de octubre de 2009.

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Keywords: history of education, mapping the discipline, scientific societies, networking



Visualization, 'Beautiful' Evidence Andvisualization, 'beautiful' Evidence and Phantasmagrams: A Historical Odyssey to International Student Assessments

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I attended a lecture on nanoscience in which its central question was how to visualize something that cannot be seen. Embedded in the lecture was a broader and historical question of science. How does science visualize phenomena of nature and human events by relocating them into different imaginary spaces that are taken as real for understanding and exploring modes of existence. The problematic of science of creating images and narratives different from actual experiences but practical for its interpretation that has been profitable, but also paradoxically in modernity. A simple (but not so simple) example) are the notions of society or learners; abstractions that appear without any historical home or location, but which act affectively for thinking and acting on different historical conditions about our wellbeing, satisfactions, and actualizations of "self". Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) speak of this quality of modernity as the de-territorialization and its re-territorialization; and Latour as the immobile mobiles of science.

Science as imaginaries that visualize and given a materiality is explored as the interstices of different historical moments:

(1) Historically, the visualization of experience through "data" is a particular historical invention that precedes modernity but assumes importance in modernity in the formation of social and psychological sciences in the 19th century. Their abstractions responded to changes and dislocations through a comparative reasoning that in education created exterior maps of the interiorities- the interior of the child and society that was not merely about the present but inscribed utopic images and narratives.

(2) In the middle of the 20th century, data are re-visualized through theories of cybernetics, methods of mass observations about social life "seen" as R&D- Research and Development- in which people and events are viewed as experimental laboratories, statistics to visualize future potentialities.

(3) These historical lines are (re) visualize and actualizes imagined futures in international assessments, with The Organization for Economic, Co-operation and Development's (OECD)'s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) as an exemplar. Its graphs and charts visualize patterns of recognition and expectations to compare and differentiate the potentialities of development of nations, societies, and people. The visualizations are likened to the 17th century projection machines of the magic lanterns, phantasmagrams of an inclusive education appears as non-polemical benchmarks, competences, literacies, and well-being organized as "highways" of data to activate in policy and professional practices.

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Keywords: visual culture, history of science, the politics of knowledge



Fabricating Normalcy Through Image-Based Assessments: A Brief History of Intelligence and Personality Tests

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In 2018, the OECD launched a pilot study titled *International Early Learning and Child Well-being Study* (IELS) which assesses the emergent literacy, numeracy, self-regulation, and social emotional skills of children at age five. These skills are described as fundamental for children's future achievements in school and later on in adulthood (OECD, 2020). According to the OECD (2015), the IELS will eventually "provide information on the trajectory between early learning outcomes and those at age 15, as measured by PISA" (p. 103). Thus, the basic assumptions underlying the IELS is that intelligence and socioemotional skills can be objectively evaluated and compared, and that they are stable and predictable

Ironically dubbed the 'Baby PISA', the IELS has already drawn a great deal of criticism, which tends to be in line with that of PISA (Auld & Morris, 2019; Moss et al., 2016). However, despite obvious connections to other large-scale assessments, the IELS stands out in terms of its methodology which was developed for children who typically cannot yet read and write. The instructions were given by a pre-recorded voice on a tablet and children could indicate their preferred response by touching items or moving them around the screen (OECD, 2020). Thus, at its core the IELS relies on children's ability to 'read' pictures and to match what they hear and see with what they know.

The use of visual imagery as a tool for measuring cognitive and socio-emotional development is by no means new. In fact, many intelligence and personality tests developed as early as the early 1900s (such as Binet-Simon intelligence scale or the Rorschach test) incorporated some form of images. Developed for diagnosing developmental or intellectual deficiencies in young children or to identify personality and mental health disorders, such tests provided a technique to reveal the invisible and to make the perceived differences between humans to become observable, measurable, comparable and, thus, 'real'. Despite much criticism, tests of this kind are still widely used to differentiate 'normal' individuals from those 'gifted' or 'at risk' and to assign different pedagogical treatments to different groups of students (Paul, 2004).

By measuring the cognitive and emotional intelligence of preschoolers, the IELS marks the culmination of a century in which testing was of paramount importance. In this paper we situate the IELS within a broader history of image-based assessments to discuss how images function as a tool for differentiating students, controlling education, and predicting future risks (Cf. Pettersson & Nordin, 2023). For that we trace the history of some of the most common intelligence and personality tests and outline the conditions of possibility that enabled image-based tests to appear scientific and to function as a source of evidence.

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Keywords: Baby Pisa, image-based assessment, IQ and personality tests, history of assessments



The Hedgehog, the Bee, and the “Joffer”. Transitions and Traditions in Teaching Practices, Societal Perceptions, and Cultural Conceptions

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The historical formation of schooling, lessons, and classroom development is not only characterized by a multitude of transitions and traditions, likewise. Furthermore, it offers insights into norms, values, perceptions, and ideas that are popular – or remain popular over decades – within a specific time and socio-cultural context.

The proposed contribution aims to identify the role of transitions and traditions for the development of (science) teaching in primary schools from the middle of the 19th century, with the first school law enacted in 1843, to the latest curriculum reform in 2009, adapting a competency-based approach to teaching and learning.

When reflecting on my previous research, I realized significant overlaps and was able to detect patterns that illustrate traditions and transitions on all levels investigated, such as curriculum reform, competency-based approaches to teaching and learning, teacher training, and the historical development of topics in science education. Drawing on a historiographic approach enables us to re-contextualize what has been de-contextualized over the decades, guided by a goal of rethinking teaching practices on the scope of societal perceptions and cultural conceptions.

The teaching of science in primary school is particularly suitable for examining how societal perceptions and cultural conceptions manifest in curriculum and materials over time. By revisiting my research findings, this contribution will present three examples to trace patterns that help elaborate the historiography of traditions and transitions in the Luxembourgish primary school system.

Illustrated by the *hedgehog* as an all-time favourite topic in primary schools, teachers' instructional practices are contextualized while complexifying curriculum as *neither* a firm narrative *nor* a neutral or consistent product, but rather a culturally, historically, and politically constructed artefact and, thus, subject to interpretation.

The historical analysis of the intertwining of science teaching and societal perceptions and cultural conceptions works towards a better understanding of how topics are chosen and why they stay relatively stable in a society on the move. The *bee* was not only investigated as a topic of animal adaptation but also a metaphor for future citizens and the ideal of a nation as a beehive. This illustrates how socially-relevant topics manifest in primary school teaching materials over time – especially when the linkage to everyday life is no longer present.

Finally, the third example deals with the perceptions of teachers. Until today, female teachers in primary schools are called “joffer” (followed by their first name only), a term that originates in addressing an unmarried (often noble) woman and was used to recall the social status of a female teacher who had to remain unmarried or quit the job. The contribution examines how this term has been preserved, adapted in meaning, and ultimately romanticized over the years. Guided by findings from various historical sources such as illustrative material, curricula, newspaper reports, and other media, the contribution highlights transitions and traditions – and by this, historicizes the present: In line with the conference themes 1 and 3, the mutual conditionality of teaching practices, societal perceptions, and cultural conceptions can be contextualized in its historical origin.



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Keywords: teaching practices, history of curriculum, social perceptions, cultural studies, science education



Disruption and Recovery: Transitions, Transformations and Trends in Histories of Education Part 2

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Discussant: Beth Marsden

The University of Melbourne, Australia

In times of radical global precarity and unprecedented change, how might histories of education be researched and written and what might be their utility? This symposium explores how we might do histories of education in times of disaster and disruption, and how methods, theories and sources in the history of education are being transformed or reinterpreted in light of our precarious planetary and emotional condition (E.g., Grosvenor & Priem, 2022; Priem, 2022; Novella, 2022; Sriprakash, 2022).

The unfolding global pandemic, ecological crises, and reckoning with colonial violence have exposed the hubris and failure of anthropocentrism. Human vulnerability and entanglement with the material and natural world has been laid bare. Today, modernist developmental conceptions of change over time, which position the future as the potential fulfilment of that development, look decidedly less assured in a world where the future now heralds unprecedented, catastrophic change. The frameworks of nationhood that rationalised the idea of history as a process of continual movement towards the future with the transcendental human subject as its hero, are now threatened by entangled planetary forces of epidemic and ecological collapse.

The myth of human exceptionalism has been sustained by modernist historiography's emphases on human sovereignty, agency, and development. Histories of education specifically have justified anthropocentric worldviews. Education has been invoked as the place where ideals of human autonomy, freedom, progress, and rights might be developed, realised and learned. Histories of education as a modernising tool, histories of the stratifying effects of education systems, and the development of human subjects and societies have long been written without recourse to their ecological consequences.

This symposium asks: what modes of historical understanding are needed to orient us in the maelstrom of our times? It confronts questions of planetary responsibility and centres entangled relations and post-anthropocentric perspectives. Historians have a crucial role to play in the broad-scale historical thinking needed to provide orientation, build community, and open possibilities for generative ways of making sense of our present and repairing our past and future (Pietsch & Flanagan, 2020). Papers in this symposium consider transformations, transitions, and trends in the history of education that are responding to these conditions.

The first panel explores questions of repair, representation, and ecological relations. Presenters in this panel discuss the ways that the recent pandemic and ecological crises are reshaping conversations about historical research, educational media, and school education. The second panel addresses the vulnerability of humans against concepts of human exceptionalism. Presenters in this panel focus on long lasting emotional disruptions caused by extraction



mentalities and past political violations. They unanimously agree that related anxiety, injustice, and trauma urgently need to be addressed in histories of education.

At first sight, the papers of this symposium seem to be surprisingly diverse and unconventional. However, the convenors' ambition is to bring together a wide array of approaches that could inspire new pathways for the history of education in times of socio-ecological disruption. The central question of this symposium is how historians of education could overcome anthropocentric world views and human exceptionalism by acknowledging the vulnerability of the planet, the human body and mind, other living beings, and the material world.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma



The Culture of Trauma and the Writing of History after COVID-19

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In 2021, American writer Siri Hustvedt (2021) noted that the COVID-19 pandemic had caused a “tragic alteration in the fabric of reality” by unexpectedly confronting us with “our vulnerability as a species”, so that it would be inevitable to “remember” it as “a time of collective trauma”. These words reflect the early and widespread perception of the considerable emotional and cultural impact of a catastrophe whose consequences for our individual and collective life seemed from the very beginning to go far beyond its epidemiological outcome. As it is known, health managers and mental health professionals have subsequently confirmed the significant psycho(patho)logical correlates of being affected by the virus, social isolation, fear of contagion, uncertainty, financial distress, overburdening of health workers and caregivers, or poorly resolved grief. Of course, this phenomenon is not entirely new: the great epidemics of the past have invariably been accompanied by great doses of suffering, despondency, melancholy, and even insanity or dementia among the affected populations (Novella, 2022). But what seems to constitute a relative novelty in the current episode is, on the one hand, the scale of its repercussion at the level of individual emotions and behaviours, and, on the other, the fact that it is taking place in strongly psychologised societies relying on the action of the growing legion of experts linked to the expansive field of mental health and wellbeing. If a few decades ago, the emergence of large-scale international terrorism was decisive in the configuration of a “culture of trauma” in which the perception of the psychic impact of disasters predominates over that of their physical devastation (Bourke, 2005), it can be taken for granted that, at least for some time, the footprint of COVID-19 and the shadow of possible epidemics will consolidate this psychological framework of intellection and response in the face of major collective tragedies.

Like all major historical events and cultural developments, there is no doubt that this process will raise important challenges for the writing of history: What lessons need to be retrieved and eventually updated from the historiographical debates surrounding the Holocaust and other extreme and deeply traumatising experiences of the past (LaCapra, 2014)? How will the historical reconstruction of (current and future) epidemics and other catastrophes cope and deal with this climate of emotional turbulence? Which voices and narratives will most probably be privileged and/or neglected in accounting for individual and collective aspects of meaning? Will the fields of social and cultural history degenerate into a kind of permanent bookkeeping of threats, fears and traumatic incidents? Is the (ongoing) “age of trauma” (Fassin & Rechtman, 2009) going to boost new prophecies about the end of history (or at least of historical agency)? In the course of this presentation, I will try to advance some preliminary thoughts on these and other questions related to the implications of this recent (traumatic) recovery of the cultural memory of epidemic diseases for the task of (traumatised) historians.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma



Trauma, Resonances, and Transformations: Gaming as Heuristic Mode for Doing History

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Since the early 2000s, individuals and organizations such as Games for Change have been promoting the use of serious games to foster social, political, and cultural activism. Their efforts have provided platforms for game developers, educators, and activists to collaborate and create games that raise awareness, educate, and inspire action to address real-world issues. Far from being mere outlets for entertainment, video games emerge as means for creative expression, instruments for conceptual thinking, and tools for social change (Flanagan, 2013). Yet, while historians have been exploring new ways of communicating and experiencing history beyond the textual, the hedonic nature of the medium has contributed to its stigma as a childish and frivolous pastime, inadequate to deal with historical trauma and sensitive topics (Chapman, 2016). The trivialisation of terms such as gamification and edutainment has further shifted the focus away from the more complex range of emotions and experiences that video games can convey.

Empirical studies on emotionally moving and harrowing experiences in games, however, largely support the notion of eudaimonic appreciation and highlight the transformative potential of interactive narratives as educational tools (Roth & Mekler, 2020).

Changing the role of the audience from spectator/reader to actor/agent, video games can support the transformative learning process by providing immersive and interactive experiences that help players to critically engage with historical events and perspectives. Through the simulation offered by historical games, players can gain a deeper understanding of the past and its impact on the present. Furthermore, the representation of trauma in video games can allow players to explore and process their emotions, encouraging empathy and understanding, and providing a sense of agency and control over the experience.

Games offer unique rhetorical possibilities providing a means of communication, persuasion, and education through their interactive and immersive nature (Frasca, 2003). Ludonarratives, operating at the intersection between game mechanics and story elements, can create a more engaging experience where the player's actions and decisions in the game world have a direct impact on the story and its outcome. Well-developed narratives, compelling characters and immersive gameplay can, thus, create resonance with players, fostering a deep emotional connection that can inspire taking positive action in the real world (McGonigal, 2012).

Building on notions of resonance and transformative learning, this contribution will discuss how the affordances of video games and interactive stories could offer meaningful experiences, help us embrace a plurality of perspectives, and rethink our approach to history.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma.



Bridging Past, Present and Future: Reflections on the Educational in the History of Education, through the Exploration of The Conversations

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The past decades have witnessed an upsurge in calls to decolonise institutions, structures and cultural practices that take root in and perpetuate colonial relationships of power. While such critical reflections initially remained confined to academic circles of, for instance, feminist, post- or decolonial or cultural studies (Cf. de Sousa Santos et al., 2008), concerns about the persistence of colonial structures and mindsets in our contemporary society have become mainstream. While, generally speaking, there is broad historical consensus over the modernist principles that underpin colonialism, as well as how its structures unequally affected the lives of many, the legacy of colonialism seems to have a profoundly polarising effect on and in society today. Decolonisation activism, in particular, generated a general awareness about the systemic effects and inequalities that result from historical forms of colonialism, but the new vocabulary that it introduced to think about colonialism's legacy equally causes divisions between groups and individuals that are left only with critical questions, but without clear answers about how to live their daily lives in a more 'decolonised' way (Van Ruyskensvelde & Berghmans, 2022; Sijpenhof, 2020). Situated within the wider decolonisation debate in Belgium, this presentation discusses "The Conversations", a public experiment we undertook in the spring of 2022 to create a space of 'polylogue' between diverging positions on how to deal with the colonial past to live together in the future. The discussion of this pedagogical practice will act as a vantage point to critically reflect on how educational historians can fulfil their roles as critical researchers of the past while also assuming a leading educational role in contemporary society in dealing with that (colonial) past.

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Keywords: historiographical transformation, research trends, ecological relations, human exceptionalism, trauma.



Modernity and Democracy in the Normal School: School Republic in the 1920 Reform in São Paulo, Brazil

Modernidade e Democracia na Escola Normal: a República Escolar na Reforma de 1920 em São Paulo (Brasil)

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Within the Republican imaginary, the school is the path for the legitimization of a new order and the means to disseminate modernity. Brazilian Republicanism insisted on the decentralization of teaching, going back to 1835, within the 1891 Brazilian Constitution. Each state had its specific school organization as a result of the reforms. The First Brazilian Republic (1889–1930) reveals a period of rehearsals for primary schools in each Brazilian state.

Immediately, the state of São Paulo exhibited important educational reforms characterized by an attempt to organize a system for modern teaching. The “Caetano de Campos” (1891) and “Sampaio Doria” (1920) reforms were the most relevant due to the significant changes that they caused in the state of São Paulo and in other Brazilian states. Both reforms have been largely studied in Brazilian historiography and may be considered as a way for the admittance of schooled people within modernity and as a challenge to illiteracy. According to Carvalho (2003, p. 11), schooling, at first seen as a means to achieve progress, started to be considered a ‘dangerous weapon’ underlined as a ‘tool for domination’. Current paper will analyse a proposal inserted within the 1920 Sampaio Doria Reform, or rather, the School Republic. Since the early 20th century the organization of students in Normal Schools, in school gatherings, favoured students’ learning on school dynamics and national policies. The School Republic would produce a step forward since it intended that student organization was expected to have the traits of a democratic republic and transform itself in an instrument for the training of citizenship.

The aim of current paper is the analysis and interpretation of the manner the Sampaio Doria Reform reflected on the constitution of the student organization called the School Republic and the motives that made its establishment unlikely. The Reform’s proposal was the object of intense discussions by educators, especially by inspectors and headmasters of Normal Schools immediately after the approval of the Reform. The main concern lies on the place of the subjects concerned (Bourdieu, 1983) within the school reform, since the new configurations (Elias, 1980) triggered changes in the constituted *ethos* and *habitus*, threatening the established traditional power of headmasters and teachers of the Normal Schools. The analysis focuses on the text of the Reform (Law 1.750/1920), Anuário do Ensino (1920–1923), articles in magazines and other documents. One may note the scanty adhesion of educators to the pedagogical principles of the proposal and a greater emphasis on the political risks of the new school style as a power scale to be exercised by students’ representation. The above reveals the institutional and the political-ideological weaknesses on which the Brazilian Republic is founded.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

No imaginário republicano a escola é o caminho para a legitimação da nova ordem, o meio de disseminar a modernidade. O republicanismo brasileiro reafirmou a descentralização do ensino, anteriormente instituída em 1835, na lei magna brasileira de 1891. Cada estado passa



a ter sua organização escolar peculiar, fruto de reformas. A Primeira República (1889–1930) é o período de ensaios na organização da escolarização elementar em cada estado no Brasil. Logo no início, o estado de São Paulo começa com grandes reformas educacionais tendo como característica a tentativa de organizar um sistema de ensino moderno. A Reforma “Caetano de Campos” (1891) e a Reforma “Sampaio Doria” (1920) são consideradas as mais importantes, haja vista a substancial alteração que provocam em São Paulo e em outras unidades da federação. Ambas as reformas foram amplamente estudadas na historiografia brasileira, elas são declaradas como meio de ingresso da população escolarizada na modernidade e ainda como forma de combate ao analfabetismo. Segundo Carvalho (2003, p. 11), a escolarização vista inicialmente como arma para o progresso, num primeiro momento, passa a ser considerada “arma perigosa” que precisa se afirmar como “instrumento de dominação”. Nesta comunicação, exploraremos uma proposta presente na Reforma “Sampaio Doria” de 1920: a República Escolar. Desde os anos iniciais do século XX a organização dos alunos nas Escolas Normais, em grêmios escolares, favorecia a aprendizagem discente a respeito da dinâmica escolar e da política nacional. A República Escolar dará um passo a mais na medida em que pretendia que a organização estudantil assumisse as características de uma república democrática e se transformasse num meio de aprendizagem da cidadania. O objetivo é analisar e compreender os modos pelos quais a “Sampaio Doria” pensou a constituição de uma organização estudantil chamada República Escolar e os motivos pelos quais a sua implantação pouco prosperou. A proposta presente na Reforma foi motivo de intensas discussões por parte de educadores, principalmente por parte de inspetores e diretores de Escolas Normais, logo após aprovada a Reforma. A preocupação central era sobre os lugares dos sujeitos no campo (Bourdieu, 1983) escolar, uma vez que as novas configurações (Elias, 1980) ensejariam mudanças nos *ethos* e nos *habitus* constituídos, ameaçando o poder instituído e inscrito dos diretores e dos professores das Escolas Normais. A análise incide sobre o texto da Reforma (Lei 1.750/1920), Anuário do Ensino (1920–1923), artigos de jornais e documentos diversos. É possível observar a pouca adesão dos educadores aos princípios pedagógicos da proposta e uma maior ênfase sobre os riscos políticos da nova figuração escolar como gradiente de poder a ser exercido pela representação estudantil. Isso demonstra a fragilidade institucional e político-ideológica sobre a qual se instaura a República no Brasil.

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Keywords: School Republic, Normal School, Sampaio Doria Reform



Knowledge for Teacher Training in Brazil: An Analysis of the Textbooks of a Brazilian Teacher Training School (1940–1970)

Saberes Para Formação De Professores No Brasil: Análise Dos Manuais Escolares De Uma Escola Brasileira De Formação De Professores (1940–1970)

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In view of the conception of preservation of the History of Education, through archives, documents, and sources, seen as important for the historiographic production in the educational field, this study aims at identifying and analyzing the knowledge for teachers in the textbooks of the Escola Normal Livre “Colégio Sagrado Coração de Jesus”, from the 1940s to the mid-1970s, in the city of Marília/SP, Brazil. To achieve this goal, we used as a source the institution’s manuals, contained in the “Rui Barbosa” library, inaugurated in 1943, which corresponds to the beginning of the Normal School’s operation period in this institution, which is an integral part of the teaching-learning process of the Sagrado Coração de Jesus College, keeping in its collection books used for teacher training in Normal Education, where manuals were used as school practice, and can be organized in literary, didactics, and historical knowledge.

For the development of the research, it was used a historical approach, focused on documentary research, privileging the works found in the library collection as documentary corpus. This text leads to a historical analysis engaged in the field of History of Education, considering Cultural History, based on De Certeau (2011), Chartier (2005), Julia (2001), Saviani (2009), Rockwell (1997), among others to support the importance of textbooks addressed to the teacher and student reader in Normal Schools and the place of speech of researchers. It was found that these sources can be important documental corpus for the History of Education since the manuals fulfil the functions of being pedagogical tools, they are supporting, vectors of ideology/values/religion. Similarly, they are also powerful means of communication, whose effectiveness is in the importance of their diffusion and the uniformity of the transmitted discourse.

Thus, going through aspects of the history of Normal Schools, it is possible to agree with Chervel (1990), that it is necessary to seek the understanding of why schools teach and what they teach. In this way, documentary historical research has the task of giving visibility to these forgotten possibilities, in a struggle to bring out of silence a past that historiography still does not tell (De Certeau, 2011). In this sense, the educational manuals enable the perception of the education system of the time, with the educational reforms, as well as the interior of the institution in which they circulated. In the case of the Escola Normal Livre do “Sagrado Rede de Educação”, Marília/SP, Brazil, it makes possible a part of the school life, the school culture, the belief and the representation of the school through the perceptions of the students and the teaching staff, of what materialized front what was provided for. However, it is understood that the textbooks of that time disseminated several guides for teacher training and practice and are elements of paramount importance that make up the school culture, because, through them, it can be evidenced what students and teachers conceived about education/education in that particular



historical moment, besides the fact that the textbooks are considered elements that propagate knowledge.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Diante da concepção de preservação da História da Educação, através de arquivos, documentos e fontes, vistos como importante para a produção historiográfica do campo educacional, trata-se aqui de resultados de pesquisa que teve como objetivo de identificar e analisar saberes para professores nos manuais escolares, da Escola Normal Livre “Colégio Sagrado Coração de Jesus”, nas décadas de 1940 a meados de 1970, na cidade de Marília/SP, Brasil. Para atingir tal objetivo, utilizou-se como fonte os manuais da instituição, contidos na biblioteca “Rui Barbosa”, inaugurada em 1943, e que corresponde o início do período de funcionamento da Escola Normal nessa instituição, que é parte integrante do processo de ensino-aprendizagem do colégio Sagrado Coração de Jesus, mantendo em seu acervo livros utilizados para formação de professores no Ensino Normal, onde manuais foram utilizados como prática escolar, podendo ser organizados em saberes literários, didáticos e históricos. Para o desenvolvimento da pesquisa, foi utilizada abordagem histórica, centrada em pesquisa documental, privilegiando as obras encontradas no acervo da biblioteca como *corpus* documental. Este texto leva a uma análise histórica engajada no campo da História da Educação, considerando a História Cultural, pautada em De Certeau (2011), Chartier (2005), Julia (2001), Saviani (2009), Rockwell (1997), entre outros para alicerçar a importância dos manuais escolares dirigida ao leitor professor e aluno nas Escolas Normais e o lugar de fala dos pesquisadores. Constatou-se que essas fontes podem ser *corpus* documental importante para a História da Educação, visto que, os manuais cumprem as funções de serem ferramentas pedagógicas, são suporte, vetores de ideologia/valores/religião, são meio de comunicação poderosos, cuja eficácia está na importância de sua difusão e na uniformidade do discurso transmitido. Assim, perpassando aspectos da história das Escolas Normais, é possível concordar com Chervel (1990), sobre que é necessário buscar a compreensão do porquê a escola ensina e o que ensina. Dessa forma, a pesquisa histórica documental tem por tarefa dar visibilidade a essas possibilidades esquecidas, numa luta para tirar do silêncio um passado que a historiografia ainda não conta. (De Certeau, 2011). Neste sentido, os manuais educacionais possibilitam a percepção do sistema de ensino da época, com as reformas educacionais, assim como do interior da instituição no qual circulavam. No caso da Escola Normal Livre do “Sagrado Rede de Educação”, Marília/SP, Brasil, viabiliza uma parte da vida escolar, da cultura escolar, da crença e a representação da escola por meio das percepções dos estudantes e da *equipe de professores, daquilo que se materializou frente ao que estava previsto*. Contudo, compreende-se que os manuais escolares dessa época disseminavam diversos guias de formação e prática docente e são elementos de suma importância que compõem a cultura escolar, pois mediante eles, pode-se evidenciar o que os alunos e professores concebiam acerca da *educação/âmbito* educacional naquele determinado momento histórico, além dos manuais serem considerados elementos propagadores de conhecimento.

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Keywords: history of education, teacher training, Normal School, textbooks.



Mozambique's 1992 Education Reform and Its Pedagogical Implications A Reforma Da Educação De 1992 De Moçambique e Suas Implicações Pedagógicas

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Mozambique carried out an education reform in 1992, through Law 6/92, which replaced the law that was in use since 1983 (Law 4/83), which guided the formation of the new man, for a socialist society, of the Marxist-Leninist type, with the aim of emancipating from the colonial mentality and granting the right to education to all, especially workers and peasants. In turn, Law 6/92, of December, which emerged as a rupture with the socialist model, was the support, from the point of view of education, of the 1990 constitution – economically capitalist and politically (neo)liberal – which, through its turn, from the discursive point of view, was lean, with pretensions of neutrality (political) and technicity.

The changes in Mozambique in education also emerged as a response to the international context, such as the end of the cold war, the holding of the world conference on education for all, in 1990. Now, in view of what we are facing today, 30 years later, it seems pertinent to us to question the possibility of Law 6/92 to prepare an autonomous and democratic citizen for a society, which in turn is democratic, and which transitioned from a political system of a pan-present State to a society of a pan-absent State (Ngoenha, 2000). Therefore, our objective is to understand the educational reform of 1992 and reflect on its possible pedagogical implications in the formation of an autonomous and democratic citizen. To this end, we will examine the Law 6/92 and interview some actors who participated in the reform, while we are guided, pedagogically, by the thought of Paulo Freire (1975, 1981, 2011). Our idea is that Law 6/92 had limitations in the formation of autonomous and democratic citizens, as students were left to themselves, opening space for moral relativism and alienation.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Moçambique realizou uma reforma da educação em 1992, através da lei 6/92, que substituiu a lei que vigorou desde 1983 (lei 4/83), que orientava para a formação do homem novo, para uma sociedade socialista, do tipo marxista leninista, com objectivos de emancipar da mentalidade colonial e conceder o direito a educação a todos, em especial aos operários e camponeses. Por sua vez, a lei 6/92, de dezembro, que surgia como ruptura com o modelo socialista, era o suporte, do ponto de vista da educação, da constituição de 1990 - economicamente capitalista e politicamente (neo)liberal- que, por sua vez, do ponto de vista discursivo, era enxuta, com pretensões de neutralidade (política) e tecnicista. As mudanças em Moçambique, na educação, surgiam também como resposta ao contexto internacional, como o fim da guerra fria, a realização da conferencia mundial de educação para todos, em 1990. Ora, em vista do que se assiste hoje, 30 anos depois, nos parece pertinente questionar a possibilidade da lei 6/92 de preparar um cidadão autónomo e democrático para uma sociedade, por sua vez democrática, e que transitava de um sistema político de Estado pan-presente para uma sociedade de Estado pan-ausente (Ngoenha, 2000). Portanto, o nosso objectivo é compreender a reforma educacional de 1992 e reflectir sobre suas possíveis implicações pedagógicas na formação de um cidadão autónomo e democrático. Para tal, examinaremos a lei 6/92 e entrevistaremos alguns actores que participaram da reforma, enquanto nos orientamos, pedagogicamente, pelo pensamento de Paulo Freire (1975, 1981,



2011). A nossa ideia é a de que, a lei 6/92, teve limitações na formação de cidadãos autónomos e democráticos, pois os alunos foram abandonados a si mesmos, abrindo espaço para o relativismo moral e a alienação.

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Keywords: Mozambique's 1992 reform, moral relativism, alienation, Paulo Freire



The Teacher's Role in “Progressive” Pedagogies: A “Genealogical” Look at the Portuguese Case

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Innovation in education is an intentional, relative, contextualized process of change, based on a set of beliefs and values and which must start from the initiative of schools and teachers. The role of these, regarding the implementation of innovations in the field of education, must therefore be understood as fundamental, both with regard to the present and the history, both of ideas and of educational practices. The pedagogical currents that crossed the period between the beginning of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century criticized what they considered to be the “traditional” teacher and sought to propose alternatives regarding the profile, role, practices and training modalities of a new type of teacher – we will designate these currents as “progressive”. The delimitation of a temporality that can be situated in the long term makes perfect sense here so that we can build a kind of “genealogy” of the “innovative” teacher having as a starting point (and arrival point) the most recent alternative school experience.

The delimited context corresponds to the Portuguese case, although it is essential to consider the way, in which Portuguese educators appropriated a set of ideas in international circulation regarding professional practice in its relationship with innovation. For this purpose, we will select four moments. At first, corresponding to New Education (and the republican context), we will analyse the ideas about the teaching profession present in texts by authors such as Adolfo Lima, Faria de Vasconcelos or António Sérgio. In a second moment, corresponding to the pedagogical renewal movement, inspired by Freinet Pedagogy, which developed between the 50s and 60s of the 20th century, still in an authoritarian context, of which Rui Grácio, Maria Amália Borges and João dos Santos are the most representative authors. The third moment corresponds to the revolutionary period of the mid-70s, and we will take into account the production of figures such as Rogério Fernandes, Agostinho Reis Monteiro or António Teodoro. Finally, for the subsequent moment, we will analyse, in particular, the representations about the teacher as they are constructed within the scope of the Modern School Movement (MEM), expressed both collectively (through its Bulletin) and individually through the production of its great inspirer, Sérgio Niza, and his “cooperative self-training” project.

This communication therefore aims to reflect on the representations that are historically constructed, within the scope of “progressive” pedagogies, on what it means to be an “innovative” teacher and to identify the traits that are being systematized with an intention to create alternative identities. We will also try to inventory the proposed metaphors in view of this attempt to define the teacher and his work and theoretically elaborate on the concepts that have been summoned to interpret this process in a deeper and more creative way. We will use as research sources a diverse set of productions, both in books and journals, by the authors and movements already referenced. We will consider the theoretical literature produced around the themes of innovation in education and the teaching profession.

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Keywords: Educational innovation, progressive pedagogies, teacher's role.



The Reform of Tolstoy and the Discussion of Classical and Real Education in Russia: A View from Dublin

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The paper is devoted to the European perspective on the discussion of classical and real education in Russia in 1871–1872 presented by the classicist-emigrant Vladimir Pecherin (1807–1885). After receiving an advanced European education in Berlin, V. Pecherin taught at Moscow University for less than a year. Unable to bear the Russian political and social climate during the reign of Nicholas I., he fled abroad. After long wanderings, Pecherin converted to Catholicism, gained fame for his sermons, and became a significant religious figure in Ireland. While abroad, V. Pecherin continued to take interest in the intellectual life of Russia, including education and its reforms. Thanks to Golovnin's reform, the 1864 gymnasium charter not only introduced a formally classless principle of admission and education in secondary educational institutions (gymnasiums), but also for the first time created two education systems in the country: classical and real. In real gymnasiums, ancient languages were not taught, but the exact and natural sciences were studied in depth. Graduates of classical gymnasiums could be admitted to the university without exams; graduates of real gymnasiums had the priority right to enter higher technical educational institutions, but their access to universities was, at the insistence of Golovnin's opponents, limited.

In April 1866 A.V. Golovnin was replaced as minister by Count D. A. Tolstoy, who took a conservative position and initiated a revision of the gymnasium charter. Unconditional priority was returned to classical education. Real gymnasiums were supposed to become real schools, and their graduates were to be denied admission to the university. The idea behind the reform was to get rid of real schools' graduates (who had a social background imbued with the ideas of materialism, atheism and nihilism). The reform authors saw it as a key to overcoming opposition sentiments among young people.

The reform initiated a heated discussion. Pecherin, while in Dublin, wrote an article on the issue of classical and real education, which was published in the *Russian Archive* magazine in 1871. Despite the fact that Pecherin was a classicist, he writes that classicism smells of "a monastery and book learning, and a fresh morning breeze of awakening new life is blowing from realism." As for revolutionary sentiments, which, according to the reformists, will be limited if the new reform succeeds, Pecherin remarks: "[...] where, in which country were ancient classics studied more than in Germany, but it produced Strauss, Feuerbach." He also adds that the famous Abbé Gaume wrote a whole book to prove that all the horrors of the French Revolution resulted from a classical education: "All advanced revolutionists were called Gracchi, Bruti, Lucii ..."

Thus, Vladimir Pecherin, a classicist, is committed to common sense and scientific and technological progress. He believes that preventing graduates of real schools from entering universities will not affect opposition sentiments in Russia. These and other judgments about educational reforms and counter-reforms from Pecherin's letters add a European perspective to the discussion of classical and real education in Russia and will be considered in the presentation.



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Keywords: educational reforms, Pecherin, Tolstoy, classical education



Henry M. Leipziger As Reformer: From Assimilation to Sociability

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Henry M. Leipziger (1853–1917) is remembered for his leadership of public lectures in New York public schools. This paper situates Leipziger as a reformer and a transitional figure who began more straightforwardly as an advocate of adult education but moved over time towards themes more prominent in the 1920s/30s – public discussion as creating sociability and encouraging tolerance and appreciation of difference. Leipziger emigrated with his family from England to New York in 1865, graduating from school, City College and Columbia Law School. In 1889, he began lecturing in the New York Board of Education's new program of free evening lectures in public schools. Soon he was appointed Supervisor of Lectures to oversee this burgeoning program – in 1897–98 half a million New Yorkers attended the lectures; by 1915, it was 1.2 million. Leipziger wanted education to be 'unending' and the lecture attendees to become 'missionaries of light and truth'.

Early 20th-century New York was an immigrant city. Leipziger thought his lectures fostered both assimilation and Americanisation: 'help in the assimilation of the newly-arrived foreigner, lectures have been given in Italian and Yiddish on subjects that relate to sanitation and to the preparation for American citizenship.' His classic Progressive was that education would assimilate, Americanize and thus make citizens more efficient: "creating a proper knowledge by the immigrant and recent citizen of what America stands for and [...] helping him through the transition stage toward useful citizenship." A word cloud of the 1000+ mentions of "America" in Leipziger's annual reports shows how often he talked of the life world of new Americans still living somewhere *in between* Europe and their new nation. Leipziger described the public school as "the most efficient form of training for intelligent democracy." Alongside classes on the prevention of tuberculosis (taking responsibility for public health was a key attribute of the democratic citizen) were "lectures on history, civics, and economics, with the purpose of aiding the citizen to study the problems of government."

A later generation took up the cause of adult civic education in quite different ways. The 1920s/30s US public forum movement envisioned public discussion as a means of learning to understand other points of view and how to live in a diverse, multi-opinion society; evening community centres in schools helped immigrants preserve their old cultures as well as navigate new ones. The later Leipziger saw continuities as well as differences between the generational reform agendas: "The Public Forum idea + the Community Center are the progeny of the lecture system. The wider use of the School extensive + intensive has become part of the creed of modern American education." In his later speeches, there was also increased emphasis on adult classes creating new sociability – "filling to the full the cup of intellectual sociability that each lecture affords". Amidst constant repetition of his key themes, then, there were discernible shifts in Leipziger's thought, showing that the differences between Progressive and New Deal thought about education and reform, while significant, can be overdrawn.

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Keywords: assimilation, Americanization, public lectures, social centres, New York Board of Education



Values and Ideologies in the Primary School Curriculum in the Inter War period: The Cases of Hungary and Ireland

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The 'pre-active' curriculum developed by central authorities for schools has generally incorporated a focus beyond subject content with a view to instilling wider values, skills, attitudes and dispositions within pupils. The wider elements of the curriculum have been influenced by many non-educational factors, including political, religious, social and economic motivations. This extended focus was accentuated in eras where the school system and the curriculum in particular were used by state authorities to build and shape national identity or concepts of nationhood among the populace (Anderson, 1991).

This paper presents a critical analysis of key curriculum documents, primers and wider education policy documents in the elementary school system from Hungary and Ireland in the inter-war period (1918–1939) in relation to their underpinning values and ideologies. As a consequence of their recent histories, the political establishment in both countries in the 1920s turned to the school system to build a new sense of national identity and nationhood. This comparative analysis is interesting given the very different contexts from which curriculum revisions and renewed educational trajectories emerged.

Ireland was an emerging post-colonial state having achieved political independence from Britain in 1921 following a protracted and bloody campaign. The island was partitioned as part of the peace agreement, with 26 counties becoming the independent Irish Free State and six counties in the North remaining within the British Empire (Cronin, 2003). In the Irish Free State context, a national curriculum that was underpinned by the twin ideologies of Catholicism and nationalism was developed (Walsh, 2012). Within this, the Irish language and culture, which had previously been neglected by the colonial regime, were raised to a pre-eminent position within schools (Kelly, 2002). The curriculum, and the wider rhythms of school life, also became infused by Catholic teachings and values (Whyte, 1990).

Hungary was emerging from the ravages of World War I., and was forced to cede much of its former territory by signing the Treaty of Trianon. It moved from its central membership within the Austrian-Hungarian empire to become a small independent state surrounded by hostile successor states that had large groups of Hungarian minorities (Romsics, 2010). Since the Trianon Peace Treaty prohibited Hungary from maintaining a regular army, the country aimed at achieving the adjustment/restoration of the borders through cultural and diplomatic means. Therefore, the school system became one of the most important instruments of the border revision policy. Christianity and neo-nationalism became the watchwords of the state's cultural policy, under which the content of school education was reinforced in a national spirit. Another fundamental trend of the era was the increase in state control over church schools.

The paper concludes with a distillation of key themes and learnings in relation to how the curriculum was used in both jurisdictions to advance political and religious values and ideologies. Such themes include the reinforcement of gendered roles for women and men in society and the reinforcement of conservative values and ideologies. It explores decisions made that often prioritised the political over the pedagogical.



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Keywords: Curriculum, Hungary, Ireland, Inter-war period, ideology



Prefigurative Education: The Case of Two Early 20th Century Educational Experiments

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During the early 20th century, various independent and radical educational experiments sprung up around the globe, the most famous of which was probably the Modern School Movement in the United States, and its inspiration, the Escuela Moderna in Barcelona. This paper will focus on the work of educators in two other educational projects: The Overseas Chinese Workers' School in Paris, which operated between 1916–1918, and the Mount Gilboa Children's Society, which operated between 1926–1929.

Using essays, journal publications, and correspondences by both teachers and students at each educational project, this paper will argue that these experiments – while separated in time and space – constitute fascinating examples of education as a site of prefiguration. Sharing an analysis of contemporary society as one of crisis, and a hope for a utopian society based on freedom and solidarity, educators in both spaces took to education to prepare learners to life in a better world and to realize aspects of their vision for a future society in the present. Rather than a hindrance, differences in context between the two experiments serve as a productive environment to analyze how contingencies inspire diverse modes of action and resistance in the two locales. Furthermore, employing a global history perspective, this paper will argue that the two experiments shared a great deal, both ideologically and materially, in their political analysis and goals, and in their dependence on global migration and movement of texts across space and time.

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Keywords: Prefigurative politics, Republican China, Kibbutz, Global History



Parents with New Approaches Versus Old-fashioned Teachers? A Press Scandal from 1900

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Western culture's attitudes towards corporal punishment in schools gradually shifted in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. The slow change in mentality towards disciplining in schools is a prominent feature of long-term school reforms (Cf. Middleton, 2008; Puranen & Ruitto, 2018). The change in educational methodological culture can be linked to the slow transformation of the ideas about human nature, which also brought the emergence of newer and newer school reform ideas.

In addition to the Hungarian educational journals of the time, as previous research has shown, the daily political and tabloid press also reacted sensitively to the changes in attitudes and practices that were taking place or not taking place in schools (Baska, 2021; Frank, 2022). The press also appears as a source in the research presented here.

The primary aim of our investigation is to explore perceptions and attitudes of the time. In line with the recent trend in the history of education, where researchers are increasingly turning to the social history of the teaching profession (Westberg & Primus, 2023), this micro-historical research seeks to answer the question of what interpretative possibilities arise in the analysis of a case that happened at the turn of the Century in Hungary.

On November 21, 1900, the *Pesti Hírlap* published a doggerel on its front page, with sentences denigrating the teachers. This was, at least, the interpretation of the different bodies of the Hungarian elementary school teachers, whose members rejected the newspaper writer's statement unanimously. A teacher had hit the journalist's son the previous day, so by publishing the poem, he probably could get back at the rude teacher and draw public attention to corporal punishment in schools.

We used two daily newspapers and an educational journal as sources, which provided a platform for discussing the topic. The processing of the forty newspaper articles/writings through discourse analysis reveals (1) what opinions are reflected in the non-professional press about the practice of corporal punishment in schools, (2) what narratives teachers enter the discourse with, (3) how teachers position themselves, as a professional community in the daily press, (4) what role parents play in the issue of reforming school methods, (5) what are the reasons behind the fact that what at first sight seemed to be an insignificant case became a significant press scandal in Hungary at the time.

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Keywords: elementary school teachers, disciplining, daily press, change of mentality



The Film Representation of Elementary Teachers and Italian Primary School Reforms in the Post-Second World War Period

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After the fall of the Fascist regime, the Italian school system was faced with the urgent challenge of re-educating a nation for democracy. Indeed, a complex and controversial attempt at school reform was designed by the ruling classes between the immediate post-war period and the early Sixties. Above all, primary schools – the schools attended by the majority of the Italian population – were identified as the main protagonists in the educational renewal. The school programmes of 1945, promulgated by the Sub-Committee for Education of the Allied Military Government chaired by the American educationist Carl Washburne, were inspired by Dewey's educational theories, as well as the school programmes of 1955, despite being based on Catholic personalism, proposed active and cooperative methodologies. In addition to these rules for developing a new didactic approach, the re-thinking of the primary schools' educational function involved a long and heated debate about the universal middle-school curriculum, which was implemented in 1962 with the aim of eliminating differentiation on the basis of students' socio-economic background, including in lower secondary school.

During this same period, several Italian films focused on primary school, and in particular on the image of the elementary teacher: "Cuore" (1948), "Buongiorno elefante" (1952), "Saluti e baci" (1953), "Scuola elementare" (1954), "Bravissimo" (1955), "Il maestro" (1957) and "Il maestro di Vigevano" (1963). According to the heuristic approach to visual history, all these films must be treated as representations of the past which are influenced by different elements, including the directors' intention, the historical context in which they were produced, the expectations of the public of that time and – above all – the symbolic power of the imaginary not only of that particular era but also of the preceding ones. At the same time, films – and especially those which reached a large audience – must be considered as agents of history, in that they enable their contents and meanings to impact on society.

In this sense, cinema can be used as a means to access the collective imaginary of the post-Second World War period in which Italian primary schools were requested to embark on a path of innovation, investigating whether the aforementioned films supported the reforming process of the time or remained anchored in models of teaching/learning that were rooted in the symbolic educational heritage of the past.

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Keywords: Primary school reforms, cinema, educational imaginary, Italy, post-Second World War period



'God in a Box': From Orthodoxy to Radicalism on Television in the Long 1970s

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Beginning in 1922, religious broadcasting in Britain aimed at developing the public understanding of religion, which from the 1960s onwards took on a radically different hue, no longer focused upon educating in the orthodoxies of faith, but rather permitting and encouraging debates about radical new theologies and sceptical perspectives.

This paper will, firstly explore the role of key individuals in this move from orthodox to radical, Oliver Hunkin, Collin Morris and Gerald Priestland, who each distinctively – as producers and presenters on the Christian faith on radio and television – shifted the purpose of religious broadcasting into innovative new genres, content and audience reflexivity. Secondly, the paper will examine how programmes not only permitted and encouraged audiences to consider the 'new theologies' and become familiar with their efficacy, it put the churches and faith under scrutiny in ways which impacted the public consciousness. Thirdly, the paper will examine how trends in the presentation of the Christian faith impacted upon the churches, directly in causing matters of scepticism and radicalism to be debated, but also how knowledge of the new ideas became popularised in various books which accompanied tv programmes, and the sermons and debates which ensued as a result.

The paper will draw upon work undertaken as part of the 'faith on the air' religious broadcasting and education project and the archives and publications of Colin Morris and Gerald Priestland. In this paper, I am keen to develop new lines of inquiry in theological/religious education amongst adults was promoted and impacted by the media of television in the period of the 1960–80s, religious broadcasting on television's heyday. How did the new media of TV serve to educate the public beyond the faith communities in radical new religious ideas at a time of 'religious crisis' in the 1960s (McLeod, 2007).

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Keywords: religious broadcasting, theological education, Christianity



The Italian Process of Integrating Students with Disabilities: a School Reform of the 1970s as Narrated by Television and Cinema

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During the 1970s in Italy, students with disabilities were integrated into mainstream classrooms. This moment represents a particular juncture in Italian school history that was strongly influenced by the political and cultural climate of protest against discrimination of various kinds which gradually intensified following World War II, reaching its peak in the 1960s. The “wild integration” of disabled children, so called for the rapidity and complexity of the entire process, aimed to disrupt a model of exclusive and selective schooling. Certain relevant legislative measures, most notably Laws No. 118/1971 and No. 517/1977, were implemented in order to guarantee forms of integration and individualized intervention. This radical change of course placed Italy among the most forward-looking countries in terms of inclusive education policies (Pruneri, 2003; Polenghi, 2021).

Although this process was very important and has also been thoroughly investigated by scholars of education, and especially the history of education, it appears to be little known outside of academia. Nevertheless, the mass media – such as television and cinema – have conducted some explorations of the topic, contributing to knowledge about it becoming widespread. This study will focus on the following productions which – although limited to a small number of audio-visuals – share both their main theme and the fact that they were made or set in Italy during the 1970s: specifically, it will analyse two documentaries (*La bicicletta* [*The bicycle*] directed by Luigi Comencini and *I “diversi”* [*The “differents”*] by Vittorio De Seta, produced in 1970 and 1978 respectively) and two films, one made for cinema (*Rosso come il cielo* [*Red like the sky*] by Cristiano Bortone, 2007) and the other for television (*La classe degli asini* [*The class of dunces*] directed by Andrea Porporati, 2016) (Alfieri, 2021–2022).

The aim of the analysis is to establish how these audio-visuals represent the transition from exclusion to integration for children with disabilities in the Italian school system and also to assess how they differ in relation to recording contemporary reality (in the case of the documentaries) or in terms of evoking and revisiting a historical phase of the past (in the case of the films). This comparison, which will be conducted within the historical-educational paradigm of research on school memory (Yanes-Cabrera, Meda & Viñao, 2017; Alfieri & Garai, 2022), will shed light upon the extent to which the interpretation of an extremely significant reform was influenced or determined by changes in societal outlook over time.

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Keywords: Collective school memories, film sources, disability, Italy, 1970s



Identical Roots, Different Development Outcomes: Professional Training of Secondary School Teachers in Central and Eastern Europe in the Interwar Period Part 2

Chair: Sebastian Engelmann

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Discussant: Simonetta Polenghi

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The Prussian concept of higher education reforms in the early 19th century under the idea of neo-humanism and thus the concept of training secondary teachers for the newly emerging secondary schools played a pivotal role in shaping the contours of a new professional group. The neo-humanistic ideal of secondary school teachers was to foment slow social reforms and thus transform social structures without causing an upheaval.

The Humboldtian ideas-inspired reforms in higher education influenced universities in the Hapsburg Empire in consequence of the revolutions in 1848–1849, which almost toppled the ruling dynasty. As a result, reforms were put in place including those related to higher education and the training of secondary school teachers which had been inspired by the Prussian decrees of 1810 and 1831 associated with teacher training. Since the Prussian concept of the unification process created the German Empire in 1871, it became obvious that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its higher education institutions would remain in a recipient role thanks to the enormous political and cultural influence of the new empire on nations in Central and Eastern Europe. The impact of the Prussian-type teacher training appears to have been the outcome of shared historical experience and the German language that was regarded as a lingua franca in countries with heterogeneous ethnic backgrounds such as those in the Monarchy.

The Prussian decrees of 1866 and 1887 were to further determine the trajectory of the development of the teacher training systems in the Monarchy. For the last time before the Great War, the teacher training system was modified on 15th June 1911 by decree 24.113 of the Ministry of Religion and Education. This order could be regarded as a reference point at least from two perspectives. First, the reform implied augmented the Prussian model of teacher training structure. Second, the decree inspired legislative initiatives in all parts of the Monarchy, which were to secede later on as a result of the Paris Peace Treaties between 1919 and 1921.

The primary aim of the symposium is to reveal how the training systems of secondary school teachers were transformed in Central and Eastern Europe in the interwar period, in which political, economic and social circumstances dramatically changed as a result of the war. The liberal political order and the Herbartianism within it as primary drives of the professionalisation processes of secondary school teachers came to an end only to be replaced by authoritarian and totalitarian regimes with nationalistic motives fuelled by sentiments of revenge for the perceived post-war injustices traumatising their countries and setting them against the beneficiaries of the Peace Treaties.

Participants of the symposium are to set out in their contributions as to how the teacher training systems in their countries were altered by the new social and political realities after 1918. Special attention will be focused on whether the training of secondary school teachers could be regarded as a continuation of professionalisation or rather that of



deprofessionalisation due to state intrusion into the professional affairs of the training institutions.

The symposium will feature two panels. In the two panels, German, Austrian, Hungarian, Czech and Romanian cases are to be discussed since these countries were badly shaken by the outcome of the war or arose as new states as a result of peace treaties. Various case studies with different relations to the new political reality resulting from the end of the war might shed light on how reform initiatives in different political systems affected the professional training of secondary teachers that once used to have common origins.

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period



The Klebelsbergian Reform of Hungarian Secondary Education as a Structural Basis of the Altering Teacher Training

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In the late 19th and early 20th century, a number of national public education systems went through a notable transformation in Central Europe. As a part of this process, in which the German-speaking areas played an important role (Cf. Bowen, 1981; Kotásek, 1996), the Act 11 of 1924 significantly changed the secondary school system in Hungary. Besides its effects on the contemporary school types and their content, it also influenced the interwar period's teacher training system. After the legislative acceptance of the regulation, Count Kuno von Klebelsberg, the minister of religion and public education, introduced another bill on the training and qualification of Hungarian secondary school teachers.

During its implementation (Act 27 of 1924), the previously reorganised secondary schools were of great importance from several aspects. On one hand, their matriculation exams were indicated as admission requirements of the renewed teacher training, which was followed by continuing studying regarding at least two of the secondary school subjects at one of the main Hungarian universities and at the related teacher training institutes. On the other hand, these transformed secondary education institutions also served as temporary practice schools at the training institutes' cities until the formal establishment of permanent ones.

Besides the above-outlined explicit connections between the two laws, further defining characteristics of their interaction have not been investigated beforehand. In order to bridge some of these gaps, the presentation raises the following research questions: first of all, what type of references can be identified in the teacher training reform about the renewal of secondary schools and vice versa? Secondly, what similarities and differences can be found in the two laws regarding the expression of ideology and social policy? Lastly, what was the perception of the previous secondary school system and the teacher training during the legislative process of the two bills?

With the purpose of revealing this information from the primary sources, historical source analysis and computer-assisted inductive content analysis were performed (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) on the relevant documents (particularly the text of the laws, parliamentary diaries, and other documents of the decision-making process).

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period

New Scientific Teacher Education for School and Nation - the Case of Czechoslovakia

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The question of the professional emancipation of teachers (both Czech and German-speaking) in the Czech lands of the monarchy – primary, lower and upper secondary levels – was closely related to the issues of the development of pedagogical science, the issue of school reform (the external school system and the internal methods of education and upbringing in schools), but also the broader cultural and political context, especially the question of national and civic emancipation (Gellner, 2010; Hobsbawm, 1992; Judson, 2006; Judson & Rozenblit, 2005).

The paper analyses, the actors of teacher training reform, as calls and proposals to reform or strengthen the quality of teacher education were voiced in the late 19th century (Kasper & Kasperová, 2015; Kasper & Kasperová, 2012). Furthermore, the analysis will entail the institutions (existing and new), which were involved in the demands for reform of teacher training. The reform of teacher education was an issue in the reform of university teacher training (for secondary school teachers), training in teacher seminaries (institutes), but also in further education for teachers in lower grades of schools or in newly established institutions (teacher training academies and professional private universities) (Kasperová, 2016).

Preliminary results suggest that after the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia (1918), suggestions related to the higher education of teachers came from teachers' associations, representatives of professional organizations, as well as from university associate professors and professors (both Czech and German). They argued for the necessity of a professionally oriented, i.e. based on a modern (exact, empirical) pedagogical science model of university teacher training. These reform demands had a "national subtext", which will be analysed in the paper. While Czech teacher education drew heavily on the tradition of positivist pedagogy and later behaviourism and pragmatism, German teacher education was more faithful to the tradition of German pedagogical discourse – partly German spiritual science pedagogy, less experimental pedagogy, although the latter also found resonance (Kasper & Kasperová, 2017a; Kasper & Kasperová, 2017b).

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period



Continuities in Uncertain Times. The Training of German-Speaking Secondary School Teachers in Romania between the World Wars

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The end of World War I was a major turning point for the whole of Europe, redrawing the borders in many regions of the continent. However, this did not only imply a need for political reorientation. Culture and education also had to adapt to the new realities. This process was particularly challenging for cultural minorities in areas now under the authority of a new nation state.

The Transylvanian Saxons are one of these groups. Their right to self-government within the Hungarian state dates back to the 13th century. Their confessional school system also dates from this period. Over the centuries, the Transylvanian Saxons managed to protect this school system more or less from state intervention and to preserve it as a central reproducer of their cultural identity. When Transylvania became part of Romania in 1919, the Transylvanian Saxons were granted regional school autonomy. In the years that followed, this autonomy, which included the training of primary and secondary school teachers, was increasingly called into question. The autonomy of the church schools of the Transylvanian Saxons was threatened not only by the central state education policy in Bucharest, but also by the development of National Socialism in the German Reich.

Fundamental research on these developments is available, notably from Walther König (E.g. König, 1994, 2005). Now, in 2021, the *Protokolle des Landeskonsistoriums der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Rumänien* [Protocols of the Regional Consistory of the Evangelical Church in Romania] of the years 1919–1944 have been published in a critical edition (Wien & Schuster, 2021). As the regional church was responsible for the schools of the Transylvanian Saxons, important discussions on the adaptation of school policy in general and teacher training in particular by the regional church authorities can be reconstructed on the basis of these documents. It is remarkable how, despite the uncertain conditions, attempts were made to maintain established continuities.

In this paper, I would like to present these discussions and thus contribute to adding another facet to the educational policy discussions on the training of secondary school teachers in the interwar period in South East Europe.

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Keywords: teacher training in Central and Eastern Europe, deviation from the German model of teacher education, nationalization affected reforms of teacher training in the interwar period



Educationalisation as a Tool for Catching Up: Industrial Schools and Global Economic Competition in Japan, 1870s–1910s

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“If the Asian countries do not develop industries as soon as possible, the whole Asian continent will be in the hands of these blue-eyed people. [...] Eventually the western countries will become highly developed and rich, and the Asian countries will stay poor and underdeveloped. [...] Therefore, we need to revitalize the industries and production in our Empire. [...] For doing so, we need to offer industrial education for our young people.”

These words were uttered by Tejima Seiichi, Meiji Japan’s foremost expert on technical education, in an influential journal article in 1886. They underline the urgency to improve Japan’s (and Asia’s) subordinate position in the global economy since the signing of unequal treaties in the 1850s. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan was in a complex process of introducing new and thoroughly transforming existing industries. For Tejima, technical education was the solution to these problems. This presentation follows debates on mid and lower-level technical education in Japan from the 1870s to the 1910s. It is largely based on Japanese reports published after world exhibitions. It particularly draws on the foreign educational models that Japanese experts evoked in order to better fight their “invisible war” against the Western economic powers.

Firstly, it shows how the policy of promoting industry and manufacture (*shokusan kōgyō*) was formulated after the Vienna exhibition of 1873 when technical skills were transferred to Japan and the first experimental Production School (*seisaku gakkōba*) was established. Secondly, it highlights debates after the 1878 exhibition in Paris when technical education was for the first time systematically considered as an option for Japan. Thirdly, it looks at the 1890s when far-reaching regulations were promulgated and, beyond the central *Tōkyō kōgyō gakkō*, a multitude of new schools were created throughout the country. Fourthly, it spotlights debates on vocational continuation schools (*jitsugyō hoshū gakkō*), often linked to the German *Fortbildungsschule* and the name of Georg Kerschensteiner, around the turn of the century. These dimensions will elucidate how experts such as Tejima enabled the progressive educationalisation of Japan’s industrial catching-up process.

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Keywords: technical education, Japan, Tejima Seiichi, world exhibitions, cultural transfers



Transnational Politics and the Rise of Chinese-Language Schooling in British Columbia, 1911–47

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This paper examines the origins and development of Chinese-language schooling in British Columbia between 1911 and 1947 from a transnational perspective. Much of the existing scholarship on the educational history of Chinese people in British Columbia during this period is concerned with their fights for equal rights to enter the mainstream education system under the analytical framework of anti-racism. Chinese-language schooling is seen as arising in reaction to the constraining effects and legalized discrimination of white supremacy within Canada. Little work has been done solely on Chinese-language schooling of this period, let alone analysing its origins, development, and internal diversity from a transnational perspective.

Making use of a combination of archives, newspapers, and other secondary sources in both Chinese and English, this paper first argues that the rise of Chinese-language schooling was not only a response of Chinese people to racism or their active efforts to preserve Chineseness in the host society of Canada but was also a product of political changes taking place on both sides of the Pacific during this period. Second, the paper argues that the internal diversity of Chinese-language schooling in British Columbia was a result of collaboration and power struggles within Chinese communities. In this way, Chinese-language schooling inevitably became a contested micro-arena of both local and transnational politics.

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Keywords: transnationalism, Chinese diaspora, Chinese-language schooling, British Columbia



The International Bureau of Education: a Platform for the International Dissemination of the New Education. The Influence of Piaget

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Founded in 1925 as a corporate association, the International Bureau of Education (IBE), after a profound reorganisation, became the first intergovernmental organisation in education in 1929. Throughout its existence as an autonomous institution until 1968, it defended the principles of the new education, of “active methods” (Piaget, 1939). The present contribution aims to show the origins of this commitment and the form it took during its activity as an international organisation under Piaget’s leadership. Which forms of international dissemination did the IBE invent in the function of the change of its structure and function? Responding to this question implies conceiving IBE’s activity as participating in an “educational internationalism” defined in the framework on the sociogenesis of internationalism (See for instance Sluga & Calvin, 2017). Our presentation is based on the analyses of the sources available in the IBE archives and in the Archives Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau (See Hofstetter & ÉRHISE, 2022; Hofstetter & Schneuwly, in press). They were not confined to official speeches but cross-referenced a variety of sources – diaries, reports and minutes, personal correspondence, and iconographic documents. These analyses show that it is possible to distinguish two phases of dissemination: one of militancy and one where new education only inspired IBE’s intergovernmental activity.

The IBE was founded by the Genevan *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, the standard-bearer of the educational renewal understood as a real “Copernican revolution”, considered to be based on solid scientific achievements. It was first and foremost concerned with contributing to the universalisation of this approach, which in its view leads to better international understanding and peace, by wanting to federate individuals, movements and associations which were defending the same new education ideal. Its activities were directly oriented towards the promotion of new education methods and ideals, claiming at the same time neutrality and scientific objectivity through surveys, documentation and experiments. Its main domains: global methods for reading, interschool correspondence, learning Esperanto, promoting children’s literature and more generally realising peace through school.

When it became an intergovernmental institution, committed to official neutrality and scientific objectivity, the IBE was forced, without denying its fundamental orientations, to clarify and qualify them. It did not renounce the ideas of pedagogical reform and the orientation towards international understanding, the IBE left militancy to other associations like NEF; it renounced the display of its reformist commitment. But “active methods” in the sense of new education were constantly instilled in international debates during the International Conferences of Public Education (ICPE) where representatives of most countries of the world discussed and adopted recommendations concerning crucial problems of education, defining “world’s aspiration of public education” (Piaget, 1961). These “active methods” were based on and justified by Piaget’s developmental psychology and became an obvious reference in international thinking about educational matters, more so as, since 1947, the ICPEs were co-organized with UNESCO.

To what degree this pedagogical orientation of the IBE as the first intergovernmental organization in education influenced other international organisations like OECD which adopt similar “constructivist” orientation (Robertson, 2013, p. 86) is open to discussion.



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Keywords: International Bureau of Education, new education, first intergovernmental organization in education, UNESCO



“Face Shocks, Shape Futures”: Intergovernmental Contributions to the Institutionalization of New Education Principles into Peace Education (IBE & UNESCO, 1968–2023)

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Fifty years after the adoption of the *Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (UNESCO, 1974), a revision appears necessary since «new threats endanger peace and human survival». Further considering education advancements, UNESCO claims that it is time to debate «the global consensus around the role of education» (UNESCO, 2023).

Pioneering intergovernmental organizations acting in education, namely the International Bureau of Education (IBE) then – and with – UNESCO, have shaped their activities around the cause of Peace Education (PE) (Hofstetter & ERHISE, 2022; Maurel, 2010, 2020). Nevertheless, if PE is aroused a good deal of intellectual emulsion, especially within the New Education (NE) movement (Bajaj, 2008; Hofstetter, Droux & Christian, 2020; Gutierrez, 2010), it is poorly defined in intergovernmental bodies. Its elusive nature (Bar-Tal, 2002) is subject to permanent evolution to ensure international adherence but also its adaptation to local needs (Brylinski, 2022). However, a major turning point occurred in the early 70s: a set of international recommendations on PE (IBE-UNESCO, 1968, 1975; UNESCO, 1974) were adopted to guide and govern educational initiatives and reforms.

Previous research exploring how delegates of States seized PE at the International Conferences on Education (1934–1958), reveals the emergence, not without political tensions, of a positive peace model declined as a holistic approach to reform structures and practices (Brylinski, 2022). Yet, it overlooked whether and how the ideas and principles of NE have been integrated or excluded from PE’s construction by governmental actors.

Thus, rooted in the scholarship on PE carried out by the IBE and UNESCO and its interaction with NE (Hofstetter, Schneuwly & Boss 2022; Boss, 2022; Brylinski, 2022), this research explores how these institutions have nourished their flagship cause with ideas of NE and principles. What knowledge has persisted or been ousted over the course of the 20th century? How PE has been seized by government representatives, and to what extent were they promoters or resistant to NE principles? In other words, this communication focuses on how ideas and principles of NE have been institutionalised and promoted via international organizations, under the banner of PE in the second half of the 20th century.

To do so, this research is designed with a two-step process: first, a cross-analysis of normative documents reveals the coherence but also the circulation of ideas in the production of the various tools (IBE-UNESCO’s 1968 recommendation; UNESCO’s 1974 recommendation; IBE-UNESCO’s resolution adopted in 1975, the 2023 revision, official speeches and other normative documents intended for States). Second, this is completed with qualitative analyses of the delegates’ interventions during debates, professional and personal correspondence, and the commented drafts of the aforementioned international tools. Framed into transnational history theories, this approach aims to enrich our understanding of the issues and tensions that have marked the integration – or not – of NE’ ideas in the construction of PE, as it has been promoted through international normative tools and frameworks intended to guide



intergovernmental cooperation – and subsequently national reforms – in education up until the present revision.

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Keywords: peace education, new education, international organization, global governance, intergovernmental cooperation



Education in Greece. A Paradigm of Reform and Counter-Reform Since 19th Century

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In the constitution of the modern Greek educational system in the 19th century, come into effect a range of ideas originating in the European Enlightenment and the post-enlightenment era, such as the idea of the perfectibility of mankind by the power of education, combined with ideas about the value of ancient Greek period, dominated by a “great” past and its memory, as well as with ideas of the necessity to transform Greece into a modern western European state. Under the influence of neohumanism, the reconstruction and preservation of ancient Greek culture lastingly dominate the content and the goals of education. In this framework, the school not only aimed at transmitting “knowledge” but also improving man to be “humane”, to be a “responsible citizen”, who could and should be shaped by education. In the newly founded Greek state, the educational system was significantly influenced by those of West European states particularly France and Germany. The modern Greek educational system follows Western European models not of their efficiency but of the absence in the newly founded Greek state, of a traditional and autonomous educational theory and practice.

Moreover, the absence of a dominant civil society in Greece, that could support an educational system oriented to middle-class values, led to an endless process of reform and counter-reform until the present day. This antagonism manifests itself in the diglossia problem in Greek schools and society. An antiquated ancient Greek tradition stands in opposition to a realistic and innovative approach to education matters.

The key point of this paper is to examine this progress during the 19th and 20th centuries and to indicate a hermeneutical approach to this phenomenon.

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Keywords: Greece, education, reform, counter-reform



Conflicts and Entanglements Between Profession, Economy and Ideology: A Case Study from 1950's Hungary and the Polytechnic "Reform"

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This presentation aims to introduce the polytechnic “reform” in Hungary through the multi-faceted, international context of the 1950s. This “reform” attempted to initiate a special kind of education, realised in productive work in the factories or collective farms. This was a unique phenomenon of the communist/socialist period – “Polytechnische Erziehung” as Skiera cited the original locus from Marx, warning us the relation between left-wing movements, life-reform and reform pedagogy (Skiera, 2009, p. 127). The ideological image remained always the background of different processes how politicians (Stalin, Khrushchev and their Hungarian followers), economists (planners) and educationalists tried to implement and fill this umbrella term with various activities and intentions.

In a state socialist country, behind the monolithic surface of the Party (with a capital letter) many interest groups existed, formed coalitions and confronted to each other in the decision-making mechanism (Somogyvári, 2019). Before the regime changes, it was usually hidden (not always, see: Kozma, 1985), but from a retrospective view, we can see at least two characteristic supporting groups of the radical transition to combine work and school.

First, representatives of the new public school-system after 1945, who refused the traditional knowledge in the „book-school” of the old middle class – polytechnic education was a tool in their hands to break the monopoly of the bourgeoisie and support the new intelligentsia.

Second, the experts of the economic planning approach to harmonize the outcome of schooling to the labour market much closer. A contradictory modernization and industrialization development was an inherent nature of the communist dictatorship (Kandiyoti, 2006), which strictly connected to the ideological need for polytechnic “reform”.

The quotation marks of the “reform” show the “stop and go” nature of development (Sáska, 1991), periods of expansion, then restrictions, reforms and counter-reforms. According to Gábor Halász (1986) the fight between the ideological and economic dimensions formed 1950s and 1960s Hungarian educational arena: educators with strong beliefs in Leninist and Stalinist ideas made big plans, then the planners failed their visions. The situation seemed more complex because sometimes ideology was only a helpful argumentation to achieve different individual and group goals. Based on party and ministerial archives, a researcher can unfold different stories and narratives – the paper looks outside of the pedagogy and schools, as the actors of educational and economic administration are as important as teachers and professionals in my logic. In a broader context, competition and confrontation in the Cold War play an important role in the story which is why I utilise the sources of the US Department of State as well. Translation functioned on different levels: interpreting socialist/communist meanings for the Western hemisphere or understanding Soviet intentions in the satellite countries were different sides of the symbolic reading (Venuti, 2005).

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Keywords: polytechnic education, Cold War, ideology, economic planning, socialist education



The Evolution of the ERASMUS Programme: A 30 Years Story of Innovations and Reforms

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The ERASMUS Programme was created in 1987 in the European Community, and it was designed as an exchange programme for the university students of the member states. At its core, it provided students with the opportunity to study for a maximum of one year at another institution from another country while covering some of the costs of their mobility. Time has passed, and more than 5 million students have benefited from this scheme that mostly kept the initial recipe unchanged. However, this does not mean that the Programme did not evolve. First, the ERASMUS Programme was created with significant compromises, some of which were corrected by subsequent reforms. Then, the Programme only functioned as a standalone initiative from its inception to 1995, when it was incorporated under the Socrates, a European educational sectorial programme that co-opted several European educational initiatives under its umbrella. After the second phase of Socrates, which ended in 2006, it was included under the Life Long Learning Programme and then ERASMUS Plus. We are currently in the sixth phase of the Programme launched in 2021 under the auspicious COVID-19 global pandemic. These several phases also served as occasions to further develop, innovate and reform the Programme.

Moreover, as the number of participants increased, so did the challenges to meet its ambitious goals within the available budget. In all these instances, the goal of the reforms was to make the Programme more accessible, friendly, and attractive for as many students as possible within the participant countries. At the same time, we should also assume that these reforms aimed to maximize the impact of the experience both for direct beneficiaries (students and, to some extent, higher education institutions) and indirect beneficiaries (for example, employers). Given this particular situation, we are interested in determining how the Programme was reformed from one phase to another to better answer the evolving educational context in a competitive and globalized world and address the primary beneficiaries' needs more accurately. Following this objective, our analysis will regard reforms in the design, processes (including de-bureaucratization and quality assurance), and management of the Programme. Particular attention will also be given to the reforms undertaken as an answer to the challenges and opportunities raised by the evolving context (for example, digitalization, virtual mobility, and others), and we will try to determine if any reforms carried out within the structure of the Programme were determined by the interdependent relationship with other European initiatives (for example the European Higher Education Area). In the end, this presentation will allow us to trace back and review these reforms and innovations carried out in the framework of the Programme and explain how these initiatives contributed to scaling the Programme, and transforming it into a successful European brand, while also identifying some of the shortcomings and challenges of these actions. To prevent confusion, we will limit this presentation to ERASMUS's component dedicated to student mobility (thus excluding teacher mobility and other forms of cooperation).



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Keywords: ERASMUS Programme, student mobility, evolution, reforms, challenges



What Does it Mean to Have a Multilingual Learning Context: A Case Study Built from Primary Science Education in Luxembourg

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Luxembourg is a country where multiculturalism and multilingualism have played a crucial role in its development, enabling the co-existence of several ethnolinguistic communities. Due in part to the trilingual status of the country and the resulting multilingual learning contexts, students' migration background has an impact on their educational path. This scenario is bounded by issues of equity, access, and language, as a high percentage of students do not speak the languages of instruction at home.

Therefore, as part of a PhD study that focuses on Early Childhood and Primary Science Education, with a related focus on Multilingual Learning Contexts and Primary Teacher Continuous Professional Development, we aim to present: First, a brief history of Luxembourg, including the grounding of its identity (through the establishment of its national language), the migration flux and its impact on students' educational path, and the language policies throughout school reforms. Second, the multilingual public school system, focuses on the official languages used within the school, outlining the diversity of students and existing inequalities; and, how primary science education emerged and plays a key role on students achievements.

Using a qualitative approach to research, this contribution builds a case study of multilingual school context for primary science education based on a literature review and document analysis.

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Keywords: multilingual learning context, case study, primary science education, Luxembourg



History of Education Meets Teacher Education: How the Educational Project of the Second Spanish Republic Inspires Innovative Teaching Today

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During the school year 1935–1936, the Republican primary school teacher Pau Farrús prompted his pupils to design a collective “cahier de roulement”. Inspired by the didactics of French pedagogue Célestin Freinet, this large notebook consisted of cooperatively making textual and visual synthesis of the syllabus covered throughout the academic year. Owing to vagaries of history, this notebook is part of the private collection of Farrús’ family descendants, who donated it to his home town – the Catalan Lleida-province village of Linyola. Seeking to promote this local heritage, the city council showcased this “cahier de roulement” in an exhibition in 2014, which was then displayed in Lleida University with a view to exploring its potential in terms of Teacher Education. Stirred by lecturer Dr. Gloria Jové, Teacher Education undergraduates were requested to connect the content and format of the 1935–1936 notebook with their own learning experiences (as former primary school and high school pupils, as undergraduates today, and as teachers-in-training doing internships in local state schools). The goal? To explore the extent to which the teaching scheme of a teacher imbued with the progressive educational ideas of the Second Spanish Republic could inspire learning experiences in the 21st century. The result? A multitemporal time travel that, acting as a line of flight across directions, intertwining heterogeneous features coming from different fields, different places and different timespans, fostered, as suggested by Bourriaud (2008), new, critical and innovative teaching/learning initiatives.

Inspired by this experience, this paper will put forward the new History of Education/Teacher Education scheme we are currently carrying out as lecturers in the Education Department, Lleida University. We are conducting a brand-new research project that implies opening a virtually unexplored historiographical gap: the new public examinations that the Provisional Republican Government decreed in 1931–1933 (the so-called “cursillos de selección profesional”). We do so by analysing an unknown manuscript collection, held at the Archive of our university, which includes 10 diaries written by Lleida teachers-in-training in February 1932. Persuaded of the progressivism, dynamism, and public commitment these diaries convey, we are currently using them as teaching material in our Teacher Education courses. This paper will hence tease out our experience connecting History of Education and Teacher Education as a way of exploring innovative teaching methodologies today. We do so by fostering rhizomatic thinking that, according to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), opens up new possibilities.

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Keywords: History of education; Second Spanish Republic; Teacher Education; Innovative Teaching Methodologies



From Biographical History to History of Civilisation. Leopold I in Belgian National History Textbooks for Secondary Education (1910–1960)

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In this paper, I want to investigate the specific role that the biography of Leopold I. played in the construction of the national canon in Belgian secondary school history education between 1910 and 1960. Starting from a quantitative and qualitative content analysis (E.g., De Paepe & Simon, 2003; Van Wiele, 2011) of Belgian Dutch- and French-language textbooks of patriotic history, I will try to determine the influence of the so-called 'official' Belgian historiography on Leopold I., as can be found in some major Belgian historians of the time, including Henri Pirenne (1932), Louis de Licherfelde (1927) and Carlo Bronne (1947). In particular, I will examine the possible influence of the conceptual transition in general Western European historiography from a purely biographical-narrative and legitimizing historical approach, emphasizing the political facts, wars and battles, to a broader and more abstract survey of the history of civilization, rather focussing on broader social and economic aspects. Finally, I will look for possible differences between Catholic and public education.

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Keywords: Nationalism and schooling, national identity, educational historiography



Citizenship Education in The European School System (1957–2010): Historical Evolution And Critical Aspects Between National, European And Global Actors

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In the past three decades, citizenship education has acquired a growing central role in the European Union (EU) educational policies. For example, in the Recommendations on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (EU Parliament & Council of EU, 2018), it is stated that the European Education Area should “harness the full potential of education and culture as drivers for jobs, social fairness, active citizenship as well as means to experience European identity in all its diversity” (p. 1). In this perspective, citizenship has also been defined as a competence made of various skills and articulated on different levels: national, European, and global. In the meantime, the pedagogical debate has underlined the need for a critical reflection on the concept of citizenship as a competence (Joris et al., 2021) and the necessity to overcome it by adopting a critical citizenship education model rather than a soft one, a model more aware of social justice and inequalities issues (Andreotti, 2006). Considering citizenship education discourse in Europe as constructed by educational actors working in networks and shaping the European Education Area (Lawn & Grek, 2012), this paper focuses on one of them in particular: the European School System, a specific education system officially established in 1957 for very practical reasons, to meet the educational needs of children of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)’s officials. In these Schools the civil dimension of education has been utopianly and rhetorically stressed quite often since their foundation. Even though previous research has shown that the European Schools are not perceived as political entities by their students and are rather the expression of an elite in its making (Finaldi-Baratieri, 2000), it may be relevant to ask and attempt to reconstruct what role these Schools had historically – due to the transnational relationships characterising them – in the definition of a European citizenship education model.

The systematic analysis (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2013) conducted goes from the year 1957 to 2010 and focuses mainly on normative documents and the general structure of primary and secondary school curricula considering them as a “material artefact produced by various agents, [...], as part of institutional networks that connect organizations, agents” (Dussel, 2020, p. 672). Pedagogical Bulletins written by the teachers and celebratory brochures are also analysed.

A complex image of citizenship education emerges, composed of entangled aspects such as the connection with language teaching as a tool for promoting peace and communication or the link with the concept of lifelong learning and – in the most recent documents – with the development of the knowledge society. In this way, the research attempts to contribute to the understanding of the historical origins of the various – and sometimes controversial – shades of the European citizenship education model.

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Keywords: citizenship education, European Union, curriculum reforms, 20th century



In Search of Certainty in School Reform. Data, Numbers, and Predictability in a Century of Evidence-based Policy

Chair: Rebekka Horlacher

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Discussant: Sophie Winkler

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At least since Theodore Porter's *Trust in Numbers* (1995), statistics has moved to the center of cultural discussions about schools and school policy. Behind the rise of statistics, Porter argues, is the belief that it can generate evidence that not only reflects the present, but can also tame chance or the future (Hacking, 1990).

While as early as the 1850s, especially in the context of the World's Fairs, data and figures were used to document the success of national education policies (and thus demonstrate one's nation as an exemplar for the world), it was not until the emergence of modern psychology in the late 19th century that it became possible to fuel the educational policy idea of generating data on learning and success, or innovation and success – data that could be used to fulfil the policy goal of making schools and teaching more efficient.

Although the success of this policy, which sought to combine research and school reform, could never be truly demonstrated, and thus its evidence is still pending, the culturally shared belief in the capacity of data was so great that the experiments were extended further and further.

A first internationally visible landmark was certainly the Teachers College founded shortly before the end of the 19th century, where behaviourism promised objective data and thus efficiency in school reform based on their own psychological research (Trohler & Maricic, 2022). After World War II., the appetite for data via assessment was not satiated but expanded, demonstrated by longitudinal research on education and careers beginning as early as the 1940s (Hutt, 2016, 2017). And after the end of the Cold War, and under the slogan of globalisation, the OECD regime, based on cognition psychology, began to orient comparative education in such a way that comparative data were used, not so much to (supposedly) make comparisons, but to commit nations to a single line of school development (Ydesen, 2022).

The proposed panel will approach the matter with three papers, which in turn are devoted to the beginning, the middle, and the (possible) end of this belief in the evidence-based infallibility of reform. Drawing on both printed and unprinted archival materials, all three historical papers employ both document and discourse analysis, hoping in this way to draw cornerstones of a history of belief in data and how people in power wanted to withdraw school reform from the philosophising and debating interactions of citizens and give it to the "crystal clear" datasets generated by test psychologists and experts.

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Keywords: trust in numbers, statistics, evidence, school reform



Foresight of a Better Future: Teachers College's Pioneers and Their Contributions to Data-Based Decision-Making in Education

Veronika MaricicHiba! A könyvjelző nem létezik.

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Student Contribution

Early experimental psychologists at Teachers College, Columbia University and their developments of a new science of education and a corresponding technology of testing, are generally acknowledged as central predecessors of today's numerical approach to education research. Remarkably, the key words coined within Teachers College at the time – e.g., evidence, standards, testing – which were derived from the idea of science – and technology –based decision making in education, constitute educational discourse to this day. This paper takes an actor-centered approach and explores the contributions of these early education researchers to data-based decision-making in education. In that, the focus lies primarily on the conceptualisation of the new science of education and its application to school issues in the first three decades of the 20th centuries. Furthermore, the hopes and visions of the pioneers for the future of data-based education governance will be explored. Thereby the paper shines light on the initial intentions behind a governing approach that has become central today.

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Keywords: trust in numbers, statistics, evidence, school reform



Learning to Count Like a State: An Exploration of American Efforts to Quantify Schools in the 20th Century

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Though efforts to quantify aspects of schooling was nearly universal during the 20th century, the specific ways in which governments went about these efforts reflected the parochial concerns and historical contingencies unique to each country. In the US, this meant finding a system of quantification amenable to the administrative thicket of American federalism and the country's history of local control. Despite a tendency to think of quantification as a universalising rationalisation where everything becomes comparable to everything else, the result in the US, at least initially, was quite the contrary: the production of a variety of independent and idiosyncratic data systems with only limited interoperability and, in turn, limited capacity to render stable comparisons. This paper explores this early history and offers a taxonomy of the efforts to develop and deploy useful quantitative comparisons. In doing so, the paper contributes to our understanding of how states, like students, learn how and what to count.

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Keywords: trust in numbers, statistics, evidence, school reform



Education Reform under the Spell of “Globalization”: International Performance Tests and National Scope for Action

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With the PISA test, an understanding of school reform developed predominantly during the U.S. Cold War became visible on a global scale, based entirely on test psychological evidence and statistics. It dispenses with teacher expertise and reduces learning experiences to measurable performances that are decoupled from the curriculum at hand, making an imaginary world of everyday challenges the basis for testing and evidence of the school system. The amazing thing about this comparative test design is that the respective national school policies took the “challenge” of their place in the ranking as an opportunity to reform their schools. This created the paradox that they based their school reforms on nationalistic motives – to be better than their neighbours – and thus ran counter to the basic thesis of globalisation that there is such a thing as an emerging harmonious World Society. Using some examples such as Switzerland and Sweden, this paper shows the paradoxical school reform effects that international test comparisons could have at the national level.

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Keywords: trust in numbers, statistics, evidence, school reform



Shedding Light onto Pedagogical Peripheries: Impacts and Effects on Schools and Schooling in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

Part 1

Chair: Lisa Rosén Rasmussen

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Discussant: Inés Dussel

CINVESTAV, Mexico

When we think of schools and schooling, images of classrooms with pupils that are taught by a teacher come to mind. In this scenario, teachers are trained to impart knowledge and skills that are necessary for a specific subject. This instruction process mostly takes place in a dyadic manner with the teachers leading the class and shaping the subject matter according to their didactical and pedagogical training. Although the core tasks of schools can be considered to take place in this fashion, a substantial part transcends the established educational setting between teacher and pupil(s). This transcendence takes place in “pedagogical peripheries”, as we would call the areas located on the outskirts of what is usually considered to be part of schooling. These peripheries can be reflected in different layers and spaces inside and outside of schools, they can stabilise or even challenge existing school structures and represent dynamic processes that go beyond the classroom and subject knowledge (E.g., Rasmussen, 2021; Burke, 2021).

With this symposium, we seek to explore the impact and trajectory of (semi-)peripheral spaces on schools and want to shed light on the sidelines of schooling, which are often overlooked and marginalised yet still exert a significant impact on the daily routines and operations of schools. The presented papers will focus on international case studies from the 19th and 20th centuries and encompass various disciplines concerned with school(ing) that transcend the classroom setting. With this wide scope and the breadth of source material, we can explore a variety of peripheries in different school systems and school types, which helps to challenge what we might take for granted and consider to be institutionalised features of schooling. Placing our case studies in a (semi-)peripheral realm of schooling highlights their liminality, and at the same time helps to frame them as branches of schools’ daily operations to underline their interconnectedness with routinised pedagogical settings and procedures (E.g., Larsson, 2012; Dussel, 2019). In this context, the debates on the interrelatedness and distinction between core tasks and (semi-)peripheries of schooling do not necessarily oppose each other or are merely connected, but are interwoven with each other (Ingold, 2011). On the contrary, pedagogical peripheries may tie into what has been framed as shifts, transformations, and reforms in the overall purpose of schooling in different political and socio-economic constellations (E.g., Crang & Thrift, 2000; Depaepe & Simon, 1995; Correia, 2021). These shifts can relate to topics such as environment, gender, technology, or health and safety. In a broader context, the symposium addresses the question of whether schools are expected to compensate for their increasing lack of resources (both with respect to funds and personnel) by outsourcing some of their responsibilities and how external actors interested in schools have directly and indirectly engaged with potential customers.

To aid in mapping these peripheral realms and investigating how they affect the purpose of school pedagogical knowledge, spaces, and temporalities, we propose to divide the symposium



into two parts which both focus on actors, materialities, and practices. The first part will concentrate on inherent parts of schooling, of which some have even become institutionalised school content. The second part of the symposium touches on areas that are located on the extended peripheries of schools – either spatially, in the form of locations and events, or regarding expertise that lies outside of the school's scope and primary purpose. By centring on the approach of pedagogical peripheries, we seek to shed light on possible continuities of traditional educational spaces, actors, and practices. At the same time, this approach can assist in uncovering tensions that ultimately led to (necessary) transitions on the sidelines of schooling.

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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



**“First Bread, and then School!” Origins of the School Lunch before and during the
German Empire (1865–1914)**

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Student Contribution

Each of us has unique experiences with school lunch, whether positive or negative. The significance of the daily school lunch for the physical and mental well-being of school children is indisputable. What constitutes a “good school lunch” remains a controversially debated issue. Besides urgent questions regarding the state’s responsibility and support for families in need, education on nutrition plays an increasing role in today’s schools due to growing ecological awareness.

The paper explores the history and origins of the school meal system in Germany and examines how the school lunch entered schools during the German Empire, using Berlin as a case study. School meals have a long history in Germany dating back to the 19th century. Around 1865 a network of various charity associations, women’s initiatives and religious groups became involved in feeding poor children, particularly during cold winter months. Initially, the state and school assumed a rather subordinate role in providing free meals, as their care would clearly interfere with parental responsibilities and rights, similarly to compulsory education.

Due to the growing poverty and desolate nutritional conditions of children in urban areas, the “Berliner Verein zur Speisung armer Kinder und Nothleidender” [Berlin Association for Feeding Poor Children and the Needy] set up so-called “Kindervolksküchen” [Children’s People’s Kitchens] on a voluntary basis from 1892/93 onwards, serving breakfast and lunch in classrooms and on the periphery of Berlin schools. Starving children whose parents worked full time in factories outside the cities should be given at least one warm meal a day in a secure environment to ensure their physical development and mental ability to learn.

As part of the subsequent social reforms (“Prussian Factory Law” of 1853, “Child Welfare Paragraph” of 1900), poor families received relief in the form of “free meals” (tokens) after proving their need and passing a school-medical examination. Pupils from socially better-off backgrounds could also benefit from these partially subsidised school meals. School meals served in classrooms, school cafeterias or canteens, under the supervision of the principal and teaching staff, provide a recreation phase during the school day.

By the end of the 19th century, attempts were made to make school meals less dependent on poor relief. At the same time the funding, responsibilities, and extent of meals served in public schools, remained a controversial issue due to inadequate hygienic standards, while private and boarding schools usually provided adequate staff and facilities (school kitchens, large dining halls and school gardens).

In addition to the history of the German school lunch, the paper focuses on two actors whose political and philanthropic engagement played an important role in the establishment of early school meals in Europe: The German sociologist and social reformer Helene Simon and the Jewish merchant and philanthropist Herrmann Abraham. Both promoted the legal basis and provided the institutional framework for increasing the nutrition and education opportunities for children from socially vulnerable families and their independence from poor relief.



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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



History and Stories about the Periphery of Schooling: What We Learnt about Morals and Hygiene in School Bathrooms

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One of the most outstanding characteristics of the Westernised 19th century was the emergence of spaces as problems. In Argentina, these concerns materialised in the work of the sanitary movement. These professionals dealt with spaces, particularly urban ones, until the consolidation of Argentine urbanism in the first decades of the 20th century (Rigotti, 2012).

This scenario is related to some observations by Foucault (Ravinow, 2015). This author pointed out that the rise of the city as a problem (“and as a solution”) not only implied the need to make decisions about public and private space but also to promote measures that lead people to introject certain norms on which the achievement of the ideal metropolis depended (Gorelik, 2003). The operation of primary schooling has been located at this juncture. The role of the common primary school as a formator of subjects-body has, fortunately, been extensively studied and there is a consensus about its effects on the construction of a certain “somatic culture” (Scharagrodsky & Narodowski, 2004). However, it is interesting to note that the importance attributed to spaces (buildings, classrooms and patios) and objects (furniture, school supplies and pictures) in pedagogical processes precedes the thoughts of the mid-19th century. Indeed, Western treatises and manuals, and national regulations addressed the importance of school buildings and objects to achieve the expansion (material and symbolic) of public education. Therefore, it can be reductionist to assign the role of massive schooling in spatial socialisation to a plan to educate “the body of the sovereign” (directly associated with 19th-century ideas). On the contrary, the importance of schooling lies in the fact that many people experienced modern spaces for the first time in these buildings.

Indeed, in the history of schooling, we find many technologies that operated on corporeality: desks, chairs, notebooks, toys and pens. In Argentina, due to the characteristics of housing and school buildings, the common primary school was one of the first modern spaces for mass attendance. Therefore, there was also socialisation regarding access, modes of circulation and communication, hierarchy of spaces and postures.

Here we are interested in the bodily and conduct adaptations that demanded the use of emerging school bathrooms: to urinate and defecate in latrines, and not in portable containers nor the streets, to hide some parts of the body, the “sexual” segregation, the use of water or soap, mirrors, times of use, forbidden practices, among other. School bathrooms represent peripheral spaces that matter for educational planning and debates. Our goal is to track practices that were later institutionalised as “moral” and “hygiene” precepts about school bathrooms.

Methodologically, oral history (Portelli, 2005) will allow us to integrate previous research about discourses, regulations, and technologies; with corporalities (gestures, postures) and subjective registers (impressions, perceptions, sensations). We understand that the notion of “experience” (Foucault, 2019; Latour, 2008) will make it possible to investigate these situations, actions and routines linked to school bathrooms.



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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness

Schooling in a Sandbox: Playground Movement in the Early Twentieth Century Finland

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For more than a century, public playgrounds have been regarded as important recreational spaces for urban children. The so-called playground movement began in the late 19th century United States and evolved into a transnational movement for ‘saving’ children from the dangers of the urban streets. The first playgrounds with professional ‘play leaders’ were intended as pedagogical institutions and aimed at governing the poor and immigrant children and educating them as future citizens (Cavallo, 1983; Gagen, 2000; Murnaghan, 2016). The playground movement first emerged in Finland through the work of 1910s bourgeois female physical educators. Supervised playgrounds operated during the school summer vacations and thus extended the educational practices and schooling to the leisure time of the children. Furthermore, many of the first playgrounds were built on the grounds of primary schools, connecting them to a familiar educational environment. Even though the daily schedule at supervised playgrounds was structured, the children were given relatively wide liberties to engage in play as they pleased (Jouhki, 2023).

This paper focuses on the history of playgrounds through educational practises in the early 20th century Helsinki, Finland. It aims to examine public playgrounds as a peripheral and previously overlooked aspect of traditional schooling environments. Much like schools and other recreational facilities, playgrounds are often regarded as “special” places designed by adults for children and their educational needs. They can, however, be viewed as places to which children attribute special meanings and create their own imaginative places (See Gagen, 2000; Rasmussen, 2004). Consequently, this paper examines the children attending supervised playgrounds both as pedagogical objects and active agents of their own right.

The research questions are 1) what kind of pedagogical ideals governed the daily life at playgrounds, and 2) how children and play leaders used playgrounds for their respective purposes. This is done by analysing three concurrent research data sets: 1) archival materials, such as municipal annual reports and playground journals, 2) accounts of play leaders in newspapers and magazines; and finally, 3) photographs depicting life in Finnish playgrounds from the 1920s to the 1940s. This paper adds to the rather biased historiography of playgrounds and their educational practises by combining complementary source materials and cross-reading them in dialogue.

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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



Gender and Race by the Early Years of Brazilian Basic Education (1938–1985): Reflections About Coloniality and the Teaching Profession

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This paper presents the results of investigations about the coloniality of gender and race in the history of Brazilian female teaching, between 1938–1985. This formulation stems from the understanding of teachers as a historical and multifaceted body fighting for women; human rights, as gender issues and their intersections impact on the Brazilian teaching reality, active in the early years of Basic Education, and the coloniality experienced daily by women female teachers from the perspective of gender and race, in line with Souza (2021).

Gender is understood as the cultural and colonial construction of power relations (Almeida, 2020), which cannot be analyzed without the intersections of class, race/ethnicity, among others. Cardoso (2010, p. 611) enables the understanding that racial and standardized hierarchies are privileges of white people, emphasizing whiteness as “[...] a place of symbolic, subjective, objective privileges, that is, tangible materials that collaborate for the social construction and reproduction of racial prejudice; unfair; racial discrimination and racism”. These are the results of bibliographical investigations, in terms of sources, and historical ones, in terms of approach, based on De Certeau (1995) theorizations on historical operations, for the demarcation of investigations in places of speech by the researchers, such as the question the whiteness of the skin of female teachers in Brazil, seen as a historic racist event, and the cultures drowned in the Atlantic, during the crossing of enslaved black people to Brazil (Akotirene, 2019), which were and continue to be minimized, disqualified and with persecutions to their complete erasures. “[...] In other words, race and racial identity were established as instruments for basic social classification of the population [...]” (Quijano, 2005, p. 117).

Thinking about women, the colonization process goes beyond the dehumanization of the category of biologically feminine people, but the human and social devaluation went towards everything that was linked to the feminine, such as children, people from the LGBTQIAP+ community (gays, lesbians, bisexuals, trans and transvestites, queer, intersex, asexual, pansexual, among other possibilities of being and existing), including in relation to professions, specifically in this summary, the teaching profession. Bento (2022, p. 23) points out that black and white people “[...] deal with legacies accumulated in stories of great pain and violence, which are reflected in the concrete and symbolic life of contemporary generations.” It is concluded that this process of disqualification embodied in race/ethnicity and female gender in relation to female teachers in Brazil, culminated in greater and better professional possibilities for white women, but they still suffer gender oppression and oppress black women from the silencing about the absence of black teachers and about the non-racialization of white people and their privileges in Brazilian teaching.

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Keywords: movements of women teachers, gender relations and their intersections, coloniality and whiteness



Gay Students Organization and Political Backlash at the University of New Hampshire, 1973

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In 1973, a group of students at the University of New Hampshire (UNH) formed the Gay Students Organization (GSO) to provide a meeting and social space for gay and lesbian students, and to help educate others on campus about sexual orientation. In short, they sought to reform their university to be a site for the advancement of LGBTQ rights.

While GSO was accepted by university administrators, the New Hampshire governor was irate and immediately sought to force its closure through legal cases and political pressure. He threatened to veto public funding for the university if GSO's recognition was not rescinded, appointed new university trustees who were opposed to the organization, and sued to kick it off campus. Under pressure, university trustees forbade GSO from holding social events and competing lawsuits ensued. When GSO tried to garner publicity for their cause by winning a charity auction of a pancake breakfast with the governor and his wife, the governor's allies artificially cut short bidding to prevent GSO from winning.

In this paper, we explore this important early LGBTQ student rights case – the three lawsuits that were filed by various parties were among the first of their type in the nation and *GSO v. Bonner* was only the second to be heard at the federal appellate level. In so doing, we argue that it contained elements of other cases but was unique due to the public nature of political resistance. While other early cases, such as those involving LGBTQ student groups at the University of Georgia and Virginia Commonwealth University (Cain & Hevel, 2020; Hevel & Cain 2023), included university administrators acting against LGBTQ students in hopes of avoiding political controversy, UNH administrators acted on principle to support students' legal rights. The statewide political and legal battles that followed had significant effects on LGBTQ rights but also on higher education in the state. Under pressure from lawmakers and a hyper-conservative newspaper publisher, UNH president Thomas N. Bonner left the institution for a less volatile situation at Union College. While Thomson never followed through on his threat to strip funding, he did veto legislation that would have empowered students by allowing them to elect a member of the Board of Trustees. Fearful that students would elect a trustee who would support GSO and other progressive causes, Thomson kept the power of appointment to himself.

Built on primary source evidence gathered at the UNH archives, as well as contemporaneous in newspapers and LGBTQ publications, court rulings, and oral history interviews, this paper contributes to the limited literature on LGBTQ students in the history of US higher education. Some useful works on the repression of LGBTQ students (E.g., Nash & Silverman, 2015) and on LGBTQ student organizations (E.g., Beemyn, 2003; Dilley, 2019) exist but much more work is needed on the lawsuits involving LGBTQ student rights. This paper contributes to that literature with an explicit emphasis on statewide political attacks. It also highlights student activists' efforts at reform and state political actors' efforts to stop such reform.



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Keywords: LGBTQ, student activism, higher education, college students



Reforming and Christianising the World: Indigenous Responses to Overseas Missionary Education, 1790–1870

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The overseas Christian missionary movements, intended to Christianise and therefore reform the world, from the 1780s, have frequently been perceived as promoting imperialism and colonisation (Said, 1993). Yet, historians such as Jehu Hanciles (2002), regard such views as negating the agency of Indigenous peoples, while contemporary histories of education acknowledge the global contribution of mission schools to education (Brockliss & Sheldon, 2012). Nevertheless, the unsuccessful struggles of pioneers to make converts are more likely to be reported by historians than the accounts of whole communities participating in Christian worship. The extent to which the intended objects of conversion used missionary education for their own ends (for example, to learn English) has also been acknowledged (Brockliss & Sheldon, 2012; Bagchi et al., 2014).

This paper will explore Indigenous responses to missionary education from 1790 to 1870, across a range of countries and continents, and Christian religious denominations. While inevitably refracted through the lens of European missionary adults, when read with care the sources yield insights which contrast with much of the existing historiography. These sources include manuscript letters and diaries, published memoirs and biographies, and institutional records of the Church Missionary Society, the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as well as the more frequently researched letters sent to the London Missionary Society (Manktelow, 2013). The locations included New Zealand, the South Pacific, India, Canada and South Africa, present day Nigeria and the Caribbean. The paper will examine the work of Anglican missionary bishops such as George Selwyn, Thomas Valpy French and Daniel Wilson, as well as the more frequently researched Nonconformists or non-Anglican Protestants (Bagchi et al., 2014). A very brief overview of the varieties of missionary education will be given, from small village schools to colleges for tertiary education.

The paper will first focus on responses to and participation in religious practices, regarded as key to the transmission of religious belief and thus to religious “reform”. Evidence survives of praying, Bible reading and hymn singing, often translated into local languages, being voluntary acts for individuals as well as at the community level. The second part will examine evidence of participation and achievement in other aspects of school curricula, such as basic English, music, and arithmetic. The third will examine the education and training of Indigenous people as catechists and for the ministry. While much historiography argues that such opportunities were restricted, many accounts survive of effective Indigenous evangelists. In conclusion, the paper will argue for evidence of Indigenous engagement with the reforming and Christianising mission, and that understanding such historical experiences can contribute to decolonising history curricula in the twenty-first century,

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Keywords: indigenous, missionaries, children, education, religion



Revisiting 'Domination vs Resistance': The Rhetoric of Japanese Colonial Reform and Korean Students' Resistance in the 1920s

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This study aims to re-examine the meaning of student resistance to the rhetoric of reforms proposed by the Japanese colonizers in Korea in the 1920s.

In the historiography of the colonial period in Korea (1910–1945), the binary constructions of historical narratives based on the typical schemes focusing on the dichotomy of 'domination versus resistance' have been challenged since the 1990s by post-nationalist scholarship. This scholarship, led by scholars on Korean studies in Western academia, such as Gi-Wook Shin and others (Shin & Robinson, 1999), has introduced alternative schemes to move beyond the dichotomy and has contributed to expanding the horizon of the approaches of colonial history. Student resistance was an important topic in the historiography of colonial education until the 1990s (Kim, 1999) but was not the subject of great interest since the 2000s, partly due to the influence of post-nationalist approaches in historical studies. Instead, Koreans' enthusiasm for schooling and learning and the competition for selective examinations have received more attention, sometimes susceptible to the misuse of history by politicians and scholars who hold apologetic assumptions about imperialism (Lee, Y., 2022). In this paper, we are interested in how the students' enthusiasm for education has been complexly expressed in various spectrums of resistance. Through this lens, we examine how students' desire for education and values were produced through resistance and discuss the implications for the future politics of Korean education.

In the 1920s, after the nationwide March First Movement by Koreans in 1919, Japanese colonial education policy changed from strict military rule to so-called 'cultural rule', based on the assimilationist rhetoric that the Korean system would be changed equivalent to the Japanese system (Caprio, 2022; Solomon, 2022). As a result, in the 1920s, Koreans' enthusiasm for schooling increased, while student resistance also intensified. Hence, this study examines various meanings of student resistance in the 1920s. Unlike the 1930s and 1940s, when Japan's militarization strengthened, records of student resistance until the 1920s and early 1930s are accessible through relatively diverse historical sources (Kang et al., 2021a, 2021b), such as various propaganda materials, court rulings, and documents compiled by the Japanese Government-General in Korea (Police Bureau of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, 1929).

While the records of 'explicit' resistance show various reasons for student dissent, such as political defiance, dissatisfaction with school management and teachers, and ethnic conflicts within schools (Park, 2017), the case of 'implicit' resistance involves the 'paradox' of colonial schooling, where notions of resistance were often hidden in the seemingly conforming aspirations for education. Regarding the latter, we are interested in texts written by students, such as *Zyukenkai*, a commercial magazine where the memoirs of test-takers preparing for civil service exams were published and included students' experiences illustrating their educational motivations and aspirations (Lee, M., 2022a, 2022b). Therefore, this paper focuses on the complexity of the students' desire for education and success, as expressed in the form of



explicit and implicit resistance, through which the image of the future they valued was projected.

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Keywords: Japanese colonial education in Korea, rhetoric of reform, student resistance, domination versus resistance, explicit and implicit resistance



The Disciplinarization of Morazán Thought during the Honduran Liberal Reform of 1876
La disciplinarización del Pensamiento Morazánico durante la Reforma Liberal hondureña de 1876

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Francisco Morazán was a self-taught Honduran military man, head of state, president of the Federal Republic of Central America between 1830 and 1838 and a recognized national hero since the Liberal Reform of 1876. During his career, he promoted multiple reforms for the installation of the Central American Federation through his revolutionary ideas.

In his documentary legacy, education appears as one of the fundamental pillars for the liberation of the people. After his execution by firing squad in 1842 and a prolonged period of conservatism that lasted until 1876, when the Liberal Reform began, his thought was taken up and appropriated with different nuances and uses in political, cultural and educational projects that sought to shape the behaviour of the Honduran school population. In the case of education, Morazanista thought was conditioned by the prescription of history as a discipline in the official school programs for primary, higher and normal education when the First Code of Public Instruction of 1881 was published. As an effect of these dispositions, on 27th August 1882, the Compendium of Social and Political History of Honduras was published for the secondary schools written by Antonio R. Vallejo and used as part of its sources the Memoirs of Francisco Morazán. How were these memoirs appropriated in the Compendium? How was Morazanist thought pedagogized for the students of the secondary schools from 1882 onwards? These are some of the questions that this paper intends to discuss through an analysis of Vallejo's Compendium, taking as a reference the studies of Amaya (2011) and Becerra (2007), in order to understand the processes of construction of the Morazanist imaginary and the permanence of his educational thought.

Also, Gondra's (2018) reflections on the importance of understanding how some prescribed knowledge is processed at a more molecular level and becomes evident with the identification of the traces of teachers' actions in the classroom are considered, having as a limit the rarefaction of the sources that record the school daily life, leading to consider others intended for teachers and students to perceive the ways of organizing school spaces as places of creation, and, simultaneously, governance devices to access in the same way to the small crowds that happen to frequent them (p. 88). Finally, with the theoretical contributions of Viñao (2002) on the relationship between reforms and school cultures and Chervel (1991) on the functions of school disciplines, we seek to reflect on the way in which a kind of disciplining process of Morazán thought was constituted during the Liberal Reform, providing inputs to think about contemporary projects such as the Morazán School of the neoliberal government of Carlos Roberto Reina and the proposal of the Morazán Chair of the Socialist Government of Xiomara Castro de Zelaya.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Francisco Morazán fue un autodidacta, militar hondureño, jefe de Estado, presidente de la República Federal de Centroamérica entre 1830 y 1838 y reconocido héroe nacional desde la Reforma Liberal de 1876. Durante su trayectoria impulsó múltiples reformas para la instalación de la Federación Centroamericana por medio de sus ideas revolucionarias. En su legado documental la educación aparece como uno de los pilares fundamentales para la liberación de los pueblos. Después de su fusilamiento en 1842 y de un prolongado periodo de conservadurismo que duró hasta 1876, época en que inicia la Reforma Liberal, su pensamiento fue retomado y apropiado con distintos matices y usos en los proyectos políticos, culturales y educativos que procuraban modelar



los comportamientos de la población escolar hondureña. En el caso de la educación, el pensamiento Morazanista fue condicionado por la prescripción de la historia como disciplina en los programas escolares oficiales para la enseñanza primaria, superior y normal al publicarse el Primer Código de Instrucción Pública de 1881. Como efecto de dichas disposiciones, el 27 de agosto de 1882 salió a la luz el Compendio de Historia Social y Política de Honduras destinado para los Colegios de segunda Enseñanza escrito por Antonio R. Vallejo y que utilizó como parte de sus fuentes las Memorias de Francisco Morazán. ¿Cómo fueron apropiadas dichas memorias en el Compendio? ¿De qué manera lo extraído formó parte de la propuesta de construcción de la idea nación en el Compendio? ¿Cómo fue pedagogizado el pensamiento Morazanista para los alumnos de los colegios de segunda enseñanza a partir de 1882? Son algunas indagaciones que pretende discutir este trabajo por medio de un análisis del Compendio de Vallejo tomando como referencia los estudios de Amaya (2011) y Becerra (2007), para comprender los procesos de construcción del imaginario morazánico y la permanencia de su pensamiento educativo. También, son consideradas las reflexiones de Gondra (2018) sobre la importancia de la comprensión acerca de cómo algunos saberes prescritos son procesados en un nivel más molecular y resultan evidentes con la identificación de los vestigios de las acciones de los profesores en el aula, teniendo como límite la rarefacción de las fuentes que registran el cotidiano escolar, llevando a considerar otras destinadas a profesores y alumnos para percibir las maneras de organizar los espacios escolares como lugares de creación, y, simultáneamente, dispositivos de gobierno para acceder de un mismo modo a las pequeñas multitudes que pasan a frecuentarlos (p. 88). Por fin, con los aportes teóricos de Viñao (2002) sobre la relación de las reformas y culturas escolares y de Chervel (1991) sobre las funciones de las disciplinas escolares se busca reflexionar sobre la manera en cómo fue constituido una especie de proceso de disciplinarización del pensamiento Morazánico durante la Reforma Liberal aportando insumos para pensar proyectos contemporáneo como la Escuela Morazánica del gobierno neoliberal de Carlos Roberto Reina y la propuesta de la Cátedra Morazánica del Gobierno Socialista de Xiomara Castro de Zelaya.

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Keywords: Francisco Morazán; historia de las disciplinas; reformas escolares



Influences of Educational Policies on Equal Opportunities and Educational Freedom in Spain (1978–2023)

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The aim of this research is to study the evolution of educational reforms and their influence on Spanish society throughout the political stage defined by the parliamentary monarchy. This study considers the goals, principles, and values pursued in the exercise of power by the different political parties and groups over fourteen legislative terms. The hypothesis guiding the research is that educational reforms have aimed to achieve equality of opportunities. To this end, they have modelled a basic architecture of opportunities that has tended to facilitate that people with similar capacities and skills, could have similar opportunities to achieve a similar educational level, although starting from different social positions and without compromising education freedoms. The results achieved by the policies implemented to extend education in Spain are analyzed, including the evolution of enrollment and changes in the quality of education, as well as its influence on the economy, politics, culture, and society's participation in the educational system. Mainly primary sources have been used. Among the conclusions, the model proposed in the Constitution, as the fundamental law, stands out. It has helped to solve the tension between the rights of freedom and equality in education. Fundamental rights have been prevalent in each of the educational reforms. On the other hand, the importance of the Constitutional Court is underlined; as part of the judiciary, it has actively participated in the resolution of different conflicts of interpretation of legality, to ensure that the actions of political and social powers were in accordance with the law. In terms of material results, there is no doubt that, despite socio-economic, geographical, or gender inequalities, among others, the reforms have tended to reduce them, as shown by the historical data for this stage.

The results allow us to advance that the evolution of the legislative measures that regulate the development of the general education system, high school, vocational training, and university have been influenced by different factors over the years, including historical and political events, social and economic trends and challenges, and the development and evolution of education at the international level. In this sense, it is noted that education tends to adapt to new training models, in which people may configure their own qualifications in a flexible way, facilitating opportunities to acquire education to a different degree and intensity and at different stages of life. In sum, it can be stated that equality of opportunities and freedom in education have been central objectives of Spanish educational policy. It has led to a significant improvement in access to education and the promotion of an equitable and diversified educational system. We do not doubt that there are still important challenges in these areas for the educational policy that must continue to evolve to overcome them.

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Keywords: educational reform, educational policy, Spain, educational equality, freedom



The Reform of the Dual Modality of the VET System in Spain: A Historical Analysis of Its Institutional Trajectory

La Reforma De La Modalidad Dual De La Formación Profesional En España: Un Análisis Histórico De Su Trayectoria Institucional

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Dual vocational education and training (dual VET) was launched in Spain at the end of 2012 with the approval of the Royal Decree 1529 developing the training and apprenticeship contract and establishing the bases for dual VET. This reform has been modelled on the German dual system, in what is described as a process of policy transfer (Evans, 2009). This German model, due to the promotion carried out by different international organisations, such as the OECD and the European Union, and various international cooperation agencies and foundations, has been described as a travelling policy or “global education policy” (Verger et al., 2012).

In Spain, the adoption of this policy was carried out in haste (Echeverría, 2016), barely a year into the new conservative government and without a diagnosis of the real needs of VET. Nor had it been widely demanded by employers, trade unions, teachers or young people, who did not participate in its initial design. Rather, as Marhuenda et al. (2019) point out, it formed part of the conservative political agenda, which had already introduced basic VET as a segregating itinerary in compulsory education, and which now sought to transfer the German dual model without taking into account contextual differences.

In the last decade, whose most relevant milestone is the approval of Organic Law 3/2022, of 31 March, on the organisation and integration of Vocational Education and Training, important changes have taken place in several areas. Firstly, there has been an exponential quantitative growth in the number of apprentices, companies and educational centres involved in its development. In 2013, there were 4292 apprentices and 173 educational centres involved, while in 2020, this had increased to 32919 apprentices and 1147 educational centres (MEFP, 2021), although with a very uneven development between the different autonomous communities. Secondly, the role played by a new constellation of non-governmental actors, in the form of pressure groups or philanthropic foundations, is noteworthy. Among these actors, the Bertelsmann Foundation stands out, which from the outset became one of the main driving forces behind the project through the creation of the Alliance for Dual VET. Subsequently, the Bankia Foundation (now CaixaBank Dualiza) has also developed various projects to promote the dual mode in educational centres. Finally, the influence of employers’ confederations, in addition to the Chambers of Commerce, should also be highlighted.

This paper aims to analyse the trajectory of institutional change in the Spanish VET system through an analytical framework comprising three levels (Carstensen & Ibsen, 2021). Firstly, the processes that establish the power relations between the involved actors, secondly, their main objectives and interpretations, and finally, the institutional configuration of the VET system.

This empirical analysis of the Spanish VET reform is based on two sources: key documents and interviews with actors involved in the policy process (senior ministry representatives, representatives of employers’ confederations, representatives of trade unions and teachers’ associations).

This research is part of the research project ‘Challenges and difficulties in the implementation of dual apprentice-ships in the Spanish VET system’ (RTI2018-101660-B-I00).



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La formación profesional dual (FPD) se pone en marcha en España a finales de 2012 con la aprobación del Real Decreto 1529 por el que se desarrolla el contrato para la formación y el aprendizaje y se establecen las bases de la FP dual. Esta reforma ha tenido como modelo de referencia al sistema dual alemán, en lo que se califica como un proceso de transferencia de políticas (Evans, 2009). Este modelo germano, debido a la promoción realizada por diferentes organizaciones internacionales, como la OCDE y la UE, y diversas agencias de cooperación y fundaciones, ha sido calificado como una *travelling policy* o una política educativa global (Verger et al., 2012).

En España la adopción de esta política se llevó a cabo con prisas (Echeverría, 2016), tras apenas un año del nuevo gobierno conservador y sin un diagnóstico de las necesidades reales del sistema. Tampoco había sido demandada de forma generalizada ni por el empresariado, ni por organizaciones sindicales, profesorado o jóvenes, que tampoco participaron en su diseño inicial. Más bien, como apunta Marhuenda et al. (2019), formó parte de la agenda política conservadora, que ya había introducido la FP básica como un itinerario segregador en la educación obligatoria, y que ahora pretendía transferir el modelo dual alemán sin tener en cuenta las diferencias contextuales.

En la última década, cuyo hito principal es la aprobación de la Ley Orgánica 3/2022, se han producido cambios importantes en diversos ámbitos. En primer lugar, se ha experimentado un crecimiento cuantitativo exponencial en el número de aprendices, empresas y centros educativos. En 2013, había 4292 aprendices y 173 centros educativos, mientras que en 2020, se había incrementado hasta los 32919 aprendices y 1147 centros educativos implicados (MEFP, 2021), con disparidad territorial. En segundo lugar, es destacable el papel ejercido por una nueva constelación de actores no gubernamentales, concretados en grupos de presión o fundaciones. Entre estos actores, destaca la Fundación Bertelsmann que desde el principio se convirtió en una de las principales impulsoras del proyecto a través de la creación de la Alianza por la FP Dual. Con posterioridad, la Fundación Bankia (ahora CaixaBank Dualiza) también ha desarrollado proyectos para impulsar la modalidad dual en centros educativos. Finalmente, destaca también la influencia de las confederaciones de empresarios y las Cámaras de Comercio.

Esta comunicación pretende analizar la trayectoria de cambio institucional del sistema de FPD a través de un marco analítico que comprende tres niveles (Carstensen & Ibsen, 2021). En primer lugar, los procesos que establecen las relaciones de poder entre los actores implicados, en segundo lugar, sus principales objetivos e interpretaciones y, finalmente, las configuración institucional del sistema de formación profesional.

Este análisis empírico de la reforma española de la FPD se basa en dos fuentes: documentos clave y entrevistas con actores implicados en el proceso político (altos representantes del ministerio, representantes de confederaciones de empresarios, representantes de sindicatos y de asociaciones de profesorado). Esta investigación forma parte del proyecto de investigación Retos y desafíos de la implantación de la FP dual (RTI2018-101660-B-I00).

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Keywords: vocational education and training, dual apprenticeships, policy analysis, education reform, policy transfer



The Diffusion of the Reform of Local Public Education from Central-Western Europe to Jewish Villages in Ottoman Palestine

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Primary schooling became a mass institution throughout Central and Western Europe during the 19th century as access to student populations (Braster, 2011; Brockliss & Sheldon, 2012). This paper argues that the reform in establishing Jewish primary schools in late Ottoman Palestine is a case study of diffusing local public education ideas from Central and Western Europe by actors and networks from there to territory without modern education in the 1880s–1910. This study is based on primary sources, including archival records of teachers, villages, and schools as well as teachers' memories, journals, and contemporary newspapers.

The actor was the Jewish Baron Rothschild. The networks were the Jewish transnational network, JCA, and the network of Hebrew-speaking teachers, which was also a social network of people with a vision of a new society. Baron Rothschild and the leaders of JCA were Third Republic citizens who were familiar with the reform of public education in France, which had enacted the Compulsory Education Law in 1882. Notably, the norm of public education had been recognized since 1867, following Durury's Law (Alix, 2019). Rothschild and JCA founded free primary schools in most Jewish villages in Ottoman Palestine in the 1880s–1910. These schools competed with the traditional education framework of *Heders*, which offered religious studies and the three Rs (reading, writing, and arithmetic) and was single-gendered. The *Heders* operated in the synagogues or the teachers' homes, and the parents paid the teachers' salaries (Seltenreich, 2014). The new schools, founded by Rothschild and JCA, were free and intended for all the village's girls and boys (Rishon LeZion School Committee, 1900). The establishment of free public education was the adoption of the norm of the obligation of the geographical community to take care of the education of its children. These villages were the only locations where all children had access to free primary education based on their residency in the geographical community. (Tadmor & Raichel, in print)

Two kinds of reforms that followed the free public schools were promulgated within the Jewish rural schooling in Ottoman Palestine, the formation of educational space and the curriculum reform. The children moved from non-designated spaces to educational areas in the form of a building of one size or another. The modern Jewish schools adopted the architecture of the classroom customary in Europe, comprising rows of wooden chairs and tables. The pedagogical objects in the classrooms included maps and inkwells. The learning environment had a schoolyard and sometimes gardens for the agricultural class.

The curriculum reform expanded the curriculum beyond the "three Rs". The rural curriculum included studies that opened a window to the world beyond the village, such as languages, math, geography, general history, and music (Hayoun, 1900–1914). The Hebrew-speaking teachers adopted two more new study subjects, the observation (*Anschaungsunterricht*) study, and agricultural studies. The reform of agricultural studies was intended to convey that the school would train its students to work the land (Dror, 2007). This study presents educational reform distribution and circulation processes from Europe to Ottoman Palestine.



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Keywords: local public education, diffusion, educational reform, Ottoman Palestine, rural schools



Garden City: Urban Form, Colonial Domesticity, and Spaces of Play for Children in Interwar Hong Kong

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This paper examines how the Garden City movement in interwar Hong Kong created a new residential architecture and supervised play space for middle-class Chinese children in suburban districts in Kowloon and Hong Kong Island. Pioneered by Ebenezer Howard in his 1899 publication *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (reprinted as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* in 1902), the original garden city idea advocated for the establishment of self-sustained communities that integrated country and town life. It was a model to 'revive the small town under 20th-century industrial conditions' (*The Hong Kong Telegraph*, 1914). When transplanted to Hong Kong, the garden city idea responded simultaneously to a wide stream of cultural currents. For the colonial state, it was an effective means to enact new town planning culture – creating a healthy domestic form on the one hand and transforming suburban housing form on the other. For the Chinese bourgeoisie, it allowed this class sector to consume the expanding material culture of respectability. Garden city estates, in turn, functioned as an expression of a class, namely, the colonial polite society.

The principle of wholesome community life advocated by the garden city idea subsequently gave rise to residents' associations that campaigned for the expansion of play architecture for children. As city-based bourgeoisie – comprising both European and Chinese mercantile and professional classes – offloaded their concern and frustration for urban health, particularly that of children, onto the newly developed garden city neighbourhoods, they helped to define an architecture and landscape of play that was distinctly counter-urban. Play architecture thus functioned as an expression of class anxiety, a shared outlook of the urban elite on childhood, and beneath it, lies the frustration about and hope for the future of the British empire.

Drawing on oral histories, diaries, newspaper articles, and institutional reports, this paper sheds light on both the colonial effort to implement a new town planning practice and the everyday realities of the middle class struggling to maintain a stable family life. Oral histories of rural Chinese children further reveal that against urban European and Chinese reformers' efforts to contain play practice within the 'playground', the play geography of children in interwar Hong Kong was rather dispersed in the sporting fields, swimming pools, botanical gardens, public piers: spaces that were made accessible by motor vehicles. This illuminates that garden city estates and landscapes were part of the interwar cultural pattern that permeated areas of urban planning, education, and leisure. This culture pattern, namely, the middle-class and urban culture proliferated with the middle-class residential mobility out of the crowded city areas to more healthy suburban districts. And with it, new lifestyles and values emerged that collectively defined the colonial middle classes in interwar Hong Kong.

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Keywords: garden city movement, Hong Kong, interwar, play, Chinese children



Education and Reform – Internationalism as Education and as Propaganda in the US Educational Radio Project (1936–1940)

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There was no bigger reform issue in the 1930s than internationalism. The Educational Radio Project (1936–1940) involved cooperation between the federal government and the two big commercial radio networks: NBC and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Its high-profile programs soon made it one of the most public and successful faces of government radio production in these years. At its peak, the Project was producing three network broadcasts a day and boasting that it had received a million letters from listeners, fewer than 250 of which were critical. The main form deployed in this work was that of the ‘dramatised documentary’. Documentary was an important part of this educational radio project – at a moment when international education itself was being reimagined and government agencies came to view documentaries as essential tools in mass democracies.

But while New Deal supporters viewed these Radio Project broadcasts as innovative tools for promoting civic engagement among the nation’s far-flung citizens, hostile critics perceived them simply as propaganda – most insidiously propaganda for the New Deal itself, with its program of rapidly expanding government activity. Archival evidence shows Radio Project writers and producers were usually very careful about the theme of expanding government responsibility for this reason. But on another fraught issue of the time – internationalism versus isolationism – they were much less self-conscious about the line between propaganda and education. Radio Project shows, such as *Democracy in Action*, unembarrassedly advocated internationalism, while remaining very cautious about New Deal growth of government issues. In *Democracy in Action* for example, the free trade policies of Secretary of State Cordell Hull were endorsed in the depiction of a world in which ‘the increasing obstacles to International trade have assumed immense importance’ and ‘to remove or at least reduce these barriers has become one of the major tasks of Government.’ The contrary concerns of isolationist Americans that protecting extensive international trade networks risked entangling the U.S. in foreign conflicts received little acknowledgement. The dominant liberal internationalist understanding – somewhere between pity and contempt – of populist isolationism. Across a yawning class and cultural gulf, internationalist Americans could only understand isolationists as having a deficit – of knowledge and understanding, perhaps of morals – and as sorely in need of more education from people such as themselves. The government-funded Educational Radio Project exemplified the taken-for-granted quality of much elite internationalism and its easy identification of isolationism as a disease for which adult education was the cure.

In the end the Radio Project – in an international environment of heated debate about dictatorship and democracy – was defunded thanks to a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress who were worried that government media habitually spread propaganda aimed at entrenching incumbents in power but were also concerned about government endorsed internationalism presented as education.

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Keywords: radio, propaganda, internationalism, education



Children in Advertisements and Educational Change. The Turn in the Representation of Childhood in Post-war Italy

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The *visual turn* has drawn considerable attention to all kinds of images and objects as valid sources of historical research in educational contexts, both within schools and beyond (Depaepe & Henkens, 2000; Dussel, 2019; Pozo Andrès & Braster, 2020). Although many visual materials such as photographs, paintings, and illustrations have already been extensively considered, advertisements aimed at children continue to be largely overlooked (Mattioni, 2017). Despite this general lack of attention, analysing advertisements allows us to understand the representations of childhood that were most widely accepted during a specific historical period and the kind of educational messages that were mostly transmitted at that time. In fact, they can be considered a mirror of a specific cultural context, providing us with information about the most popular educational objects, toys, products and books, and, more generally, the vision that society had for children. In addition, advertisements addressed to children can provide us with interesting information about educational issues, especially in view of how widespread advertisements were in popular culture in Europe during the 20th century.

After World War II., Italy was characterized by increases in industrialisation, mass education and strong economic growth, with the consequence that industry started producing products specifically for children (Meda, 2016). Moreover, educational reforms, especially with the introduction of the *Scuola media unica* (unified/single middle school) in 1962, the rise of new pedagogical movements, such as the “Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa”, and the experience of Don Milani’s Barbiana school, fundamentally changed ideas about childhood and its role in society (Sani & Pazzaglia, 2001).

The aim of this essay is to investigate the change in the representation of childhood in post-war Italy through an analysis of advertisements that appeared in two of the most widely-read magazines for children between 1950 and 1980: “*Il Corriere dei Piccoli*” and “*Il Giornalino*”.

Adopting the method of “*longue durée*” in historical research, the paper aims to underline the turning point that occurred between the 1970s and 1980s as consequence of the radical change in society’s consideration of children. These years, in fact, were also influenced by the new ideas brought about by the great social upheavals that characterized all Western society. The new concepts about education influenced not only schools and other educational spaces but also mass media addressed to children, such as advertisements, which contributed to the creation of a new imagery related to childhood.

In view of this, the focus will rest on two specific issues: representations of gender differences, and the imagery of school and scholastic objects.

Finally, since advertising is not neutral, I will consider the ideological differences between a Catholic magazine (“*Il Giornalino*”) and a secular magazine (“*Il Corriere dei Piccoli*”).

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Keywords: magazines for children, advertisements, representation of childhood, post-war Italy



Between the Partitions' "Tradition" and Independence "Modernity". The Directions of the Debate on the Shape of Polish Adult Education (1913–1919)

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Along with the acceleration of civilizational transformations in the subsequent decades of the 19th century, adult education started to play a more and more important role in Europe. That trend was additionally strengthened by the gradual being given voice so far unprivileged social classes – peasantry and workers. In the case of Polish territories, those general European rules of development of adult education overlapped with yet another phenomenon. In all Polish territories partitioned already in the 18th century by Prussia, Austria and Russia, non-school education played a significant role in preserving Polish identity during the 123 years of lack of independence.

The subject of the paper is a discussion on the possible shape of adult education in the second decade of the 20th century. The aim of the research is to present the Polish debate in this area conducted by various interest groups just before the outbreak of World War I. and in the first period after regaining independence by the state. The main research questions were formulated as follows: How did educators from individual partitions imagine the shape of adult education in free Poland? Which of the experiences of educational work from the time of the partitions were planned to be used in the reborn homeland and why? What conclusions on adult education reforms have been made and on what grounds? The basic research method was a critical analysis of sources – conducted in accordance with the assumptions of the social history of education, enriched with elements of historical comparative studies. In particular, documents from various educational societies and reports from educational congresses were analysed; other printed sources from before 1939 were also used.

The paper will present the main aspects of the discussion on directions of educational work and organizational and legal-financial issues involved in adult education between 1913 and the beginning of the II. Republic of Poland (1918–1919). The author will point out the relevant achievements of both 'the old' educational societies – established when Poland was under partitions – such as for example: Popular School Society, Society of Popular Reading Rooms or Polish School Motherland, as well as teachers' unions that were members of Bureau of Polish Education. Then the author will discuss the assumptions on adult education developed in Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment during the first months of independence and their impact on continuation of the debate on non-school /adult education held, *inter alia*, during IV Congress of Delegates of Teachers' Associations from the Kingdom of Poland, Poznań and Galicia regions (January 1919) and Great Teachers' Congress (Teachers' Parliament) held in Warsaw on 13–17 of April 1919. The presentation will also show the main items of the discussion on the form of adult education in regained Poland. The final part of the speech will be an attempt to systematise the most important challenges that educational associations and central and local authorities faced in their efforts to organize in a modern way the educational work for adult citizens of Poland after 1918.

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Keywords: history of adult education in II. Republic of Poland, history of Polish educational reforms at the dawn of independence, visions and disputes on adult education in Poland



Reform and Repression in Education (Berlin, 1933–1936)

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The history of education fulfills a social function linked to the origins of memory (Ramos, 2021). In this proposal we contribute to this important legacy by rescuing the repressed memory of Berlin education from oblivion. In 1933, with the coming to power of the National Socialist German Workers' Party [NSDAP, in German: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei], the repressive process of the so-called "Gleichschaltung" [in English: Assimilation and cohesion of its units] was set in motion. This desire for total control also extended to education and led to its ideological instrumentalisation. In order to impose his sovereignty, Hitler eliminated from the classroom any form of influence contrary to what Nazism advocated. The immediate consequence was the persecution of all professionals who were of Jewish or "non-Aryan" origin, as well as branded as political dissident. The legal basis for this purge formed the "Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service" [BBG, in German: Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums] (Fricke-Finkelburg, 1989; Mühl-Benninghaus, 1996; Bath, 1998).

Since the 1990s in Germany, numerous historiographical studies have been conducted with the aim of promoting collective memory (Cornelißen, 2003; Assmann, 2007, 2013; Erll, 2016) in order to unveil the silences imposed by the totalitarian system. In particular, publications by Radde (1993), Goldberg (1994), Meyhöfer (1996), Büning (2003), Hensel (2012), Rogler (2012) and Bergemann and Ladwig-Winter (2016) on schools and purification in the capital, as well as studies by Scholtz (2009), Nagel (2012), Müller and Ortmeyer (2017), Ortmeyer (2000) and Müller (2021) on teaching in Hitler's time are of relevance for this proposal.

Still, there remains a lack of studies that approach the repression of the Berlin region's civil servant teaching corps from a qualitative as well as a quantitative analysis. In order to fill this historiographical gap, several primary sources will be analysed, which are of great value for their testimonial character in highlighting the perspective of Nazi totalitarianism. Among others, we have studied service records, as well as school reports published by the Berlin Directorate General and the Berlin Inspectorate of Education, both are accessible in the Library for Research in the History of Education [BBF, in German: Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung]. The analysis of this documentation, which was largely produced by the actors themselves, will be carried out using the historical-educational method (Ruiz, 1976, Tiana, 1988) and the triangulation of sources.

In our proposal we will present some preliminary results, such as a complete list of the names of those punished, the total number of punishments imposed, as well as the type of accusations made against the Berlin teachers. As a secondary result, we have also recovered some life stories that allow us to understand the various dimensions of the repression suffered. All of the above will allow us to reconstruct or draw possible continuities and discontinuities in teaching in this period, and to recover the historical-educational memory of those who were abruptly and painfully expelled from service.

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Keywords: Berlin, purge, repression, education, Nazism



Becoming Republican Teachers: A Research Proposal for Analysing Educational Reforms Through Teachers' Bio-Professional Itineraries

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The first years of the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939) are well-known as a profoundly reformist period in Spanish history. From the very beginning, the school had a key role in this reform, as the Government understood education as the most effective means of shaping a new democratic society with republican values. Therefore, one of the essential points of governmental action was the spreading and improvement of primary education, for which the creation of thousands of jobs in public schools was planned (Molero-Pintado, 1977, p. 90), in an unprecedented State effort to expand schooling into the entire population. This effort would necessarily be followed by the concern about relying on teachers with a modern pedagogical culture, according to the progressive, social, and educational ideals of the new democratic regime.

For this reason, the Republic implemented different strategies attempting to transform the teaching staff. Firstly, the Government endeavoured to secure teachers for the future" by designing a totally refreshed training programme –known as "*Plan Profesional*" – which has been conceived as "the most complete teacher training plan that Spanish education has had in its entire history" (Molero-Pintado, 2009, p. 88). Secondly, the Republican Government widely promoted several initiatives to improve professional development for active teachers and encourage them to join with the reform (Pozo-Andrés, 2012, pp. 233–239). However, our proposal will focus on a third strategy, the so-called "*Cursillos de selección profesional*" which tried to cope with the urgent need for teachers to develop the educational project of the Republic. These *Cursillos* meant a new procedure for ensuring the proper recruiting of schoolteachers between the ones educated under old training programmes (García-Salmerón, 2001). Hence, these *Cursillos* attempted to recycle and transform improperly trained teachers into "Republican teachers". This paper will offer a preliminary insight into the sources and framework that can be used to analyse the impact of this selective and formative process. In order to do that, we will use documentation relating to the *Cursillos* deposited in university archives as the University of the Balearic Islands. The main objectives of the proposal are: First, to define the main characteristics of the *Cursillos*, focusing on the orientation and evolution of the formative contents which were considered ideal for defining the "Republican Teacher". Secondly, to explore a potential theoretical framework for evaluating the impact of this reformist selective process in the education system during the Republic and in the early years of Franco's regime, involving the study of the bio-professional itineraries of the teachers who participated in the *Cursillos*, which is inspired in a model developed in a previous work (Menguiano-Rodríguez, 2020). Finally, to ponder about the usefulness of foresaid professional itineraries for storytelling about the influence of the Republican reform in teachers, as such itineraries could be used for deconstructing, supporting, or reshaping the products of "public history" about the evolution of the Spanish public school, in which the Second Spanish Republic seemed to play a key role in the collective imaginary of nowadays Spanish teachers (Pozo-Andrés, 2022).

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Keywords: primary education reform, Second Spanish Republic, teacher selection process, teachers' professional identities, public history of education



The troubled implementation of the Casati Law in the Italian Mezzogiorno, with particular reference to Calabria (1861–1914)
La Loi Casati et sa Difficile Application en Calabre et dans le Mezzogiorno Italien (1861–1914)

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The purpose of this paper is to reflect on the law containing reforms to the provision of public education in Piedmont and Lombardy, passed in 1859 and known historically as the Casati Law. Inspired by the education systems and training programmes of other important European states (the United Kingdom, Belgium and Prussia), the law was tailored to the needs of Piedmont and Lombardy, which were culturally and economically the most dynamic regions in Italy, with the highest rates of literacy. The extension of this law following the unification of Italy to all of the kingdom's new provinces was therefore problematic. Indeed, the persistence of illiteracy in the Mezzogiorno in the decades following 1861 showed the unsuitability of the law for those areas that were also plagued by acute economic and social issues.

Elementary schooling and the construction of school buildings were entrusted to the municipalities, who were insufficiently funded and failed to fulfil their obligations. In addition, the teaching body was both numerically inadequate and often poorly qualified, despite the institution of the "Scuola Normale" teacher training colleges. The latter still attracted few trainees in the Mezzogiorno, especially in Calabria, due to the long-standing exclusion of women from schools. Together with the high illiteracy rates, these considerations meant that implementation of the Casati Law was always going to be difficult. Even technical and professional courses, the only ones able to generate elements that could drive the dissemination of "positive and modern education", thereby supporting the process of modernisation that had begun in the rest of the young Kingdom of Italy, had little appeal. This was not surprising, given the underperforming economy and the widespread practice of subsistence agriculture, in turn the result of the prevalence of the *latifundium* model of land ownership.

These issues were highlighted by "Meridionalist" intellectuals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries precisely with reference to the education question and the pressing social issues affecting the Mezzogiorno in general and Calabria in particular. Classical and humanistic studies were characterised by academic excellence but were reserved for a narrow elite, who were unable to change the plight of the Mezzogiorno, even in line with the stipulations of the Casati Law. The extremely wide educational, cultural and socio-economic gap that had become apparent in the aftermath of 1861 would thus have been impossible to close without the direct intervention of the central government. The task was entrusted however to local administrations that were insensitive to the repeated calls for the dissemination and strengthening of primary and professional education.

On the basis of a considerable volume of documentation, consulted in the archives, it is possible to trace the attempts at implementing the Law and the resistance encountered. Above all, the study reveals the failures resulting from the discrepancy between the condition of the southern areas and that of the contexts for which the law had originally been conceived. Of such failures, the history of schooling and education in Calabria contains ample evidence.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Cette contribution s'intéresse à la Loi Casati, approuvée en 1859 et visant à moderniser le système de l'enseignement public en Piémont et en Lombardie. La réforme établie par cette loi fut inspirée par les systèmes d'instruction d'importantes nations européennes (Angleterre, Belgique, Prusse) et elle répondait aux exigences spécifiques des deux régions concernées. Le Piémont et la Lombardie étaient en effet, à l'époque, les deux zones géographiques les plus dynamiques d'Italie des points de vue économique et culturel, enregistrant également le taux d'alphabétisation le plus haut du pays. En raison de ce contexte, l'extension de la validité de la loi Casati à l'ensemble des territoires italiens après l'Unité d'Italie (1861) fut difficile. Notamment, la persistance de l'analphabétisme dans le Mezzogiorno dans les décennies suivant l'extension de la loi démontre l'inadéquation de cette dernière par rapport à la situation des régions du Sud, marquées par des graves problèmes d'ordre social et économique.

Plusieurs raisons sont à la base de la difficile mise en œuvre de la réforme Casati dans le Mezzogiorno : les mairies, aux finances municipales désastreuses, furent chargées de la construction des bâtiments scolaires ; le taux d'analphabétisme demeurait extrêmement élevé ; la classe enseignante était peu nombreuse et peu qualifiée, malgré l'institution de la Scuola Normale (encore peu fréquentée en raison de la longue exclusion des femmes des parcours de formation). L'instruction technique et professionnalisante n'était pas dans une condition meilleure, en dépit du fait qu'elle constituait la seule formation capable de déclencher des changements socio-culturels, ainsi que de soutenir le processus de modernisation qui était déjà en cours dans le reste du jeune règne d'Italie. Dans un contexte caractérisé par les difficultés économiques et par une agriculture de subsistance – encouragée par la persistance du système des grands domaines – l'instruction technique ne savait pas être attirante. En effet, plusieurs intellectuels du Sud dénoncent la question entre la fin du XIX^e et le début du XX^e siècles, soulignant le problème éducatif et social qui opprimait le Mezzogiorno et la Calabre. La situation était différente pour les parcours de formation en Lettres et en Sciences Humaines, caractérisés par le haut niveau des enseignements. Cependant, la nature élitaire de ces parcours les rendait incapables d'influer sur le sort du Sud, malgré leur adhésion aux dispositions de la Loi Casati. Comblant l'énorme écart socio-économique, culturel et éducatif entre le Mezzogiorno et le reste de l'Italie après l'unification semblait impossible. Il aurait peut-être fallu une intervention de l'État face à des administrations locales trop souvent insensibles aux appels répétés du gouvernement pour renforcer l'instruction de base et la formation professionnalisante.

Grâce à une série de matériaux documentaires – consultés auprès des Archives –, nous avons pu retracer l'histoire des efforts déployés pour mettre en œuvre la loi Casati, ainsi que des résistances rencontrées et des tentatives manquées. En particulier, l'histoire du système scolaire en Calabre nous témoigne de l'échec dans l'application de la réforme Casati, dont la cause première est à chercher dans la grande disproportion entre la situation des régions du Sud et le contexte originellement visé par la loi.

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Keywords: Casati Law, Italian Mezzogiorno, Calabria, education, illiteracy



Academic History and Public History. Audiences as Information Providers and Publics

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The Christmas Seal was originally created in Denmark in 1904. Einar Holboll came up with the idea of selling stamps with no postal value during the Christmas season to raise money for the fight against tuberculosis (Christensen, 1968). This initiative quickly spread internationally. Catalonia, during the years of the Second Republic (1931–1939), when it was governed by the social democratic and pro-independence left, adapted the Danish initiative to its ambitious programme of educational and welfare reform. The reform was part of a broader sovereigntist project that sought to build the structures of a state of its own independent from Spain. One of the initiatives carried out to raise funds for this project was the sale of Christmas stamps for the fight against childhood tuberculosis under the name of Segell Pro Infància (Serrallonga, 2006).

The authors of this paper have studied in depth the Segell Pro Infància initiative, in the context of the educational and welfare reform of Catalan nationalism during the Second Republic. The results of this research have been published in *Paedagogica Historica* (Miquel, Sureda & Comas, 2018).

The aim of this paper is not to repeat what we have already published on Segell Pro Infància, but to examine the process that led us to become interested in this topic, and how we constructed our narrative, partly on the basis of public interest in the subject. The knowledge of the existence of the Christmas Seal and its Danish origin came from the visit of one of the authors of this paper to the Den Gamle By museum in Denmark, which houses an exhibition on the Christmas Seal.

A search in social networks and on the Internet confirmed that there was great social interest in Spain and Catalonia in this issue. Perhaps because the research coincided with the peak of the pro-independence movement in Catalonia. We found numerous references and many related items for sale on collectors' websites. Information from the Danish museum and information found on networks and the Internet were part of our research process. In this sense, it can be said that the audiences were of great help to our research. Therefore, in addition to publishing an article aimed at other academics, we wanted to give back to the public a simple, but orderly and structured narration of what the Segell was. This was done through *The Conversation*, a digital medium that aims to bring academic work to society (Miquel, 2022). This research and dissemination of results is an example of how historians, and especially public historians, should be attentive to the issues that concern society at each moment (Herman, Braster & del Pozo, 2022; Myers & Grosvenor, 2018) Accepting that the publics often show us topics to be developed, and even offer us sources and materials for the historical interpretation. Finally, it is also an exercise in historical dissemination using simple language and an attractive visual environment to bring historians and audiences closer together.

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Keywords: digital history, public history of education, educational reform, welfare reform



The Copyright Law and the Children's Literature Under the Fascism: a Control Instrument and Interesting Historical Source

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The goal of this work is to examine relations between fascism and children's literature, through the Office of Literary Property archival fund. This subject has been dealt with in numerous excellent works, such as those of Scotto di Luzio (1996) and Galfré (2005) ones, but the peculiarity of this project is the analysis made through an important and often unexplored material. The Office was created in 1926, following a royal decree no. 1950 of 1925, by which the fascist government reformed copyright and intellectual property legislation. This law, defending the rights and interests of the authors, had the purpose to include Italian culture in the corporate and control regime (Roghi, 2007).

In fact, in the same period, laws were passed that transformed the old liberal state into a dictatorship, called *leggi fascistissime*. The fund preserves many texts of children's literature from 1926 to 1945 and offers a great opportunity to reconstruct historical and political changes during the fascist dictatorship and to investigate the influence that these exercised on literature and education, for example, the transition from an idealist view, designed by Giovanni Gentile and Giuseppe Lombardo Radice with the school reform in 1923, to another clearly fascist one, that caught on in the late twenties (Boero & De Luca, (2009).

After an overview of copyright reform and the connections with the publishing industry, novels and school books about Italian historical figures will be tested to observe how, during the dictatorial period, the narration changed according to the interest of propaganda. History has, indeed, represented a preferred channel for each dictatorship, offering past reference models; fascism, especially (Ascenzi, 2021), used the figures of commanders, navigators, poets, and artists to create common mythology based on tales and national traditions. Furthermore, school notebooks of the twenties and thirties will be considered to assess the effects of several stories on children.

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Keywords: copyright, children's literature, propaganda, education



Back in the U.S.S.R: Mandatory Initial Military Training

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Initial military training as a compulsory subject in Soviet secondary schools was launched in 1968 as one of the results of the educational reform of that time. The subject was removed from schools in 1990 after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, compulsory military training will return to Russian schools, beginning in September 2023. Interestingly, the rhetoric of Soviet educational ideology is also returning.

According to J. I. Zajda (1980), World War II, or the Great Patriotic War (as it was known in the Soviet Union) had influenced the Soviet educational ideology. Not only the school had a duty to inculcate all young people's devotion and loyalty to the Soviet regime and the CPSU, but also developed a heightened responsibility to teach physical fitness and military training in preparation for any war.

At the same time, the Soviet Union positioned itself as devoted to world peace. The concept of peace was so elastic that it acquired different meanings in different social and political contexts. Most often the Soviets capitalized on peace in public speeches, Soviet-controlled media, and other public venues, coupled with denunciations of the United States as an imperialist aggressor (Goedde, 2019). During the Cold War, the Soviet Union began to promote the image of communist children's and youth organizations as proclaimers of peace around the world (Peacock, 2014).

The aim of this paper is to explore how Soviet ideology, which proclaimed peace but emphasized mandatory military training, functioned in the practice of Soviet schools. The case of schools in the Lithuanian SSR will be analysed in more detail. As for methods, analysis of historical sources (soviet textbooks, methodological tools), and qualitative interviews were employed as primary research techniques.

Concerning the *results*, having looked through the documents regulating activities of children and youth, methodology of upbringing, it can be concluded that military education was not in the least place not only in activities of Komsomols and pioneers but also in those of little Octobrists. The next stage, which embraces grades 4–8, continues political indoctrination through the curriculum. Additional reinforcement of the ideology is provided by the Pioneer and Komsomol youth organizations. The third, and possibly the most concentrated stage of military and patriotic education, takes place in the last two years of secondary schooling. The boys enrol for a compulsory subject, introduction to military training, in grade 9 and they are also expected to complete advanced norms of the ready for labour and defence programme. We can distinguish the constant military-patriotic education, continuing throughout the time of being in the educational system, and the initial military training as a separate subject for the students of 10th–11th grades in LSSR.

The analysis of qualitative interviews reveals that although military training was mandatory in schools of LSSR, the majority of pupils as well as teachers did not consider this study subject to be equivalent to other academic disciplines and approached this study subject carelessly. Neither the elements of official ideology nor those of military sub-culture propagated by Soviet pop culture spread widely in Lithuanian schools.



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Keywords: Soviet education, initial military training, Lithuanian Soviet school.



Shedding Light onto Pedagogical Peripheries: Impacts and Effects on Schools and Schooling in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

Part 2

Chair: Josefine Wähler

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Discussant: Ian Grosvenor

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When we think of schools and schooling, images of classrooms with pupils that are taught by a teacher come to mind. In this scenario, teachers are trained to impart knowledge and skills that are necessary for a specific subject. This instruction process mostly takes place in a dyadic manner with the teachers leading the class and shaping the subject matter according to their didactical and pedagogical training. Although the core tasks of schools can be considered to take place in this fashion, a substantial part transcends the established educational setting between teacher and pupil(s). This transcendence takes place in “pedagogical peripheries”, as we would call the areas located on the outskirts of what is usually considered to be part of schooling. These peripheries can be reflected in different layers and spaces inside and outside of schools, they can stabilise or even challenge existing school structures and represent dynamic processes that go beyond the classroom and subject knowledge (E.g., Rasmussen, 2021; Burke, 2021).

With this symposium, we seek to explore the impact and trajectory of (semi-)peripheral spaces on schools and want to shed light on the sidelines of schooling, which are often overlooked and marginalised yet still exert a significant impact on the daily routines and operations of schools. The presented papers will focus on international case studies from the 19th and 20th centuries and encompass various disciplines concerned with school(ing) that transcend the classroom setting. With this wide scope and the breadth of source material, we can explore a variety of peripheries in different school systems and school types, which helps to challenge what we might take for granted and consider to be institutionalised features of schooling. Placing our case studies in a (semi-)peripheral realm of schooling highlights their liminality, and at the same time helps to frame them as branches of schools’ daily operations to underline their interconnectedness with routinised pedagogical settings and procedures (E.g., Larsson, 2012; Dussel, 2019).

In this context, the debates on the interrelatedness and distinction between core tasks and (semi-)peripheries of schooling do not necessarily oppose each other or are merely connected, but are interwoven with each other (Ingold, 2011). On the contrary, pedagogical peripheries may tie into what has been framed as shifts, transformations, and reforms in the overall purpose of schooling in different political and socio-economic constellations (E.g., Crang & Thrift, 2000; Depaepe & Simon, 1995; Correia, 2021). These shifts can relate to topics such as environment, gender, technology, or health and safety. In a broader context, the symposium addresses the question of whether schools are expected to compensate for their increasing lack of resources (both with respect to funds and personnel) by outsourcing some of their responsibilities and how external actors interested in schools have directly and indirectly engaged with potential customers.



To aid in mapping these peripheral realms and investigating how they affect the purpose of school pedagogical knowledge, spaces, and temporalities, we propose to divide the symposium into two parts which both focus on actors, materialities, and practices. The first part will concentrate on inherent parts of schooling, of which some have even become institutionalised school content. The second part of the symposium touches on areas that are located on the extended peripheries of schools – either spatially, in the form of locations and events, or regarding expertise that lies outside of the school's scope and primary purpose.

By centring on the approach of pedagogical peripheries, we seek to shed light on possible continuities of traditional educational spaces, actors, and practices. At the same time, this approach can assist in uncovering tensions that ultimately led to (necessary) transitions on the sidelines of schooling.

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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



Schooling outside School: School Journeys in Secondary Education, Portugal (1890–1960)

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The proliferation of progressive education ideas and movements aiming to produce emancipated and productive people and the nation-states' agenda of national modernisation through education prompted school reforms across the globe at the turn of the 20th century (Ramos do Ó, 2003). This was also the case of Portugal who promulgated an extensive reform of secondary schooling in 1894 requiring new modes of teaching and learning which called for the use of active methods, such as school journeys.

In this paper, I discuss school journeys in secondary education in Portugal between 1890 and 1960 focusing on State regulation, educational ideas, and school practice. By bringing together the various parts of a broader discourse on a way of thinking and making schooling, I look at how this active method was regulated, argued for, and reportedly undertaken. I do it to discuss not only the ways in which central aspects of schooling were to take place outside of the school grounds but also its purposes and effects in the name of educational modernity (Sousa et. al., 2005).

Indeed, school journeys were an activity that was intended to take the students out of the school in order to observe, study and actively experience historical heritage, industrial processes, natural objects and phenomena, and societal achievements in situ, i.e. all culture related to what was to be seen, thought about and acted upon. Moreover, these journeys were imbued with the desire to produce a metamorphosis from student to citizen by promoting the students' learning and becoming processes (Félix, 2020).

The advent of school journeys in Portugal was deeply connected to the aims of New Education and to the idea of education as an instrument of societal renewal and progress of the nation. Their boom in the mid-1910s was accompanied by the proliferation of ideas that ultimately referred to the need to accomplish results. This, in turn, led to the strengthening of the teachers' role and to the reliance on once-perceived traditional forms of teaching and learning in which the students' engagement was restricted to that of observers, readers, listeners and writers of notes. Although by the 1930s this had already become ingrained in the grammar of schooling, it was the meticulous regulations enforced by the recently established dictatorship that crystallised the legal framework, educational ideas and practice of school journeys.

Thus, by taking the particular case of school journeys, I show how ideas of educational modernity became increasingly articulated and blended with long-established practices, and how learning was placed in relation to learning and becoming, both closely connected to narratives of national progress and belonging (Tröhler, Popkewitz & Labaree, 2011; Sobe, 2006). Indeed, activities based on observation, study and experience were connected to knowledge transfer as much as to the production of subjectivities. Therefore, I argue that school journeys were part of a 'Reason' (Popkewitz, 2014) that established objective systems to apprehend both individuals and the world, connecting each other by shaping an idea of cultural empowerment and intellectual emancipation through knowledge and identity.



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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



“Forty Blocks from Home” – Designated School Routes and Road Safety in Germany (ca. 1970s-1990s)

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Student Contribution

Students getting to and from school – a common sight on workday mornings – not only presents a daily routine for schoolchildren, but it has also been considered by (school) administrations, educators, parents, and other actors who take an interest in traffic. We can find various modes of transportation (walking, riding a bike, riding the (school) bus or public transportation, having your parents drive you to school or driving a car on your own) for getting to school, depending on the regional and historical contexts and the children’s age. With the onset of mass motorisation, traffic safety information and training have become pertinent issues that remain highly relevant, especially for children who represent the most vulnerable group when it comes to lethal road accidents (WHO, 2018). This has led to traffic education becoming a crucial part of school instruction (See e.g., Landahl, 2022), with ongoing debates between the need to make children responsible traffic participants (Smilie, 2022) and the demand to introduce safety measures (E.g., so-called “kiss-and-go zones” close to elementary schools in Berlin) that make traffic safer for children.

Framed as “pedagogical peripheries”, for children getting to and departing from school represent liminal phases that are characterised by role changes (from the child as a family member to their role as student, classmate, peer, and friend) and subsequently changes in responsibilities (E.g., watching out for other traffic participants) and skill sets (knowledge of traffic rules and safety) that children need to tap into. From an organisational perspective, children and especially elementary school students, need to be enrolled in schools that are located within a specific perimeter of their homes. This entails specific notions considered by school administrations and city planners concerning the distance students are able to cover to get to school.

This paper explores how school administrations, traffic associations, and city planners have sought to make school routes safer so that children can navigate them on their own or with the help of their peers or adults, e.g., in the form of school safety patrols or a designated police officer who comes to schools to teach the students about traffic safety. By examining materials on plans for specific school routes from the 1970s to 1990s, the contribution will trace how these designated routes were altered following the Recommendations for Traffic Education in Schools (1972), which actors were involved, and how they were designed to encompass the needs and attributed capabilities of schoolchildren.

The analysis traces an ongoing shift from traffic education to mobility education (E.g., Weihrauch, 2014), with growing attention directed at parents as stakeholders (e.g., VCD, 2018). These transformations depict the contestations and tensions between the various interest groups as they seek to implement their demands. On the one hand, educational and city administrations want to ensure a safe school route by instructing students to become knowledgeable and thus reliable traffic participants. On the other hand, other stakeholders such as parents request that the city should become more childproof and that schools should promote children's mobility skills.



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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



Aiming for Authenticity and for 'the Real Life': The Transformative Role of Private Companies in Public Schooling

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Over the last century, private companies have in Denmark moved from working in the periphery of public schooling to being in the centre of some of the most prominent projects for school development. Whereas the part of private corporations in public schooling might have become more obvious over time, its earlier potentially transformative or reforming effect on both school space and on the broader meaning-making regarding school and school curricula is still to be studied closely.

In this paper, I wish to explore the different and sometimes less noisy roles of private companies in the everyday based reforms of public schooling in Denmark in the second half of the 20th century and up until today. Internationally, the history of private companies' engagement in public schooling has been written as stories of advertisement and commerce with corporate logos and products given way into the classrooms because of economic re-organisations and cutbacks in the public sector. The schools accept the financial help from the private companies out of need (Gidney, 2019) or due to neo-liberal mechanisms (Ball, 2012). In this paper, I aim to analyse how private companies might also have been turned to and tied into public schooling for reasons other than financial and in ways where the private companies have been made part of educational imaginaries, constituting 'promising spaces' for change (Cooper, 2014) in both literal and figurative ways.

Based on a broader review of pedagogical journals and teaching materials from the period, the paper will read through selected empirical examples of private companies' entanglement in public schooling. The focus will be on how private companies have played a specific role in calls for authenticity and in a wish for students to engage in (their future) society and to meet 'the real life', while still at school. With the notion of cutting-together-apart (Barad, 2014), the paper will discuss the possible co-production of the school as in-authentic and 'not real' when inserting private companies into the imaginaries and longing for the authentic real. Furthermore, the analysis will, guided by the work of Davina Cooper (2014), pay attention to the diversity and the gradual displacement involved in the everyday actualisation of these imaginaries, how it involves and transforms spatial and material aspects of schooling, and how it becomes, directly and indirectly, part of the coming into being of school and curricula.

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Keywords: pedagogical peripheries, transitions, schooling, (educational) spaces, inter-relatedness



The Reflections of the Positivist Reform in the Italian School Through its Programs and the Repercussions in the Teaching Objects

Les Réflexions de la Réforme Positiviste Dans L'école Italienne à Travers Ses Programmes et Les Répercussions Dans Les Objets D'enseignement

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Through the new programs for the elementary school of 1888 written by the pedagogue Aristide Gabelli (1830–1891), Reform in the positivist sense enters the Italian school. Promoter of the objective method, of the use of the five senses and active teaching, Gabelli wants to make the pupil of the newly united Italy (1861) protagonist of the lessons (Argeri, 1973; De Salvo, 2011). The new way of educating and teaching must go through the “things” that are objects that belong to real life, to be used during the lessons: “The only really profitable teaching is what we gather ourselves from our experience. Hence the school that turns, as far as possible, into an exercise of observation [...] Since it is a matter of putting the pupil in contact with the world of things, the means cannot fail him, since this world is everywhere and in it we live” (R.D. n. 5724/1888).

Accustomed to the more traditional lectures, the Italian school is faced with a new concept of freedom both in the way of teaching both in the consideration of the pupil and his role. Faced with the need to put this Reform into practice and therefore have to equip the classrooms with these “things”, it is the Publishing Houses that give an answer. They understand how this Reform, and in particular these 1888 programs – that are an expression of it and that bring positivism to the classroom for the first time – also open a new commercial space: in addition to the more traditional textbook, they began to produce a series of teaching aids, for each discipline, quickly passing from two-dimensional aids (maps, wall panels...) to three-dimensional (removable solids, botanical and anatomical models, cassettes with samples).

The aim of the contribution – which is part of the research activities of the “Methodological and organizational innovation in small schools” Structure of INDIRE – is to study the effects of the Reform through their impact on the national production of teaching materials. What objects, what “new technologies” enter the school following the Positivist Reform and the programs of 1888 that transform this reform into law? And in particular which objects are designed for rural and multi-class “small schools”?

The source used for this study will be represented by the commercial catalogues of the companies producing these subsidies, thus inserting the contribution in the recent line of international historiography that has identified in this source a new and profitable field of investigation (López Martínez & Bernal Martínez, 2009; Martínez Ruiz-Funes, 2012; D'Enfert, 2014; Meda, 2016; Brunelli, 2018).

The source represented by the catalogue – in particular of the two most important companies of the new Italian school industry, Paravia and Vallardi – will be investigated to understand the changes and new products introduced after Gabelli's programs. Care will be taken to extrapolate the political, didactic, economic and communication references, of which the catalogue bears, which fully becomes a mirror of the material repercussions of the relationship between the history of education and Reform.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Grâce aux nouveaux programmes pour l'école primaire de 1888 écrits par le pédagogue Aristide Gabelli (1830–1891), la Réforme dans un sens positiviste entre dans l'école italienne. Promoteur de la méthode objective, de l'usage des cinq sens et d'une didactique active, Gabelli veut rendre l'élève de la nouvelle Italie unie récemment (1861) protagoniste des leçons (Argeri, 1973; De Salvo, 2011). La nouvelle façon d'éduquer et d'enseigner doit passer par les "choses", c'est-à-dire les objets qui appartiennent à la vie réelle, à utiliser pendant les leçons : "Le seul enseignement vraiment utile est celui que nous recueillons nous-mêmes de notre expérience. D'où l'école qui se transforme, dans la mesure du possible, en exercice d'observation [...] S'agissant de mettre l'élève pour ainsi dire en contact avec le monde des choses, les moyens ne peuvent lui manquer, puisque ce monde existe partout et que nous y vivons" (R.D. n. 5724/1888).

Habitée aux leçons plus traditionnelles en face à face, l'école italienne est confrontée à un nouveau concept de liberté tant dans la manière d'enseigner que dans la considération de l'élève et de son rôle. Face à l'exigence de mettre en pratique cette Réforme et de devoir donc doter les salles de classe de ces "choses", ce sont les maisons d'édition qui donnent une réponse. Elles comprennent comment cette Réforme et en particulier ces programmes de 1888 - qui en sont l'expression et qui apportent pour la première fois le positivisme en classe - ouvrent aussi un nouvel espace commercial : À côté du manuel plus traditionnel, elles commencent à produire une série de matériels didactiques, pour chaque discipline, passant rapidement de supports bidimensionnels (cartes, panneaux muraux...) à tridimensionnels (solides démontables, modèles botaniques et anatomiques, cassettes avec échantillons). La contribution - qui s'inscrit dans les activités de recherche de la Structure "Innovation méthodologique et organisationnelle dans les petites écoles" de l'INDIRE - entend donc étudier les conséquences de la Réforme à travers son impact sur la production nationale des aides didactiques. Quels objets, quelles "nouvelles technologies" entrent à l'école à la suite de la réforme positiviste et des programmes de 1888 qui transforment cette réforme en loi? And in particular which objects are designed for rural and multi-class "small schools"?

La source utilisée pour cette étude sera représentée par les catalogues commerciaux des Entreprises productrices de ces subsides, insérant ainsi la contribution dans la récente veine de l'historiographie internationale qui a identifié dans cette source un nouveau et profitable champ d'investigation (López Martínez & Bernal Martínez, 2009; Martínez Ruiz-Funes, 2012; D'Enfert, 2014; Meda, 2016; Brunelli, 2018).

La source représentée par le catalogue - en particulier des deux entreprises les plus importantes du nouveau marché scolaire italien, Paravia et Vallardi - sera étudiée pour comprendre les changements et les nouveaux produits insérés après les programmes de Gabelli. On aura soin d'extrapoler les références politiques, didactiques, économiques et de communication dont se fait porteur le catalogue, qui devient à plein titre un miroir des retombées matérielles du rapport entre histoire de l'éducation et réforme.

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Keywords: reform, positivism, didactic objects, school programs, technologies



**The Reforms Carried out by the Committee for Peasant Schools of the Agro Romano
thanks to the Montessori Method**

***Les Réformes du Comité pour les Ecoles des Paysans de l'Agro Romano grâce à la Méthode
Montessori***

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Abstract (in English)

At the end of the 19th century, Italy was still a young state that struggled to offer all families the possibility of sending their children to school and this favoured the emergence of private philanthropic associations. The *Ente scuole per i contadini dell'Agro romano* (Committee for Peasant Schools of the Ager Romanus) was born within the movement against malaria, created at the end of the 19th century under the aegis of the physicians Anna and Angelo Celli. Accompanied by a group of activists, including the young Maria Montessori, they quickly realised that quinine was not enough, given the disastrous sanitary situation in the Roman countryside. Prevention was essential and had to focus on education.

Alessandro Marcucci, director of the Committee, founded in 1907 as a branch of the Committee against Illiteracy, was convinced that schools should reach out to the children in the remote countryside. In 1907, the first primary school was opened, soon followed by many others. In 1915, the committee decided to open the first nursery schools. Marcucci wanted to adopt the Montessori method in order to promote both social and educational reform to support mothers, who were struggling with the education of younger children while their husbands were at the front.

Through an approach inspired by microhistory, and in particular through the experience of the teacher Irene Bernasconi, it is possible to write a new chapter on the reception of Maria Montessori's ideas in Italy, in an environment of extreme poverty. After attending the Montessori course of the Humanitarian Society of Milan (1914–1915), she asked to be sent "where no one wanted to go". In Palidoro (1915–1916) and then in Mezzaselva (1917–1920), dozens of children, thanks to Irene Bernasconi, made small conquests that would profoundly mark their lives, those of their families and entire villages.

An analysis of her official and personal diaries gives us a better understanding of the many challenges she had to overcome. Irene Bernasconi did not hesitate to adapt her proposals to meet the needs and reactions of her students, as shown by the material created after the Summer Course at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1917. Indeed, the lack of financial means sometimes forced teachers to seek compromises, which led to some tension between the Committee and Maria Montessori.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

À la fin du XIX siècle, l'Italie était encore un jeune état qui peinait à offrir à toutes les familles la possibilité d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école, ce qui favorisa l'émergence d'associations philanthropiques privées.

L'*Ente scuole per i contadini dell'Agro romano* vit le jour au sein du mouvement de lutte contre la malaria, créé à la fin du XIX siècle sous l'égide des médecins Anna et Angelo Celli. Accompagnés d'un groupe d'activistes dont la jeune Maria Montessori, ils comprirent rapidement au vu de la



situation hygiénique désastreuse de la campagne romaine que la quinine ne suffisait pas. La prévention était essentielle et devait être centrée sur l'éducation.

Alessandro Marcucci, directeur du *Comité pour les écoles pour les paysans de l'Agro romano* fondé en 1907, succursale du Comité contre l'analphabétisme, était convaincu que l'école devait aller à la rencontre des enfants dans les campagnes reculées. En 1907, la première école primaire fut ouverte, bientôt suivie par beaucoup d'autres.

En 1915, le comité décida d'ouvrir les premières écoles maternelles. Marcucci voulait adopter la méthode Montessori afin de favoriser une réforme à la fois sociale et éducative pour soutenir les mères aux prises avec l'éducation des plus jeunes enfants pendant que leurs maris étaient au front.

À travers une approche inspirée de la microhistoire, et en particulier grâce à l'expérience de l'institutrice Irene Bernasconi, il est possible d'écrire un chapitre inédit de la réception des idées de Maria Montessori en Italie, dans un milieu de pauvreté extrême.

Après avoir suivi le cours Montessori de la Société Humanitaire de Milan (1914-1915), elle demanda à être envoyée « là où personne ne voulait aller ». À Palidoro (1915-1916) et puis à Mezzaselva (1917-1920), c'est la vie de dizaines d'enfants qui, grâce à Irene Bernasconi, font de petites conquêtes qui marqueront profondément leur vie, celle de leur famille et de villages entiers.

Une analyse de ses journaux de bord, officiel et personnel, permet de mieux comprendre les nombreux défis qu'elle dut surmonter. Irene Bernasconi n'hésita pas à adapter ses propositions pour répondre aux besoins et aux réactions de ses élèves, comme en témoigne le matériel créé après le *Cours d'été* de l'Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau en 1917. En effet, le manque de moyens financiers obligeait parfois les enseignants à chercher des compromis, ce qui engendra certaines tensions entre le Comité et Maria Montessori.

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Keywords: réforme sociale, education populaire, Méthode Montessori



Montessorian Kindergartens in the Franco-Belgian Refuges of Paris and its Region During the First World War

Les Jardins d'enfants Montessoriens des refuges Franco-belges de Paris et sa région pendant la 1ère Guerre Mondiale

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While the First World War was raging and population movements in Europe were increasing, the reception of refugees was organized through local and national initiatives. This paper aims to take this context of the First World War in France to highlight the reception of children refugees within the framework of Montessori kindergartens set up in Franco-Belgian refuges in Paris and its region. The Montessori method is mobilized here in its curative dimension, for the benefit of the children to whom it is addressed, but also for the benefit of the adults, whether they are educators, mothers, or even war veterans who participate in the building of adapted furniture and equipment.

Based on concrete experiments, we will see how an educational approach can be envisaged for the benefit of children who have suffered the trauma of war, and how it can be mobilized for ordinary children once the war is over.

The questions we wish to address are part of axis 1, but also of axis 2, because they involve a reflection on the utopia of a caring education for all, carried by women who were committed in their time, and on the possibility of reforming the French educational system based on the experiments that these women helped to disseminate throughout the country, thus nourishing the educational renewal demanded by numerous pedagogues who became federated in 1921 within the international framework of the New Education.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Alors que la première guerre mondiale sévit et que les mouvements de population en Europe s'accroissent, l'accueil des réfugiés s'organise à partir d'initiatives, tant locales que nationales. Cette communication a ainsi pour objet de prendre ce contexte de la 1^{ère} guerre mondiale en France pour mettre au jour l'accueil des petits réfugiés dans le cadre de jardins d'enfants montessoriens mis en place dans des refuges franco-belges à Paris et sa région. La méthode montessori est ici mobilisée dans sa dimension curative, au profit des enfants auxquels elle s'adresse certes, mais également au profit des adultes qu'il s'agisse des éducatrices, des mères de famille, ou encore des mutilés de guerre qui participent à construire les mobilier et matériel adaptés.

L'enquête, qui mobilise des fonds d'archives publics et privés, permet de présenter des expériences concrètes à partir desquelles nous verrons comment une approche éducative a pu être envisagée au profit d'enfants ayant subis les traumatismes de la guerre, et en quoi elle a pu être mobilisée pour l'enfance ordinaire une fois la guerre terminée.

Les questions que nous souhaitons traiter s'inscrivent dans l'axe 1 mais également dans l'axe 2 car elles engagent une réflexion sur l'utopie d'une éducation bientraitante pour tous portée par des femmes engagées en leur temps, et sur la possibilité de réformer le système éducatif français à partir des expérimentations que ces femmes ont participé à essayer sur le territoire, venant nourrir le renouveau éducatif revendiqué par de nombreux pédagogues qui vont se fédérer dès 1921 dans le cadre du mouvement international de l'Education nouvelle.



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Keywords: Kindergarten, educational utopia, Montessori, New Education, World War I.



**Expression of the Principles of the New Education Movement in Modern Greek
Education at the beginning of the 20th Century**
***L'expression Des Principes du Mouvement de l'Éducation Nouvelle Dans L'enseignement
Grec Moderne au Début du XXe Siècle.***

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In Greece, the new perceptions of the subjects of Education were introduced by important educators (A. Delmouzos, M. Triantafyllidis, D. Glinos, M. Kountouras), who studied in Germany at the time when the Reformatory Pedagogy emerged and evolved. These educators were also the pioneers of the Educational Association, which contributed to the spreading of reformist ideas in Greece. Its main concern was the introduction of the "demotic" language (the modern Greek language) at school in replacement of the "katharousousa" (an archaising form of modern Greek) and the writing of books that would contribute to the essential education of the young learner. The Educational Association, with the support of the Liberal Party, managed to introduce the modern Greek language into the primary school by writing school textbooks, characteristic of which, except for the use of the native language, was the fact that they contained a new pedagogy, progressive, anti-authoritative and indirect lacking moralisation, didactics and commands.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the factors that assisted in the application of the principles of the New Education Movement from the European space to Modern Greek education as well as the principles of the movement that influenced it. The application of the principles results from the study of legal texts of the Greek Ministry of Education and the writing of new school textbooks mainly in Primary Education.

The method used is the historical-interpretive on both levels: a) the systematic historical-historiographical: school textbooks in state Primary Education in Greece in the beginning of the 20th century are recorded and presented; and b) analytical- interpretative: the analysis and interpretation of the previously mentioned textbooks are based on historical, political, social and educational contexts.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La notion du mouvement de l'éducation nouvelle abrite des propositions éducatives formulées par des pédagogues progressistes d'Europe et d'Amérique à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle lesquelles placent l'enfant au centre de l'éducation. La proposition du déplacement du centre pédagogique de l'enseignant vers l'enfant était renforcée par la conviction que la nouvelle pédagogie exprimait un nouvel idéal pour la civilisation humaine. Ce mouvement a été appelé "Education Progressive" en Amérique, "Nouvelle Education" en Europe et "Pédagogie de la Réforme" en Allemagne. Les idées de Rousseau et de Pestalozzi ainsi que celles de Dewey ont été décisives pour la modernisation de l'éducation tant en Europe qu'en Amérique. Ce mouvement a commencé comme une critique du système éducatif en vigueur et, à travers des expérimentations, elle a cherché à définir la "Nouvelle Éducation" et à moderniser l'école, dans le but de faire développer l'homme d'une manière holistique et d'assurer son équilibre mental.

En Grèce, les nouvelles idées concernant les sciences de l'éducation ont été exprimées par des pédagogues importants (A. Delmouzos, M. Triantafyllidis, D. Glinos, M. Kountouras), qui



faisaient leurs études en Allemagne à l'époque où la Pédagogie de la Réforme a fait son apparition et s'est mise à être développée. Ces pédagogues ont également été les pionniers du Groupe Educatif, qui a contribué à la diffusion des idées réformistes en Grèce. Sa principale préoccupation était l'introduction à l'école de la langue populaire ou démotique à la place de la «katharévousa» ou langue épurée (grec ancien) et l'écriture de manuels qui contribueraient à l'éducation essentielle du jeune apprenant. Le Groupe Educatif, avec l'appui du parti libéral, a réussi à introduire la langue populaire ou démotique à l'école primaire en rédigeant des manuels dont la caractéristique était que - outre l'utilisation de la langue populaire - ils contenaient une pédagogie nouvelle, progressive et anti-autoritaire, indirecte, sans enseignement de l'éthique, sans didactisme, sans commandements.

L'objectif de cet article est d'étudier les changements et l'expression des principes du mouvement de l'Education Nouvelle dans l'enseignement grec moderne. L'application des principes résulte d'une part de l'étude des décisions officielles du ministère grec de l'éducation, lesquelles expriment la politique éducative, et d'autre part à travers l'étude de nouveaux manuels scolaires, rédigés surtout pour l'école primaire.

La méthodologie adoptée est l'historique-interprétative appliquée à deux niveaux : a) méthodologie historique-historiographique systématique : les manuels de langue de l'école primaire en Grèce au début du XXe siècle sont enregistrées et présentées et b) méthodologie analytique-interprétative : l'analyse et l'interprétation de ces manuels scolaires à travers le contexte historique, politique, social et éducatif.

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Keywords: nouvelle éducation, manuels scolaires, socialisation, transmission de valeurs



**Comparative Approach to Educational Reforms in Brazil and in Brazilian States at the
Beginning of the Republic (1890–1897)**
***Abordagem Comparada De Reformas Educacionais No Brasil E Em Estados Brasileiros No Início
Da República (1890–1897)***

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In the clashes that took place in the early years of the First Republic (1889–1930), concerns with the formation of the contours of what would become republican society were imposed. Several political and philosophical orientations were presented, with a predominance of liberal ones, although marked by other trends. A plural scenario, which leads us to perceive difficulties in reaching consensus, as well as the gaps, omissions, inaccuracies, and ambiguities present in the laws of the period and in the practices of political agents. And that extends to the interior of institutions, including the school and the multiple proposals for educational reforms that are made explicit in laws at the federal and state levels.

We opted for the analysis of school constitutions and regulations, in a comparative perspective, using not the totality of this documentary set, which encompasses the Union and the 20 federated states of the early Republic (plus the territory of Acre), but a sample that involves the constitutions federal and 4 states (Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Minas Gerais, Goiás), in the same way using the regulations of the Federal District and the regulations of the 4 states. It should be highlighted the referential character that both the Federal Constitution and the Federal District regulation assume for the states. We believe that we can find in laws much more than the simple legal provision. They contain principles, projects, and conflicts that involve the delimitation, contours of social life, and the valuation of work. Categories within the legislation were highlighted and compared: freedom of teaching, responsibility for public instruction, subsidies for private education, Church-State-Education relations, control of books and textbooks, morals and civics, disciplinary issues for teachers, disciplinary issues for students, democratic/advanced practices and modern pedagogical initiatives. In the end, we realized that the federal and state Constitutions lead to a not-very-encouraging picture. The liberal basis establishes relationships of dependency and hierarchy between the federated entities, but this federalism also makes possible the omission of central power and the transposition of responsibilities that should be considered of a general nature for the scrutiny of each state. In the same way, in the regulations of the states, we perceive divergences and approximations with the provisions of the Federal District law, in the same way as with initiatives in other states. The freedom of teaching stands out, as the transfer of responsibilities to the private sector and to the Church, as well as to the municipalities, the concern with disciplinary control and syllabus content, the release of financing obligations. This study recalls the importance of seeking new sources or perspectives for analysis, inserting new characters in the debate to broaden the understanding of education as a process that forms historically, over time, and not as a challenge that appears or needs to be resolved at once in the present tense.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Nos embates que se processam nos anos iniciais da Primeira República se impõem as preocupações com a formação dos contornos do que viria a ser a sociedade republicana. Diversas orientações políticas e filosóficas foram apresentadas, com predominância das liberais, embora marcadas pelo positivismo e outras tendências. Um cenário plural, o que nos leva a perceber as dificuldades para se chegar a consensos, bem como as lacunas, omissões, imprecisões, ambiguidades presentes nas leis do período e nas práticas dos agentes políticos. E que se estendem para o interior das instituições, entre as quais, a escola e as múltiplas propostas de reformas



educativas que foram explicitadas em leis nos níveis federal e estadual. Optamos pela análise das constituições e dos regulamentos escolares, numa perspectiva comparada, utilizando não a totalidades desse conjunto documental, que engloba a União e os 20 estados federados do início da República (mais o território do Acre), mas uma amostra que envolve as constituições federal e de 4 estados (Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Minas Gerais e Goiás), da mesma forma utilizando o regulamento do Distrito Federal e os regulamentos dos 4 estados. Deve-se destacar o caráter referencial que a Constituição federal e o regulamento do Distrito Federal assumem para os estados. Cremos, também, que podemos encontrar nas leis muito mais do que o simples dispositivo legal. Elas contêm princípios, projetos, conflitos que envolvem a delimitação, os contornos da vida social, a valorização do trabalho etc. Foram destacadas e comparadas categorias no interior da legislação: liberdade de ensino, responsabilidade pela instrução pública, subsídios ao ensino privado, relações Igreja-Estado-Educação, controle de livros e compêndios, moral e civismo, questões disciplinares dos professores, questões disciplinares dos alunos, práticas democráticas/avançadas e iniciativas pedagógicas modernas. Ao final, percebemos que a Constituição federal e as estaduais remetem para um quadro não muito animador. A base liberal estabelece relações de dependência e hierarquia entre os entes federados, mas esse federalismo possibilita também a omissão do poder central e a transposição de responsabilidades que deveriam ser consideradas como de caráter geral para o escrutínio de cada estado. Da mesma forma, nos regulamentos dos estados, percebemos divergências e aproximações com o disposto na lei do Distrito Federal, da mesma forma que com iniciativas dos outros estados. Destaca-se a liberdade de ensino, a transmissão de responsabilidades para a iniciativa privada e para a Igreja, bem como para os municípios, a preocupação com controle disciplinar e de conteúdos programáticos, a desobrigação com o financiamento, etc. Relembra-se, com este estudo, a importância de se buscar novas fontes ou perspectivas de análise, inserir novos personagens no debate para ampliarmos a compreensão da educação como um processo que se forma historicamente, ao longo do tempo, e não como um desafio que aparece ou necessita ser resolvido de uma vez no tempo presente.

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Keywords: educational reform, Brazilian Republic, comparative approach



Teacher Training in Brazil and Educational Reforms (1960–1980): Devaluation and Decharacterization of its Processes

A Formação de Professores no Brasil e as Reformas Educacionais (1960–1980): Desvalorização E Descaracterização Em Seus Processos

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This article brings the results of research developed with the purpose of reflecting on the meaning of educational reforms of teacher education in Brazil, between 1940 and 1980. The formation of teachers in Brazil for Primary School education took place in the so-called Teachers' Colleges, institutions with medium-level Teaching Qualification and in the graduation in Pedagogy courses. Such educational institutions are inserted in a certain social environment, which implies a cultural identity that is unique and different from the others, each representing a certain way of understanding the society in which it is inserted, through specific appropriations of cultural elements (Chervel, 1990). These appropriations are governed by legislation, according to the objective to be achieved.

Thus, the investigations carried out were based on the following questions: What are the impacts of the legal prescriptions for education and, specifically, for teacher education in Brazil, during the period of political dictatorship, between 1960 and 1980, a period in which education was regulated by the first Law of Directives and Bases for National Education (LDB), n. 4.024/61 (Brazil, 1961). Historical research was developed, as to the approach, and documental, as to the sources, since the *corpus* of the research was constituted by the set of legislation that guided the educational reforms in education and teacher training in Brazil.

It was concluded that, following the directives of the Organic Laws of the previous period, the 1940s (Saviani, 1995), the LDB had a political and systemic directive for education. However, it was precarious, as it preserved the organization of the previous levels of education, and did not bring the necessary solutions to the problem of the duality of the education system, keeping it as of low quality for the working classes and propaedeutic for Higher Education, directed to the more financially wealthy classes. For the lower classes, Teachers' Colleges continued to prepare elementary school teachers for compulsory education (from 1st to 4th grades), thus devaluating the profession of teachers in Brazil. In 1971, when the country was still controlled by the military regime, Law n. 5692/71 (Brazil, 1971) was promulgated, reinforcing the dictatorship's principles, incorporating the rationalization of school work and adopting professionalizing teaching at the secondary level, which was also geared to the training of teachers. Thus, from 1971 on, School Groups were transformed into 1st and 2nd grade schools, disciplining 1st and 2nd grade teaching and molding university teaching to the North-American model. As for the Teachers' College, it was kept in the core of the compulsory professionalization adopted for the 2nd grade, losing the status of school and course, becoming a Specific Qualification for Teaching. The Institutes of Education and the training of specialists and teachers for the Teachers' College Courses disappeared, which became part of the Pedagogy Courses, losing the character of teacher training. Thus, answering the question, between 1960 and 1980, in compliance with the laws, there was a growing process of devaluation and disintegration in the preparation of teacher education in Brazil, meeting the statements of Ghiraldelli (1990).

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)



Apresentam-se resultados das investigações desenvolvidas com o objetivo de refletir sobre o sentido das reformas educacionais de formação de professores no Brasil, entre 1940 e 1980. A formação de professores no Brasil para o ensino de 1º Grau aconteceu nas chamadas Escolas Normais, instituições com Habilitação de Magistério, de nível médio, e na licenciatura em cursos de Pedagogia. Tais instituições educacionais estão inseridas em determinado meio social, que implica em uma identidade cultural que lhe é singular e, as quais se diferenciam uma das outras, cada qual representando certa forma de compreensão da sociedade em que está inserida, mediante apropriações específicas dos elementos da cultura (Chervel, 1990). Essas apropriações são regidas mediante legislações, segundo o objetivo a atingir. Assim, as investigações realizadas partiram dos seguintes questionamentos: quais os impactos das prescrições legais para a educação e, especificamente, para a formação de professores no Brasil, no período de ditadura política, entre 1960 e 1980, período em que a educação foi regulada pela primeira lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (LDB), n. 4.024/61 (Brasil, 1961). Foi desenvolvida pesquisa histórica, quanto à abordagem, e documental, quanto às fontes, pois o *corpus* da pesquisa foi constituído pelo conjunto da legislação norteadora das reformas educacionais na educação e na formação de professores no Brasil. Concluiu-se que, seguindo os direcionamentos das Leis Orgânicas do período anterior, década de 1940 (Saviani, 2009), a LDB teve diretriz política e sistêmica para a educação. No entanto, foi precária, pois conservando a organização dos níveis de ensino anterior, não trouxe soluções necessárias ao problema da dualidade do sistema de ensino, mantendo-se como de baixa qualidade para as camadas populares e propedêutico para o Ensino Superior, voltado às camadas mais abastadas, financeiramente. Para as camadas populares, permaneceu o Ensino Normal para preparação dos professores primários do ensino obrigatório (de 1ª a 4ª séries), desvalorizando, portanto, a profissão de professores no Brasil. Em 1971, período em que o país ainda era controlado pelo regime militar, foi promulgada a Lei n. 5692/71 (Brasil, 1971), reforçando os princípios da ditadura, incorporando a racionalização do trabalho escolar e adotando o ensino profissionalizante no 2º grau, nível também voltado para a formação de professores. Assim, a partir de 1971, os grupos escolares foram transformados em escolas de 1º e 2º graus, disciplinando o ensino de 1º e 2º graus e moldando o ensino universitário ao modelo norte-americano. Com relação à Escola Normal, ela foi mantida no bojo da profissionalização obrigatória adotada para o 2º grau, perdeu o status de escola e de curso, transformando-se em Habilitação Específica para o Magistério (HEM). Desapareceram os Institutos de Educação e a formação de especialistas e professores para o Curso Normal, que passou a ser feita nos Cursos de Pedagogia, descaracterizando a formação de professores. Assim, respondendo ao questionamento, entre 1960 e 1980, no cumprimento das leis, houve um crescente processo de desvalorização e de descaracterização no preparo da formação de professores no Brasil, ao encontro das afirmações de Ghiraldelli (1990).

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Keywords: history of education, reforms in the educational system, teacher education in Brazil



The Reform Veiga Simão and the Right to Early Childhood Education in Portugal ***A Reforma Veiga Simão e o direito à Educação de Infância em Portugal***

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After World War II, a strong commitment to education, especially early childhood education, emerged due to a combination of economic, social, and political factors (Singer & Wong, 2021). This was driven by middle-class women entering the workforce, the rediscovery of Piaget's theory of cognitive development, and concerns about school failure rates (Singer & Wong, 2021). These were the main reasons behind the creation of public preschool programs like Head Start, in USA or Home Start, in Canada (Clark et al., 2012)

In Portugal, the 1960s marked a significant shift in society. Middle-class women began to enter the workforce, urbanization increased, and the need for expanded preschool education became clear (Vilarinho, 2011). During this decade, the number of children enrolled in private and assistential preschool programs almost doubled, from 6126 to 12252, and the number of institutions rose from 177 to 354 (Gomes, 1977). Additionally, several private institutions for the training of kindergarten teachers were established (Vilarinho, 2011). These events demonstrate the growing interest in preschool education and its increasing recognition.

The right to preschool education was introduced, in Portugal, in 1911. However, in 1937, in the dictatorship, it was deemed a family responsibility and public early childhood education was extinct. In 1973, in the educational reform known as Reform Veiga Simão (Bill 5/73), preschool education was reintegrated in the Portuguese educational system. For that motive, the Reform Veiga Simão is a landmark in Portugal, since it (re)granted the right to early childhood education. The Education Minister, Veiga Simão, presented this reform to the Portuguese population on national television, in 1971, and opened it up to public discussion. On the 25th of July, 1973, the Parliament gave its approval after months of debate in the National Assembly, which were preceded by a national debate about its content.

The idea of implementing a public preschool system in Portugal had been proposed since the early 1960s. This was in the context of the preparation of the Statute of National Education, which was never submitted to the approval of the parliament due to the demission of the Education Minister, Galvão Teles (Cardona, 1997; Ferreira, Mota & Vilhena, 2019). However, it laid some of the foundations for the Veiga Simão Reform. Therefore, we have chosen 1960 as the lower time limit for our study.

Through a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) of parliamentary debates, reports produced by experts (pedagogues, psychologists and early childhood education), articles from the pedagogical press, and legislation, this paper will explore the motivations and reasons for the reintegration of preschool education into the Portuguese educational system, as well as the way early childhood education was conceptualized. Finally, this paper will discuss the implications of these findings for the development of an early childhood education policy in Portugal.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

No período pós II Guerra Mundial assistiu-se a um interesse crescente pela expansão do direito à educação, designadamente à educação pré-escolar, a que não foram alheias as transformações políticas, sociais e culturais que ocorreram nas sociedades ocidentais, sobretudo a partir da década de 60. No que diz respeito à Educação de Infância destacam-se a entrada das mulheres no mundo do trabalho, a redescoberta da teoria do desenvolvimento cognitivo de Piaget e a preocupação com o insucesso escolar (Singer & Wong, 2021). É neste contexto que surgem programas públicos de Educação de Infância como, por exemplo, o Head Start, nos Estados Unidos, ou o Home Start, no Canadá (Clark et al., 2012)

Em Portugal, os anos 60 marcam o início de um período de reformas e mudanças estruturais. Aumenta o número de mulheres que trabalha fora de casa, assiste-se a uma migração das populações rurais para as zonas urbanas e, conseqüentemente, torna-se mais premente o acesso à Educação de Infância formal (Vilarinho, 2011). Note-se que, durante esta década, o número de crianças matriculadas em instituições de educação quase duplicou, passando de 6126 (1951/52) para 12252 (1959/1960), assim como o número de instituições existentes, que passou de 177 (1951/52) para 354 (1959/60) (Gomes, 1977). São ainda criadas várias instituições de formação de educadoras de infância, assim como de auxiliares de ação educativa (Vilarinho, 2011). Tais números são reveladores da procura, pelas famílias, deste nível educativo, o que poderá ter contribuído para uma maior atenção à Educação de Infância (Cardona, 1997).

A ideia da educação pré-escolar pública em Portugal surge em 1911. Contudo, em 1937, o ministro Carneiro Pacheco extingue este nível educativo, sob o argumento que a educação das crianças mais pequenas era responsabilidade das famílias. Seria preciso esperar pelo ano de 1973, em que é aprovada a Reforma Veiga Simão (Lei 5/73), para que a educação pré-escolar voltasse a fazer parte do sistema educativo português.

Contudo, a ideia da reintrodução da educação pré-escolar no sistema educativo português emerge no período pós II Guerra Mundial, sobretudo a partir da década de 60, tornando-se um elemento central no debate público acerca da educação suscitado pela preparação do Estatuto de Educação Nacional (Cardona, 1997; Ferreira, Mota & Vilhena, 2019), pelo qual foi responsável o ministro Galvão Teles, o qual, devido à sua demissão, não foi submetido a aprovação pelo Parlamento.

Tendo em conta a importância deste período para a história da Educação de Infância em Portugal, é nosso propósito contribuir para a compreensão do debate acerca do direito à educação de infância, em Portugal, através da análise crítica dos discursos (Fairclough, 2003) que circularam no nosso país entre 1960 e 1973. Neste sentido, recorreremos às seguintes fontes: debates parlamentares, legislação e imprensa pedagógica, com o objetivo de compreender as motivações e as razões invocadas para o desenvolvimento da Educação de Infância, assim como a forma como esta foi concetualizada.

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Keywords: preschool education, educational reforms, reform Veiga Simão, Portugal



Civism in the Institute of Education – Music and Orpheonic Sing and Moral and Civic Education: Dictatorship and War (1942–1945)

Civismo no Instituto de Educação – Música e Canto Orfeônico e Educação Moral e Cívica: Ditadura e Guerra (1942–1945)

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Abstract (in English)

Understood citizenship, “at the turn of the twentieth century”, as “an individual’s membership of the nation-state community” (Wright, 2017); idea, of the inter-war years, expanded to “citizen of the world” (Wright, 2017), contemporary with the conquest of social rights, response to the Great War and the Russian Revolution. In Brazil, in the Vargas Era, from 1930, the action of the Ministries of Labor and Education and Health, inaugurated the Brazilian Welfare State, which valued the rights of work, notably, after the coup that instituted the dictatorship of the Estado Novo (10/11/1937–29/10/1945) with extinct political rights and constrained civil rights.

This paper addresses civics between 1942 and 1945, in the history of Brazil, participation in the Second War (1939–1945); and, in the History of Education, the subjects Moral and Civic Education (EMC) and Music and Orpheonic Singing of the Reform of the Organic Law of Secondary Education (1942), at the Institute of Education (IE); until 1945, the only public institution in the Federal District (DF) to train primary teachers for the public system. Zilá Simas Enéas joined in 1942; author of *Era uma vez no Instituto de Educação* (1998), recounted these experiences in a statement to the Project Memory of Teacher Training at the Instituto de Educação/Instituto Superior de Educação do Rio de Janeiro (2012). Compared with legislation and a newspaper, *Correio da Manhã*; and students’ magazine: *Instituto*. The press, “an instrument for manipulating interests and intervening in social life” (Capelato & Pardo, 1980; Calonga, 2012), participates in the construction of events; while in the book and in the testimony, there is a great “temporal distance between the narrated fact and what happened” (Bosi, 2003), experiences, rational elaboration and unconscious forms, of the “current past [...] in which events were incorporated and can be remembered” (Kosellek, 2006). It advances in discussions developed by Wisnick (2004), Lopes (2006), Cunha (2007), Gonçalves (2017), when relating the presence of the Armed Forces in Education to the Reform, to the school and extra-school curricula, “the sum of all types of learning and absences that students get as a result of being educated” (Sacristán, 1995), through EMC, characterised by its content, and Music and Orpheonic Sing, in which the aesthetic and artistic form, intended for personal and collective enjoyment (Moraes, 2000), enhances the civic content, in the context of war and dictatorship that strengthened the patriotic fervour of hymns and songs. According to the school civic-festive calendar, in particular, Independence Day and Flag Day, the latter is celebrated in schools and barracks; the first, Independence Hour, ended Independence Week, which brought together the president, students and workers, at the Vasco da Gama stadium, then the largest in the Federal District. The Orpheonic singing directed by Heitor Villa-Lobos marked IE students as well as their presence on the public scene.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Entendida cidadania, “na virada do século XX”, como “adesão de um indivíduo à comunidade do estado-nação.” (Wright, 2017); ideia, no entre guerras, ampliada para “cidadão do mundo”



(Wright, 2017), contemporânea à conquista de direitos sociais, resposta à Grande Guerra e a Revolução Russa. No Brasil, na Era Vargas, a partir de 1930, a ação dos Ministérios do Trabalho e da Educação e Saúde, inaugurou o Estado de Bem-Estar à Brasileira, que valorizou os direitos do trabalho, notadamente, após o golpe que instituiu a ditadura do Estado Novo (10/11/1937-29/10/1945) com direitos políticos extintos e direitos civis constrangidos. Esta comunicação aborda o civismo entre 1942 e 1945, marco da História do Brasil, a participação na Segunda Guerra (1939–1945); e, na História da Educação, as disciplinas Educação Moral e Cívica (EMC) e Música e Canto Orfeônico da Reforma da Lei Orgânica do Ensino Secundário (1942), no Instituto de Educação (IE); até 1945, única instituição pública do Distrito Federal (DF) a formar professores primários para a rede pública. Zilá Simas Enéas aí ingressou, em 1942; autora de *Era uma vez no Instituto de Educação* (1998), recontou estas experiências em depoimento ao Projeto Memória da Formação de Professores no Instituto de Educação/Instituto Superior de Educação do Rio de Janeiro (2012). Cotejados com documentos de época, em especial, a legislação e periódicos: da grande imprensa, o *Correio da Manhã*; e de estudantes: *Instituto*. A imprensa, “instrumento de manipulação de interesses e de intervenção na vida social” (Capelato & Pardo, 1980; Calonga, 2012), participa da construção dos acontecimentos; enquanto no livro e no depoimento, há uma grande “distância temporal entre o fato narrado e o acontecido” (Bosi, 2003), das experiências, elaboração racional e formas inconscientes, do “passado atual [...] no qual acontecimentos foram incorporados e podem ser lembrados”. (Koselleck, 2006). Avança em discussões desenvolvidas por Wisnick (2004), Lopes (2006), Cunha (2007), Gonçalves (2017), ao relacionar a presença das Forças Armadas na Educação à Reforma, aos currículos escolar e extraescolar, “soma de todo tipo de aprendizagens e de ausências que os alunos obtêm como consequência de estarem sendo escolarizados” (Sacristán, 1995), através de EMC, caracterizada pelo conteúdo, e Música e Canto Orfeônico, na qual a forma estética e artística, destinada à fruição pessoal e coletiva (Moraes, 2000), potencializa o conteúdo cívico, no contexto de guerra e da ditadura que fortaleciam o fervor patriótico de hinos e canções. Conforme o calendário cívico-festivo escolar, em especial, nas efemérides da Independência e da Bandeira, esta comemorada nas escolas e quartéis; na primeira, a Hora da Independência, encerrava a Semana da Pátria, que reunia o presidente, estudantes e trabalhadores, no estádio do Vasco da Gama, então o maior do Distrito Federal. O canto orfeônico dirigido pelo maestro Heitor Villa-Lobos marcou estudantes do IE assim como sua presença na cena pública.

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Keywords: Secondary Education Reform at the Institute of Education; moral and civic education; music and orpheonic sing; war; Estado Novo dictatorship



Calls for Reforms in Cultural Movements, With Special Regard to Health Education in the 20th Century in Hungary

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Cultural movements had spread through Europe by the end of the 19th century, then at the beginning of the 20th century, they were given an even bigger boost. Their aim was to spread the results of science as widely as possible among the people. Such a movement was at first the so-called Free Lyceum, then the Free University and later on the People's Academy movement. A series of educational lectures was organised, sometimes together with a musical or literary performance, then these lectures were increasingly adapted to the needs of the given people. The education became more and more available for both the educated elite and the low-educated population.

A growing number of associations aimed at increasing the number of educational lectures among the people. Among these, the number of doctors, medical organisations and movements that disseminate health knowledge is outstanding.

In our study we would like to present and analyse these organisations and their appearance, relying mainly on primary and secondary sources. In our results, we mainly focused on lectures concerning health knowledge. At the Public Health Meeting of the Social Science Association (1912) Flóra Perczelné Kozma urged the health education of people not only in general but also considered the development of social sense as important. Hence the Feminist movement connected and became a spearhead of the dissemination of knowledge amongst women. Besides the associations and NGOs, educating lectures were also organised inside the system of public administration and these lectures were coordinated by the Department of Public Welfare in the 1940s.

In our research, we are trying to map the organisational structures of the educating lectures, where, who, to what invitation and with what content participated in these educational lectures. The lectures held by doctors were our focus, according to the viewpoints above, and the basis of our research is given mainly by the available press statements.

The main conclusion in the Public Health meetings and debates is that the dissemination of personal hygiene knowledge is an ongoing task and must reach all age groups. It is the education of women in particular that can ensure effective education, as detailed in several statements. (Zsindely, 1913).

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Keywords: Hungary, public education, 20th century, popular education



Medical Care for the Child: The School Hygiene Branch in Interwar Hong Kong

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This paper examines the shifting landscape of medical provision for school children in Hong Kong over the interwar period. Focusing on the establishment and daily operations of the School Hygiene Branch, covering aspects such as routine school inspection, medical examination, hygiene education, and sanitary reporting, this paper reveals the changing state approach to school health as well as the underlying medical discourses concerning child health. Founded in 1925 in the context of intensified state surveillance over school health (Report of the Director of Education, 1925), the School Hygiene Branch was the first set of measures that examined, documented, and reported on the health condition of school children and offered 'therapeutic' advice in the case of defects. Chaired and staffed by a network of European and Chinese female medical professionals, this cohort of women doctors and nurses not only contributed toward the gradual standardisation of classroom design and health instruction at government and grant-in-aid schools in Hong Kong, but also helped disseminate scientific methods of home management to Chinese families.

More than merely documenting the management of school health, an examination of the everyday tasks and duties of the School Hygiene Branch shows the 'hidden' currents that helped define the contours of public health in interwar Hong Kong. Concerns with the health of youth entwined with eugenic concerns in the broader British imperial context. Translating to the schooling site, this imperial mentality of health and fitness underlined the rigorous medical examination of school children. Transitioning from the early focuses on eyesight, dental and ear health, by the late 1920s, heart, lung, and spine development were included in the examination of each child (Report of the Director of Education, 1926). School health, and more broadly, child health became a site where the British empire was reimagined and reenacted. Underneath this medicalisation of school health in interwar Hong Kong was the development of child health in a transnational context that informed school health inspections in the early 20th century globally.

The development of School Hygiene Branch in Hong Kong thus interacted with layered transnational cultural currents. In its immediate colonial setting, the inception and expansion of this branch signified child health and school health had been integrated into the colonial public health orbit. In its imperial context, it captured the heightened eugenic concerns and imperial anxiety with public health. In its transnational context, the daily operations of the branch were informed by the development of child care in the medical profession. At its peak (in terms of staff size), the branch consisted of the Health Officer for Schools (Mrs. Minett, M.D.), two Chinese health officers, one part time lady medical officer and five school nurses (Medical and Sanitary Report, 1935). Through this army of medical professionals, the schooling sites and the child's body had been transformed into spaces where new medical discourses and hygiene technologies were exercised, tested, and improved.

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Keywords: school hygiene branch, Hong Kong, school health, medical inspection, women physicians



Personal and Social Hygiene and The Management of Childhood Health Through School-based Public Health in NSW, Australia

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This paper focuses on the historical intersections of public health, schooling and the bodies of children and young people, to argue that school-based public health has been central to the making of modern schooling. Recent anxieties about schools as sites for the spread (or containment) of COVID-19 are reminiscent of early public health efforts to manage schooling environments as potentially infectious sites and to understand the risks posed by children intermingling in school settings. Across the Western world, school hygiene and medical services emerged in the latter half of the 19th century as part of a broader sanitation regime.

The priorities of early school medical inspectors were informed by the principles of sanitary science – drainage, ventilation, heating, lavatories – ensuring schools had clean buildings and grounds. However, a concern for the management of contagious diseases also underpinned the widespread emergence of school-based medical services in the West. At the turn of the century, discourses of personal and social hygiene proliferated and children’s bodily boundaries at school overtook traditional concerns about sanitation. Compulsion brought children together from across populations, making schools a locus for contagious disease and an important site for intervening in family and community health. The focus became regimes of personal hygiene and attention was paid to the spaces around and between the bodies of children in order to manage the spread of disease. The source of contagious disease was no longer the dirty or unhygienic school setting, but rather the body and bodily habits of the child. This paper attends to the ways in which the programs and practices of New South Wales School Medical Service, which operated formally in schools from roughly 1913–1950, produced and normalized health anxieties about children’s personal and social hygiene, and about particular body parts. Children’s hands, eyes, noses and mouths were observed, categorized, diagnosed and reported upon as part of early school-based public health research, reform and bureaucracy. Alongside the measuring and recording of bodies, the School Medical Service also intervened in the lives of children and families through formal and informal health education initiatives. Both facets of the Service created new types of work and responsibilities for teachers – work that was gendered. Teachers, predominantly women, acquired new skills and knowledge with which to scrutinize and discern the health of their students. They then recorded and reported this in support of school medical inspectors, a workforce predominantly composed of men. The tables and metrics used to record and share data about changing trends in school children’s health became important ways of organising understandings of the body that mirrored other emerging practices of measurement and evaluation in schools.

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Keywords: school medical service, childhood health, hygiene



Development of First Aid Training in Hungary

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The aim is to present the development of first aid in Hungary, with special reference to the legislative changes after the change of regime (1990), with particular attention to the importance of CPR and the changing role of CPR in public education, through a comparative analysis of national and international literature, existing legislation and decisions of international institutions.

Public health education was developed from the end of the 18th century to the 20th century and became embedded in the public education system. Its spread was facilitated by the introduction of school medicine and health education and the institutionalisation of health education. The process was significantly influenced by the development of several disciplines, wars, epidemics, state and individual reformers (Tigyné, 2013).

Internationally, the League of Red Cross Societies, founded in 1865 under the leadership of Henry Dunant, defined the concept, purpose and main tasks of first aid (Campbell, 2012). A team of trained first aiders from the English Johannites gave a practical demonstration on the organisation of first aid and rescue, to raise awareness of the importance of first aid, to spread education and to recommend that first aiders should be doctors or professional firemen and nurses (Vida, 1996).

In Hungary, in 1769, Maria Theresa issued a decree on the care of drowned people (Pápai, 2011). Between 1872 and 1888, Trefort Ágoston, as Minister of Religion and Public Education, ordered that first aid instruction be compulsory in girls' schools and elementary schools (Barsi, 1991).

In Hungary, health education was significantly linked to school health care, which was gradually made compulsory from the late 1880s, and in 1925, health education became a compulsory subject in primary schools. In the period following the Second World War, health education was seen as a task of popular education, in which the school doctor was supported by parents and educators, as well as social organisations such as the Red Cross and the KISZ. From the 1970s, the tasks were differentiated and more emphasis was placed on education for a healthy lifestyle and prevention (Karácsony, 2018).

After 1990, the framework for health education and first aid changed. In 1995, the teaching of first aid was recommended as part of the national core curriculum for upper primary school (10–14 years) and in 2003 it was included in the curriculum for grades 9–12. The National Core Curriculum in 2020 highlights among the objectives of the biology subject that students should be able to administer first aid when necessary, based on their health knowledge and practical skills.

The teaching of first aid and CPR has changed significantly with the development of technology. Theoretical training is supplemented by demonstrations and simulation techniques. A major step forward in skills development has been the integration of realistic emergency phantoms with the visualisation of various interventions on a monitor. Good practices from abroad and at home show that simulation education and experiential pedagogy are proving to be the most effective.



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Keywords: health education, first aid training, CPR, pedagogical methods



Intellectual and Social Reform Histories of Education: Traditions and Transitions in Switzerland, France, Canada, and Austria

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The history of education can be written as a history of reform, a history of attempts in local elementary schools up through contemporary initiatives to transform tertiary offerings, to improve and change people, institutions, societies – and especially, since the 19th century, nation states (Tröhler et al., 2022). Be it reform through education or the reform of education itself, be it explicit reform attempts or more implicit transformation-processes – education is a field that experiences constant pressures to adapt and evolve and that is expected to make continuous progress.

This panel focuses squarely on a particular set of dynamics – the phenomenon of reform and transition in education within the tense field of nation, society, religion, and epistemology, and, at the same time, of preserving and progressing. This involves questions about what is being preserved and what has been chosen for progress; where, how, which and by whom (new) knowledge is being produced and who/what can count as actors of reform or knowledge production; if “the new” is really new or just the old in a new dress; what national idiosyncrasies can be identified within the single cases? If and to what extent are reform processes related to the travelling of ideas between different groups or across borders? (How) is that respectively related to processes of intellectual imperialism and epistemicide (Fox, 2020)? These and similar questions will be raised from different angles in four individual case studies of Switzerland, France, Canada and Austria.

The first paper will address education reform in Switzerland by focusing on the ‘Swiss permanent school exhibition’ founded in 1875 in Zurich, inspired by the world exhibitions that took place in 1867 in Paris and 1873 in Vienna (Horlacher, 2009). It will be explored how knowledge is assembled through international and national exhibition practices and whether exhibits thus turn into actors of reform.

The second paper looks at Post-Revolutionary France. It delves into reforms of philosophy in French educational institutions during the 19th century that were spearheaded by the so-called French Spiritualists and reconstructs what was at stake in these reforms. Going far beyond superficial debates about content, the re-organization of philosophy after the revolution served as a stage on which different conceptions of science, knowledge, nation, and education clashed and were negotiated.

The third contribution discusses the case of Canada, a multinational federation where subnational governments exercise authority over K-12 schooling (Wallner, 2014). Wallner and Chouinard’s paper identifies the alternative ‘narratives of Canada’ embedded within the high school history curriculum of various provinces. They find that there are marked differences in the ‘facts’ of Canada’s history that are prioritised by individual provinces and, in turn, dramatic omissions in the respective stories that are told.

The fourth paper will question how it came about that the dominant “thought style” (Fleck, 1979) in Austria is not uniquely Austrian but German and there with, transnationally travelled (Fox,



2020). Against the background of several existing intellectual possibilities in the Austrian interwar period, it is interesting to uncover how a foreign national epistemology asserted itself during the 20th century and advanced to (national) hegemony in the way of an invited epistemological reform-colonialisation.

This panel sheds light on these various ways of intellectual and social reform processes, as well as the related intellectual-epistemological, power and/or sociological struggles. Furthermore, also method(ological) considerations about how to research such phenomena will be discussed. Each of the four panel papers comes from a different (national) perspective looking at the phenomenon of changes, traditions and transitions within education. Additionally, this panel will benefit from the reflections of Dr Ethan Hutt from UNC, who will serve as a discussant.

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Keywords: education reform, national idiosyncrasies, educationalisation, travelling ideas



'School Exhibitions' and the Assemblage of Knowledge: Tales of Reform from Switzerland

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Student Contribution

The world exhibitions of the second half of the 19th century were great motors of reform with regard to not only national exhibition practices, but also school development (Gonon, 1999). In addition to the presentation of industrial progress, the world exhibitions included exhibits on national school systems and internationally compared the organisation of schooling and teaching material (Horlacher, 2009). By means of reporting on these matters, the creation of 'school exhibitions' in Switzerland was stimulated (Gonon, 1999). This paper will focus on the 'Swiss permanent school exhibition' founded as part of the industrial museum in Zurich in 1875, inspired by the world exhibitions of 1867 in Paris and 1873 in Vienna. In 1882, the 'school exhibition' was established as its own foundation, and since 1891 it carries the name Pestalozzianum, under which it is still known today, having been integrated into the newly formed Zurich University of Teacher Education in 2002. As one of the many emerging spaces of teacher (further) education in the canton of Zurich in the 19th century, the 'school exhibition' in Zurich stood in the midst of educational debates (Horlacher, 2009). The value that is placed in teacher (further) education can be conceptually grasped with educationalisation, the quest for solving social problems in a modernising world by means of education (Tröhler, 2016). 19th century 'school exhibitions' and their modernising potential could be framed in similar terms. As outlined in the statutes of the foundation established in 1882, the purpose of the 'school exhibition' in Zurich was to contribute to the development of schooling in Switzerland. Teaching should be improved by providing suitable teaching materials. Additionally, teachers should benefit morally from the knowledge of the history of (Swiss) education, and the life and work of Pestalozzi in particular (Horlacher, 2009).

Approaching the 'school exhibition' in Zurich as consisting of educationalised exhibits and corresponding practices, it is interesting to frame this case in terms of an actor-network of materials, institutions, and ideas. Taking up these threads, this paper explores how exhibition practices on international and national scales serve the assemblage of knowledge. The guiding question is whether exhibits thus turn into actors of reform. The reports, journals and catalogues stemming from the early 'school exhibition' in Zurich are of interest in tracing what these exhibits 'did', or were said to 'do', such as the *Korrespondenzblatt des Archivs der Schweizerischen permanenten Schulausstellung* (1878–1879), the *Pestalozzi-Blätter* (from 1880 on), the *Schweizerisches Schularchiv: Organ der Schweizerischen Schulausstellung in Zürich* (1880–1891), or its first catalogue that was printed in 1880 (*100 Jahre Pestalozzianum Zürich 1875–1975*, 1975). As a methodological approach, actor-network theory (ANT) could arguably be fruitful in writing histories of education that "follow the actors themselves" (Latour, 2005, p. 179) on their paths through and their construction of contexts. This paper thus proposes a framework to trace school development through 19th century 'school exhibitions' by beginning "in the middle of things, in medias res" (Latour, 2005, p. 196)



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Keywords: education reform, national idiosyncrasies, educationalisation, travelling ideas



French Spiritualism and the Reform of Philosophy in Post-Revolutionary France

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Student Contribution

This paper delves into the re-organisation of philosophy in French educational institutions during the 19th century that was spearheaded by the so-called French Spiritualists. Guided by the idea that philosophy had not only triggered the French Revolution but would also remedy its consequences, this group of politically influential intellectuals sought to reform philosophy according to their own ideals (E.g., Cousin, 1816, 1828; Saisset, 1850). I aim to reconstruct what was at stake in these spiritualist reforms of philosophy that, as will be shown in this paper, went far beyond superficial debates about content.

To do so, in the first part of my paper, I will outline how drastically different French philosophy was practiced, taught, and organised prior to the revolution and the rebuilding of the education system in the following decades. In the second part, the involvement of Victor Cousin and his entourage of fellow-minded spiritualists in the institutional and thematic reconfiguration of philosophy during the 19th century is discussed. Here I argue that the French Spiritualists played a key role in reforming philosophy and transforming it into an autonomous academic discipline, a profession, and a school subject in the 'modern sense'. This allowed the Spiritualists to institutionalise their understanding of philosophy and establish it as the basis of what was considered the legitimate object of knowledge and the legitimate method of the 'new way of doing philosophy'. The third and main part of the paper discusses different ideological dimensions that converged in the Spiritualists' philosophy reforms. By drawing on existing historical research (E.g., Loeffel, 2014; Rey, 2012) as well as primary sources such as curricula(-drafts), periodicals, education laws and programmatic writings of the Spiritualists and their various opponents, the broader controversies underlying these reforms will be made visible. After all, the debates about the constitution and function of philosophy and the related reforms of philosophy education also served as a stage on which different conceptions of science, knowledge, nation, and education clashed and were negotiated, as well as a site of secularisation efforts, disciplinary boundary-making, and political power struggles.

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Keywords: education reform, national idiosyncrasies, educationalisation, travelling ideas



Educating (Multi)Nations: Canadian History Through Provincial Eyes

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Formal schooling plays a critical role in the nation-building aspirations of a state. Through common courses and curriculum, schools help to forge and transmit shared narratives of the past, construct a collective understanding of the present, and establish a common vision for the future. But what does this look like in multinational states, where different national communities, while not necessarily sharing a common understanding of the past, are working to co-exist within a shared state structure? For countries that are formally federal, where powers are divided between central and subnational governments, this line of inquiry gains even greater salience as gaps and differentiations across jurisdictions are more likely to exist (Lecours, 2021). Inspired by the constructivist approach to nation-building (Billig, 1995; Brubaker, 1996; Elgenius, 2011), our paper features an investigation of the Grade 10 English language and French language history curricula used in the two most populous Canadian provinces, Ontario and Québec. A multinational federation, where provinces hold exclusive jurisdiction over elementary and secondary education, Canada offers an ideal focus for this study. First, we will work to uncover the variations between these two provinces, and anticipate that important differences will distinguish their respective curricula. Second, our analysis of the curricula will provide insight into the respective “national” images cultivated by these two provinces nested within the broader Canadian federation. Third and finally, our investigation offers the opportunity to explore similarities and differences in the “national” images and narratives advanced even within each case. Through an examination of the Grade 10 history curricula of two provinces in Canada, Ontario and Quebec, our paper exposes the alternative ‘national’ images cultivated by these two jurisdictions nested within the broader Canadian federation. Furthermore, our research undercovers some considerable discrepancies within the province of Ontario between the presentation of ‘facts’ in the English-language curriculum and the presentation of ‘facts’ in the French-language curriculum. These discrepancies end up encouraging ignorance among the Anglophones of the province of the Franco-Ontarian experiences due to policies and practices imposed by the provincial government itself. Finally, our paper also contributes to increasing our understandings of and appreciations for the relationship between formal schooling and nation(s)-building within a state.

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Keywords: education reform, national idiosyncrasies, educationalisation, travelling ideas



Epistemological Fights and German Hegemony: Re-forming Austria's Higher Education in the 20th Century

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Student Contribution

An educational epistemology is related to the power of chairs at universities and, therefore, to professors. They are not only teaching but are also responsible for what is being learned by their staff members, the young researchers, and students. In addition, they publish and present their research elsewhere. In doing so, they form networks, or, as Fleck (1979) socio-epistemologically calls it, thought collectives. These collectives share a specific thought style, which eventually becomes a more or less dominant epistemology. One of these epistemologies is, for example, German Idealism, which grew into *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*, an educational term for a group (and its thought style) that has been developing in Germany since around 1910. This educational thought style has not only stayed at the place of its origin but spread to its neighbor Austria as well – both as a (travelling) idea learned by Austrian scholars or with a person (professor) moving to Austria.

In the paper, it is argued that the educational epistemologies we know today are nationally shaped, and the most dominant of these also travel across borders. This is exemplified with the case of Austria and a special focus on Vienna as the intellectual center of the country (and also of the former empire). Regarding a dominant epistemology in education, there is no unique Austrian-national thought style to be identified in Vienna, but a German one. Methodologically framed using Pocock's (1978) and Tröhler's (2011) understandings of ideological languages, it is empirically reasonable that the German thought style suppressed other ways of thinking in Austria's inter- and postwar period. Using mainly unpublished archival material that is related to the various professors of the main chair of education during 20th-century Vienna, it will be shown, on the one hand, how the German-national thought style travelled to Austria in different intellectual and personal waves and, ultimately, became dominant; on the other hand, other intellectual attempts and possible ways of educational thought that were uniquely Austrian but were suppressed or made impossible to prevail will be introduced. Despite the strong patriotic feeling of the Austrian nation today, the socio-intellectual and disciplinary history of education in the early and mid-20th century can be understood as a re-form(ation) history of Austria as a (German) nation.

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Keywords: education reform, national idiosyncrasies, educationaliation, travelling ideas



The Counter-Reform in Greek Education in the Period 1960–1974. A Case Study in Kavala

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Education is an official institution of the state that shapes consciousness and influences the way of thinking of young people and, by extension, society. The degree of teachers' and students' control varies according to the level and quality of democratic constitution.

The aim of this paper is to research the attempts of reform and counter-reform in Greek educational system during the period 1960–1974, a turbulent period of modern Greek history that is part of the post-civil war period with the main characteristics of a conservative and "under custody" democracy, the limitation and suppression of individual and political rights, which culminate during the imposition of a military dictatorship (1967–1974). This research utilizes archival material concerning education in Kavala, a city in Northern Greece.

We are interested in the characteristics and goals of the Greek educational system, the role of the state, the political forces, the church and the army as factors of its formation. Also, the attitude of teachers and students and the degree of interaction of the above-mentioned factors regarding the possibility of changes in school practice. More specifically, the role of ideology and propaganda in the formation of the pedagogical atmosphere and the principles that teachers were called or enforced to serve and implement in schools, consequently the ideological conflict and its results.

The state through various means tried to ideologically control teachers and students and did not hesitate to impose disciplinary punishments when a deviation from the official government policy was detected. First, the political opinions of the teachers were checked before their appointment to the public or private sector and also during their service in the schools. In particular, after the imposition of the Colonels' Regime this control becomes more suffocating. Earlier, in the period 1964–1965, an educational reform in a progressive direction was attempted by the politically moderate government of the Centre Union, but this was a short-lived effort, which was fought by conservative circles and quickly thwarted.

During the years of the dictatorship, the ethnocentric and Christian character of education was strengthened. In daily practice, the representations of the army, the nation and the church and the close connection of these specific institutions and values with the school and the students were reinforced.

The dominant ideological scheme is summed up in the slogan "Fatherland-Religion-Family" and is accompanied by political persecution of teachers, banning of books and practices of censoring and disciplining teachers and students (E.g. pompous celebrations of national and historical anniversaries, panegyrics, youth organizations with a military structure, such as "The Stouthearted" and "The Boy Scouts", Sunday schools/catechism, paedonoms).

In this research, in addition to the relevant bibliography, public confidential records of the period, educational records and the local printed daily press were studied and the methods of content analysis and critical discourse analysis were used, in order to collect and process the appropriate research material.

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Keywords: counter-reformation, teachers, ideological control, dictatorship



Who Bothers? Actors and Their Tactics in the Political Arena of Dutch Comprehensive Education 1973–1977

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In 1973, the Dutch social democrat Minister of Education Jos van Kemenade, a former professor in educational sociology, elaborated on plans of his protestant and catholic predecessors to start experiments with a clearly non-incremental educational innovation: the implementation of comprehensive education in the Netherlands. The reforms did not only intend to change the curriculum but even bring about social change. By postponing the moment of school choice, equal chances and a better division of knowledge, power and income were aimed for.

In 1976, experiments actually did start. Schools participated enthusiastically, but the plans soon became politically contested (Schüssler, 2006). Comprehensive education became a popular topic in the political arena, by which left and right-wing politicians showed the political tensions and their positions to the public. Despite enthusiasm within a substantial part of the educational field, support from unions, and positive reports in the media (Amsing, Greveling & Dekker, 2013), eventually the experiments did not lead to new policy (Greveling, Amsing & Dekker, 2015). The tracked system in which important choices regarding school carriers are made for children at the age of 11 exists today (Onderwijsraad, 2021). Several historical actors and scholars discussed the question of why comprehensive education failed in the Netherlands and it is clear that the answer is multifaceted.

In this contribution, a policy decision-making perspective is chosen to explain what happened. In understanding non-incremental policy decision-making policy, scholar Bruno Dente points out the importance of paying close attention to the actors involved and their positions, expertise and interests (Dente, 2014). In the issue at stake, the important question in this regard is who was bothered about the issue of equal opportunities for children from working-class families and who had other interests. In taking this specific perspective, using sources on both the decision-making process and information on actors involved, this contribution adds to our understanding of the failure of comprehensive education in the Netherlands.

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Keywords: comprehensive education, policy decision making



Dependence and Autonomy: The Relationship Between Socialist Pedagogy and Educational Psychology in the Light of the Recollection of László Kelemen

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On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the appearance of the socialist pedagogy in Hungary, seven socialist educationalists' recollections (György Ágoston, Béla Jausz, Árpád Kiss, Sándor Nagy, Éva Földes, Alice Hermann and László Kelemen) were published between 1963 and 1965 on the columns of the Pedagogical Review under the title "My Life, My Work". In the present study, one of these seven recollections is analysed, that of László Kelemen, who specialized in educational psychology.

In one line of our research, we examine what elements consist László Kelemen's recollections, as well as how the successive socialist reforms and counter-reforms in the period between 1945 and 1965 appeared in his recollections. In other words, we are interested in to what extent socialist politics determined the professional career of a socialist-oriented education scientist. In the other line of our research, based on the narrative of László Kelemen specialized in educational psychology, we try to reconstruct the relationship between socialist pedagogy and educational psychology. Here we are interested in to what extent educational psychology was independent and whether educational psychology was a subfield of pedagogy or psychology. One of the sources of our research is the issues of the Pedagogical Review between 1963 and 1965, where the socialist education scientists' recollections appeared. To reconstruct László Kelemen's professional life, the Pedagogical Lexicons published in the 1970s and 1990s were analysed (Nagy, 1976-1979; Báthory & Falus 1997). To examine the relationship between educational science-educational psychology and politics, we use the educational policy documents of the Communist Party, as well as the main works on educational science and psychology published in this era.

In our study, the political science approach is applied to the history of education related research (Sáska, 2018). We consider László Kelemen's recollection as a narrative, therefore we also use the narrative approach (Hoshmand, 2005; Tamura, 2011).

Since the recollections of the socialist education scientists were written in the first half of the 1960s – as was the narrative of László Kelemen –, the "system characteristics" of the early Kádár era firmly appeared in them, such as the opposition to the politics and education policy of the Horthy era (1920–1945) and the Rákosi era (1950–1956) or the suppression in the case of politically sensitive topics – for example, the Revolution of 1956.

According to our other result, in the socialist era, science, including educational science and educational psychology, could not be autonomous, but could only function under the control of politics. All this was true in the Rákosi era (1950–1956) and in the early Kádár era (1957–1965).

Finally, it can be clearly seen from László Kelemen's narrative that, due to its ideological content, educational psychology in that era was more connected to socialist pedagogy and not to "Western" psychology. Which also meant that the "Western" psychologists excluded educational psychology researchers, since they considered the educational psychologists to be convinced socialists. However, the socialist educational psychologists did the same to the "Western" psychologists, claiming that the psychologists were not socialists, but Western-oriented scholars.



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Keywords: socialist pedagogy, Rákosi Era, Kádár Era, László Kelemen, narratives, educational psychology



Educational Reform and Public History: New Challenges for Historians of Education Part 1.

Chair(s): Francisca Comas-Rubí
University of the Balearic Islands, Spain

Discussant(s): Gianfranco Bandini
University of Florence, Italy

Historians of education, working with multiple audiences and publics connected by an interest in history, memory, heritage, and material culture have witnessed (sometimes with a certain distance) the evolution and consolidation of what we call nowadays “public history”. In the last decennia this subdiscipline of history has gained popularity, but has been put only recently explicitly on the research agenda of historians of education (Bandini et al., 2019; Herman et al., 2022). In this seminar we are presenting theoretical reflections, and concrete empirical steps that historians of education have recently taken in the new land of public history, which paradoxically is uncharted territory for them on the one hand side, but also very familiar to them – on the other hand side – often even without knowing it themselves (Herman et al., 2022). Today’s public history proposes participatory and collaborative processes of history making (Frisch, 1990; Noiret et al., 2022). Along these lines, recent trends in historical research and museum studies have entered an era of shared authority and community engagement to make historical knowledge and storytelling inclusive and more democratic (Ayers, 2018). However, tension between different audiences, communities of practice, and diverse public groups over interpretations of the past remains and this raises questions about the changing role of academic actors in communicating history to non-academic audiences and sharing authority with the public (Doumolin, 2003). From the perspective of the history of education, it seems that the engagement with public history for more than five decades has been materialising from dissemination, (re)mediation and popularization to more participatory approaches that involve the public in the historical enterprise, and that are closer to the conception of public history today (Demantowsky 2018; Bandini et al., 2022; Herman et al., 2022).

The past and present manifestations, we can refer to as “public history of education”, have always been related with topics about educational reform. These topics varied from legislative provisions approved from above, to those related with movements, communities, and individual actors. All these topics had implications for changes and continuities at several levels: political, economic, or social. The central theme of this proposed symposium is focused on the relationship of educational reform, understood in the broadest sense, with research that is done or/has been done about public history of education.

In short, this symposium aims to present works of reflection both on the evolution of the public history of education and on the development of current projects in different European contexts, always in relation with educational reform.

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Looking Back, Going Forward: Education, Reform and the Making of Public[ly] Engaged Histories

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What is 'Public history'? This question has been posed many times. As long ago as 1978 Robert Kelley declared:

"Public History refers to the employment of historians and the historical method outside of academia [...] Public historians are at work whenever, in their professional capacity, they are part of the public process. An issue needs to be resolved, a policy must be formed, the use of a resource or the direction of an activity must be more effectively planned a historian is called upon to bring in the dimension of time: this is Public History."

Kelley wrote these words in the first issue of the American journal *The Public Historian*. He continued:

"In academic history, we minister humanity's generalized need to comprehend its past and to diffuse that comprehension, by means of formal schooling, within each generation. In Public History, the historian answers questions posed by others" (Kelley, 1978).

Here Public History is associated with the possession of disciplinary knowledge and its application in addressing 'real world' issues rather than pursuing individual lines of inquiry. Over the last forty years the definition of Public History has expanded beyond disciplinary knowledge and application to the extent that it has become 'an umbrella' offering shelter "as a broad tolerant church' to 'people's history,' 'applied history,' 'oral history,' 'heritage studies,' 'history at large' and 'history from below' (Liddington, 2002; Myers & Grosvenor, 2018). More recently, the discourse around Public History has moved in a different direction, at least in the UK, as the boundaries between universities and the publics have become "more fluid [...] and there is an increasing emphasis on the development of partnerships in the design and conduct of research" (Facer & Pahl, 2017). In the humanities (and social sciences) academics have been encouraged to work more closely with communities, and to engage in research collaboration and co-production. In short, Public History has embraced the 'participatory turn' to produce 'public[ly] engaged history.'

In this paper we will first document the emergence in the recent present of this reforming 'participatory turn' in Public History. We will use UK case studies related to education, formal and informal, to illustrate this shift in research focus. In the second part of the paper, we will argue that the 'participatory turn' in Public History is not a new phenomenon, but dates to the History Workshop movement of the 1980s and earlier (Lindenberger & Wildt, 1992; Parks, 2012). We will again use education related case studies to demonstrate this. In the final section of the paper, we will ask why such collaborative work in the past has been forgotten and what this means for the future of publicly engaged history.

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Towards Transparency, Collaboration, and Co-Production: Re-Forming Histories of Education through Public History Practices

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This paper aims to offer a clear understanding and nuanced profile of the public history of education that speaks, is noisy, and, thus, based on communication. It suggests that the public history of education is the result of an ongoing transformation that does not engage with a ready-made history for the public; instead it thrives on encouraging collaboration, sharing authority, and connecting people and communities, whether by communicating the different stages of history production, by including underrepresented voices, public expertise and visitor-generated content, or by means of open access strategies and other forms of public engagement (Frisch, 1990; Anderson, 1983; Simon, 2010; Ayers, 2018). It is by exploring the history of museums and museology that we can gain a better understanding of the historical shifts and transitions that have shaped the process of making history a subject of public identification, education, concern, and engagement (Bennett, 2009; te Heesen, 2012). The paper therefore adopts a broader scope. It looks at the different transitional phases in which the history of education has been produced, put on display, and made accessible for and in collaboration with various audiences or publics. The paper suggests that the power of institutions and their relationships with the public sphere underwent a process of democratisation that ran in parallel with a changing understanding of citizenship. This transformation was characterised by increasing inclusion and technological changes that also had an effect on how historians communicated and interacted with audiences.

The paper will begin by briefly exploring the history of museums and curation and by examining how the “exhibitionary complex” (Bennett, 2009) gradually forged bonds with trade fairs, world exhibitions, propaganda, popular culture, education, oral history, history from below, and the historical workshop movement of the 1970s (König, 2009, Dittrich, 2014; Cauvin, 2016; Priem & Mayer, 2017). Secondly, the paper will reflect on how visual media and digital technologies have impacted on and inspired the production and display of public history (Hägele, 2019; Noiret, Tebeau & Zaagsma, 2022; Priem & Grosvenor, 2022). The paper will go on to suggest that public history does not just happen unintentionally; it is not told at random or casually self-made, but rather it is co-productive, collaborative, embedded in specific contexts, and dedicated to specific aims. The paper will therefore discuss how public history can introduce a transparent process of co-producing history (Myers & Grosvenor, 2011; Cauvin 2016). It will be argued that only a mutual commitment to a specific communication structure and agreed course of action can lead to productive collaboration, providing a framework to manage tasks, define levels of engagement, produce unfragmented content, and solve ethical issues. In a concluding section, the paper will suggest a distinctive definition of the public history of education and reflect on how a structured co-production of histories of education can inspire and transform academic research and the educational present.



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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



The Role of Historians of Education in Times of Nostalgia: A Typology

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In this paper, we will explore how a growing nostalgia, and the popularisation of history relates to changing roles of historians of education in academia (Beck, 2011). We start from the Public History of Education Manifesto, which originated in the frame of the book project *Exhibiting the past: Public histories of education* (Herman et al., 2022, pp. 15–24). This manifesto captures the contributors' broad understanding of public histories of education. Indeed, when we asked historians of education to think about the public turn within their field, a rich variety of ideas and approaches emerged. Some of the authors focused on the manuals and catalogues they edited, the expositions they curated or the feedback they received from museum visitors; others presented specific stories (E.g., painful, forgotten) and why those stories should be made public (E.g., emancipatory, trauma processing), and others highlighted the potential of allowing the public to participate and to gain insight in the normally black-boxed historical operation. This rich variety attests that a public turn has taken place within our discipline.

But what are the consequences of this public turn, that includes the growing availability of digital sources to all people, and the drive of interest groups to write histories to empower people, for the position, role, and task of historians in academia (Noiret et al., 2022)? Will they adjust their research activities to satisfy popular or populist demands? Will they change their ways of presenting histories by choosing more adventurous and artistic approaches? Will they start educating enthusiastic amateurs to become professional historians (Cauvin, 2022)? Will they connect with various stakeholders within or outside educational communities to increase the impact of their work and contribute to actual educational reforms?

In this paper, we will answer these questions by elaborating a typology of public historians of education and applying it to several cases in which the role of the historian has changed over time. These cases will also be used to illustrate the ways in which historical stories has become, reanimated, and appropriated, but also how these cases were exemplary for situations in which more histories have become available to many audiences, but where academic historians have also become invisible.

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Breath and Rhythm in Oriental Spiritual Practices and Western Pedagogical Initiatives

Chair: Renáta Földesi

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Discussant: Beatrix Vincze

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Breath counts as the principle of life in a wide range of cultures, from ancient Greeks to cultures of the Far East – a significance that is also confirmed by modern medicine. Breath also means connection, a flow back and forth between the living being and its environment, it means interaction and exchange. It is no wonder that, when we think about constraints, barriers, limiting situations or confinement, we often associate them with adjectives such as “suffocating” and “stifling”.

It is even this stifling, suffocating, authoritarian, domination-based character of institutional education – which suppresses human freedom, happiness and creativity – that was criticised by the reform pedagogical movements of the early 20th century. Reformist educators, in their search for alternatives, relied (like once the Renaissance in its opposition to medievalism seen as restrictive) as much on “natural” resources as on alternative, more life-giving (or at least less restrictive) traditions. Such traditions include, among others, Eastern ones such as Buddhism, Hinduism and Taoism, whose perspectives not only fertilised the reformers’ thinking, but they provided also some specific practices, such as various forms of movement and breathing exercises, which could be adapted in the context of education. In this process, these exercises also changed their medium, since their original context was typically some kind of sacred or spiritual practice, whereas when transplanted into Western pedagogical practices they were partly secularised, partly they gained even the role of physical-mental methods for connecting to the transcendence, to the laws of life, to the cosmos, and to the cosmic rhythm.

The first lecture of the panel reviews how this adaptation process between Eastern spiritual practices and Western pedagogies took place and takes a closer look at how breath and breathing exercises are interpreted in the educational ideas of Hungarian representatives of the life reform movement.

The second lecture examines a pedagogical system that adapted and integrated in a very intensive way the use of different breathing techniques: conductive education. The presented research evaluates and identifies the original purpose and methodology of conductive breathing exercises and also aims to provide a basis for the development of new, standardised ones.

The third presentation deals also with conductive education, putting the signification of breath in a wider context: that of the rhythm. Rhythm can function also as a common pattern and way of connection between cosmic order and individual life, and is a central organising motif in conductive education: concepts such as conductive agenda and life order, or the biological “rhythmlessness” of the dysfunction and the new rhythm of orthofunction are elements of a compact, profound philosophical and pedagogical interpretation of rhythm, which culminates in the idea of the rhythm of conductive existence.

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Keywords: breath, breathing exercises, rhythm, reform pedagogy, conductive education



Yogic Breathing Techniques as Supplementary Methods in the Area of Physical and Spiritual Education in the Hungarian life reform movements

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The international Life-reform movements that unfolded at the turn of the century show Far Eastern influences in many elements. In addition to philosophical and spiritual aspects, elements of yoga practice of Indian origin appear in medicine, healthy living, nutrition and natural healing practices. These include practices related to breathing and breath control. In many cases, Eastern influences have played a role in the use of breath as a direct link between the body and the mind, i.e. breath as a bridge between the body and the spirit, helping the individual to find his or her way back to the Self, to his or her own nature, or to nature and naturalness.

From the point of view of educational history, it is noteworthy that in traditional public education, breathing exercises are most often found in school curricula related to physical education, in the training materials of the 'Levente' and Scout movements. However, in the context of reformist education, correct breathing for the body-mind-spirit complex, supporting natural development, is integrated into health education.

Eastern breathing practices are often transmitted to the West from literary sources, and have sometimes become an integral part of the everyday lives of Life reformers, inspiring the introduction of new natural therapeutic methods such as the Air bath, and the development of many individual pedagogical, educational and developmental methods such as Orchestics – System of Movement – and Eurythmy.

Pranayama, derived from yogic systems of Hindu and Buddhist origin, although still difficult to understand from a Western perspective – as breathing exercises, breath control, life force regulation through breathing, soul force regulation – has attracted widespread interest. Originally mystical, breathing-related practices have attracted the interest of doctors, psychologists, naturopaths, educators and Life reformers because of the positive physiological and psychological effects they directly experienced. In the decades preceding World War II., a large amount of literature was published in Hungarian and international languages, which introduced the reader to the practices, physiological and psychological effects and educational value of the so-called 'proper breaths'.

In the context of the life reform movements in Hungary, we can also gain insight into the philosophy, art and practical aspects of breath through the lives and work of such well-known people as Ervin Baktay, Antal Weninger, Ferenc Völgyesi, Selvarajan Yesudian, József Kaczvinszky, among others. After decades of silence following the blossoming of the Life reform, the continuation and popularisation of ideas and practices can be traced again from the 1970s and 1980s, through the disciples who followed in the footsteps of the predecessors, masters and teachers of the early period.

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Keywords: breath, breathing exercises, rhythm, reform pedagogy, conductive education



Enhancing Respiratory Function and Life Quality in Individuals with CP: A Study of Additional Respiratory Therapies and Conductive Breathing Exercises

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Cerebral Palsy (CP) is a neurodevelopmental disorder that affects movement and posture and frequently leads to respiratory issues, contributing to the high rate of respiratory-related deaths among individuals with CP. Incorporating breathing exercises into conventional rehabilitation and education has been shown to enhance respiratory function, decrease symptoms such as dyspnoea and increase physical activity tolerance.

This research consists of two parts: the first part is a meta-analysis that examines the impact of additional respiratory therapies compared to conventional care on respiratory parameters and quality of life for people with CP. The second part explores the role and effects of conductive breathing exercises, which are an integral part of Conductive Education (CE).

Dr Pető's interwar period medical experience at Austrian sanatoriums played a substantial role in shaping his approach to conductive pedagogy. This led to the integration of proper breathing and breathing exercises into conductive education as a crucial aspect starting in the 1940s. This experience was woven into Dr Pető's conductive pedagogical practice. This second study involves a systematic literature analysis of the original case studies, notes, and exercise series written by Dr András Pető.

The goal of this study is to evaluate and identify the original purpose and methodology of conductive breathing exercises. The results of this research will provide a basis for the development of new, standardised conductive breathing exercises for individuals with CP and can be utilised to improve respiratory function and quality of life in practice.

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Keywords: breath, breathing exercises, rhythm, reform pedagogy, conductive education



Rhythm of Life and Life Order in Conductive Pedagogy

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As the heir of the life reform movements and reform pedagogical trends of the early 20th century, conductive education is linked in many ways to the Viennese revolution in psychology, to the thought of Eastern religions and philosophies, Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, the research into natural remedies and the spirituality of the "art of healing", the Heilkunst.

Its founder, András Pető (1893–1967) was not only a doctor, teacher and therapist, but also a journalist and newspaper editor at various stages of his life, who was also active in literature and philosophy. From the very beginning of his career, his medical credo have been defined by a holistic approach based on the wholeness of the human being, as well as an emphasis on the importance of the will to heal and the body's ability to heal itself.

In his view, medicine and pedagogy are overlapping fields.

As a pedagogical system aimed to contribute to the education of persons with movement impairments of central nervous system origin, conductive education is characterised by the fact that, despite its emphasis on movement development, it does not define itself primarily as movement therapy or movement pedagogy, but as a complex personal development in which movement development is integrated. It is based primarily on the activity of the learners and on group dynamics; it gives also a special role to the awareness of (movement) intentions, the rhythm that structures and facilitates action, and the motivating function of the experience of success.

In our presentation we will examine the role and signification of rhythm in conductive pedagogy, primarily based on text analysis concerning pedagogical documents and Pető's philosophical writings. In our interpretation, rhythm bears a complex, multi-layer meaning on various levels: the rhythm of the cosmos, the rhythm of life itself appears as translated into conductive pedagogy in various forms as the conductive agenda, the replacement of the biological "rhythmlessness" of dysfunction by a new rhythm, or the rhythm of the active life order, which is ultimately the rhythm of conductive existence.

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Keywords: breath, breathing exercises, rhythm, reform pedagogy, conductive education



Brian Simon, Secondary Education And Socialism

Chair: Gary James McCulloch

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This preformed panel will consider the involvement of some of the key actors in educational and social reforms in England after World War II (theme 2). It also embraces both a broader and a more particular rationale in its collective purpose. In general terms, it asks how labour and socialist movements were engaged in the reforms that took place (theme 3). In particular, it focuses on the reforms of secondary education that led to the spread of comprehensive schools for all abilities and aptitudes in the 1960s and 1970s (Simon, 1991).

Both the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) became fully committed to public reforms in the years after World War II. Labour Party leaders developed a practical and intellectual basis for such reforms while the CPGB did the same, either on its own or by seeking to galvanise the labour and socialist movement to the cause. This panel takes into account the broad political context of socialist engagement with the reforms of this period, including the role of socialist public intellectuals (McCulloch & Peterson, 2022).

A particular example of a key actor in these reforms was Professor Brian Simon (1915–2002) who sought to stimulate reform especially in relation to secondary education. He was also, besides being a leading historian of education, a significant Marxist intellectual and an educational reformer, whose beliefs led him into close but often fraught involvements with socialist and Marxist politics, across both the Communist Party and the Labour Party in Britain. This preformed panel explores Simon's Marxist ideas in relation to his politics and approach to educational reform, especially for secondary education and comprehensive schools, and before he went on to become one of ISCHE's early leaders in the 1970s and 1980s. More than twenty years after his death, and on the publication of the first extended study of his life and career that makes use for the first time of a range of unpublished primary source material, the panel will seek to explain Simon's unique yet often neglected position as a leading public intellectual. as one of ISCHE's foremost early leaders (See also McCulloch et al., 2023).

The papers contributing to this panel have drawn on unpublished archival sources of the Labour Party and Communist Party and of the life and career of Brian Simon, and also analyses of socialist politics in England since World War II.

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Keywords: Brian Simon, secondary education, socialism



Brian Simon and the Communist Party of Great Britain

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This paper examines Brian Simon's organic links with the Communist Party of Great Britain. Simon's Marxist affiliation, his communist sympathies and even his membership of the party are well known. However, the role he played in the party as one of its leading intellectuals and also as a member of its ruling bodies still remains in the shadows (See e.g. Callaghan, 2003). Simon was a member of the Executive Committee of the party from 1957 to 1971 and the chairman of its Cultural Committee from 1962 until the mid-1970s (McCulloch et al., 2023). In the devastating crisis of 1957 caused by the invasion of Hungary, Simon served the party in an attempt to counteract the effects of the split of the New Left. Starting from this defence of the orthodoxy, Simon worked for the ideological renewal of the party and tried to extend its influence among the intellectuals. Throughout the 1960s, he revitalised the Cultural Committee and placed it at the service of the renovating sectors of the party. In 1967, he pushed for a radical revision of the principles held by the party on culture, the arts, science and thought with the publication of *Questions of Ideology and Culture*, which set the framework for a certain intellectual revival of the party in the early 1970s around Gramsci's ideas. Throughout this period, Simon suffered from the contradiction between his status as an active party activist and as a public intellectual. Nevertheless, his strong commitment to the party eventually prevailed over his role as a public intellectual. But this loyalty does not call into question his remarkable contribution in the intellectual field, which has been overshadowed as a grey and discreet task, far from the public recognition that other intellectuals of his generation obtained. This paper gives an account of the trajectory of Simon at the head of the Committee and its achievements from primary sources preserved in the Manchester People's Archives.

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Keywords: Brian Simon, secondary education, socialism



Social Technocracy: Knowledge, Politics And Social Sciences for 20th Century Labour Party Intellectuals

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This paper seeks to reveal the intellectual background against which various educational reforms take place in Post-War Britain. By placing the intellectual development of the Labour Party in parallel with the growing influence of social sciences in the Post-War context this paper explicates how moral, political and intellectual pursuits of the Labour Party intellectuals entangled in their making of social scientific knowledge. Focusing on Hugh Gaitskell, Evan Durbin and Mark Abrams – three intellectuals whose epistemic outlooks represent the ‘scientisation’ of knowledge of society and shed intellectual influence on the comprehensive reform (Rogan, 2017), this paper identifies the importance for historians of education to understand the epistemic shift in the Post-War welfare state when approaching the series of educational reform in the 1960s. Arguing that the emerging social sciences constructed a common language between the academics and the statesmen, this paper explores the epistemic pre-condition that made the progressive educational reforms possible.

Situating the intellectual development among the three intellectuals in the history of social science in contemporary British history, this paper argues that moral and political commitments remain relatively stable despite changes in the epistemic outlook. Against this intellectual background, Brian Simon’s intellectual and political pursuits covered by his simultaneous roles as a Marxist and an academic may be better appreciated.

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Brian Simon, Marxism and British Education Reforms

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Highlighting the reforming role played by Brian Simon in the history of the British education, Kavanagh notes that, although the CPGB in many ways remained a marginal force in British politics throughout its life (1920–1991), “it made a notable contribution to broader educational politics on the Left in Britain, particularly during World War II. and in the campaign for comprehensive education in the two decades which followed.” (Kavanagh, 2015, p. 5). When Brian Simon joined the Communist Party (1935) and during the first few decades of his service in it, the international communist movement was going through a dispute over positions based on the dichotomy between reform and revolution.

As we study Brian Simon, it is clear that he was not misled by this false opposition. The ‘rebel’ Cambridge student, loyal to the Communist Party, was to become an outstanding historian of education. He reached this position because, even though his loyalty and being an ideological defender of the Soviet Union, he did not cling to dogmas and was not determined to think of an ideal socialist policy. Rather, he used Marxism to analyse the causes and nature of the educational situation in different historical contexts to determine reforms appropriate to the stage of development of British society. Studying concrete historical situations to, based on them, defend the reforms for which he immortalised himself, Brian Simon understood education in a much broader dimension than the usual Marxist thesis according to which education merely reproduces society. For him, it was much more than that, because, if on the one hand, education reproduces inequalities, on the other, it also transforms society. Although Brian Simon not having known Gramsci’s work until the 1970s, when comparing the two authors, we found similarities in this way of applying Marxism to education. An explicit reference to this proximity will appear in his mature work. When analysing the limits of both, the Labour Party reforms and the achievements of the English labour movement, Brian Simon states that “the explanation lay, perhaps, in a deeper level of understanding about the historical role of education in the assimilation, in a Gramscian sense, of subaltern (or subordinate) classes within the social complex” (Simon, 1991, p. 142).

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Keywords: Brian Simon, secondary education, socialism



Supervision of School Reforms and the Reform of School Inspectorates – The Relation Between Supervision Structures and School Reforms

Part 1

Chair: Daniel Töpfer

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Discussant: María del Mar del Pozo

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The time after 1900 is known as the heyday of New Education, a reforming educational program (Röhrs, 1998, p. 11; Seyfarth-Stubenrauch & Skiera 1996; Tenorth & Kallert, 2022). Yet this time was not only remarkable due to the circulation of new ideas about education, schools, and teaching. It was also the time, in which reform discourses reached a position of power and influence in the established school systems of that time. School administrators such as Georg Kerschensteiner in Munich, Anna Siemsen in Hamburg, Anton Sickinger in Mannheim, and Otto Glöckel in Vienna are examples from the German-speaking countries. Yet this was a major trend in the first decades of the 20th century, well beyond Europe or the United States.

The ascendance of new and reformist educators to positions of power suggests looking more attentively to one part of educational administration that not only may have been heavily involved in educational reforms, but whose very existence may be seen as a reform itself: School inspection. The symposium of three panels intends to discuss the relationship between schools and school inspectorates from the perspective of reforms. This includes both the role of inspection in reforming schools and the reforming of inspection itself as a way of reforming schools. The links between the incorporation of reform projects into administrative ways of institutionalisation and the establishment and change of school supervision as reforms themselves are in focus. Following these links, the symposium intends to shed new light on two major problems for educational historiography. First, school inspectorates may be seen not only as a controlling, but also as a reformist institution, giving the historical study of educational administration a more flexible turn. Second, school reforms may be seen beyond their innovative moment focused on the new ideas, but also from their more institutionalised side, stressing the slow and patient institutionalisation of the new.

The papers position educational administration and its bureaucracy, being school inspectorates a centrepiece, not only as obstructing actors, but also as enabling ones. Beyond viewing school administration and school inspection as monolithic entities repeating the same kind of controlling operations, newer scholarship looks into the inner workings of school inspectorates (Kasper et al. 2022; Geiss & De Vincenti, 2014; Geiss, 2012). In this sense, the panels and papers of this symposium address the following questions: Did school inspectors initiate reforms, prepare them, or recruit specific personal to enact them? What kind of knowledge did reformist actors gather, produce, and deal with when facing administrators and inspectors? Which reforms were developed from within the school administration and how were reform projects promoted? What routines and activities and what forms of knowledge elicitation were activated in school administration in contexts of reform?

These broader questions were discussed in cases studies from different contexts, mostly focused on Europe, but also including a case of European colonial educational policy: India. The case studies cover the critical time of the formation of mass educational systems from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. Beyond simple chronology or geography, panels follow three



main perspectives of dealing with the links between school reforms and the reform of school inspection: bureaucratic, politic, and pedagogic. These main perspectives display both different motivations for reform as well as different logics of processing them. By doing this, we do not characterise the respective reforms as only bureaucratic, pedagogic, or political. All reforms combined the three aspects to different degrees. Through the contributions of the symposium, we aim at gaining a deeper understanding of the dynamics of school inspection well beyond the sole focus on “system maintenance function”.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century

Elementary school inspectors in Italy after Unification (1861–1871)

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The Royal Decree No. 3725 of 13 November 1859 established that elementary education was free and divided into a lower compulsory and a higher grade under municipal responsibility. This law proceeded to strengthen the national school administration, with more governmental officials and a strictly hierarchical structure, according to the centralist principle that marked all the politics of the new Kingdom of Italy. A pyramidal structure of educational inspectors was established. The role of school inspectors was essential to verify that the adherence of directors and teachers to the educational principles inspiring the new national school system, with specific reference to the organisation of school activities on the basis of the 'normal method'. In the pre-Unification period, in fact, the 'normal method' – introduced by the Habsburg authorities in the Lombardo – Venetian Kingdom and soon spread to the nearby Kingdom of Sardinia – had trouble spreading in the southern schools. In 1843, in his *Guida dei precettori d'ambo i sessi e padri di famiglia*, the Neapolitan educationalist Domenico Santucci praised the organisation of schools according to the 'normal method', as it allowed all classes to be simultaneously engaged in teaching activities and encouraged the maintenance of order and discipline. In 1864, the Ministry of Education appointed a Commission of Inquiry on Elementary Education, chaired by Carlo Matteucci. The survey was conducted throughout the country, thanks to the collaboration of provincial inspectors, who collected data on the Commission's questions in schools. The questions were inherent –for example – which were the punishments generally used by teachers and according to which method elementary schools were ordered (individual, normal, monitorial or mixed).

The school inspectors were, therefore fundamental in the formation and reform process of Italian schools, as through their periodic visits they supervised the observance of regulations, checked the educational preparation of teachers, and drew up statistical frameworks on the situation of schools in their area, which were essential for the authorities to monitor the situation closely. This role was fundamental in the following Committees of Inquiry Broglio (1868) and Mamiani (1870), which underlined the persistence of structural problems that the 'Sinistra Storica' tried to solve.

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the Reform of School Inspectorates - The Relation
Between Supervision Structures and School
Reforms (Part 1)
(Symposium)



Santucci, D. (1843). *Guida dei precettori d'ambo i sessi e padri di famiglia per le scuole elementari comunali e private*. Tipografia Agrelli.

Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia: relazione generale. (1865). Stamperia reale.

Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century

**‘Native’ Bureaucracy as Reform. The Coming of Educational Inspection in British India
(1854–1882)**

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When in 1823 a General Committee of Public Instruction was established in the Bengal Presidency under the authority of the East India Company, this was the first body specifically dedicated to all things educational. Yet this was not the beginning of a colonial bureaucracy in education since the Committees, later established in the other Presidencies, did not constitute an executive branch of educational administration, but rather a deliberative council in charge of approving funds for individual institutions (Rao, 2020). This changed after the Wood Despatch opened a new form of educational governance in 1854. Colonial authorities had now to conceive and conduct a more consistent educational policy including primary, secondary, college and university education. In this context, the first officials of the new Departments of Public Instruction began to act as the long arm of central authorities. They conducted inspecting tours of schools on a regular basis and oiled the machine of reporting and policy (for Punjab, See Allender, 2004, 2006).

School inspection, originally aimed at establishing a new type of educational governance and new forms of schooling as well as reforming existing native schooling, rapidly evolved towards a full-fledged modern bureaucratic that helped to contour the figure of the colonial native schoolteacher as a ‘meek dictator’ (Kumar, 2014). Almost no historiography exists on the institutionalisation, consolidation, and workings of educational inspection, particularly in its first decades (on one well-known inspector and textbook author, See Sen, 2017). This paper considers not only the assignment of conducting and facilitating school reforms for the new school inspectorates, but it addresses these inspectorates as a reform of its own due to the ample participation of native subjects in these official positions. Inspectors and sub-inspectors of native origin, many of them with reformist views on culture and education and coming from high-caste backgrounds, marked the development of education after 1854 and represented one of the rare openings for natives to climb the elusive ladder of hierarchy within the colonial state.

I will present results from a prosopography of early educational inspectors for all territories under British rule, focusing particularly on those inspectors of local or native origin. I will also reconstruct the kind of workings these inspectors performed and show that, far from being agents of controlling and disciplining, educational inspectors remained particularly associated with reforming schools. Both main perspectives are substantiated by published official reporting and archival materials. In this sense, I will not only show evidence of the establishment of a bureaucracy with the participation of natives in important positions as a reform itself, but also look at the relationship between inspecting roles and reforming education (Caruso, 2022) from the establishment of educational officials in 1854 until the extensive consultations on the state of colonial education in India carried out by the Educational Commission between 1882–84 that opened a new era of educational policy.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century

Negotiating Conflict. Overseeing the Introduction of a Standardized Form as a New Bureaucratic Routine in Early 20th Century Berlin Schools

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In the late 19th and early 20th century, the Prussian education system underwent significant changes, particularly in terms of bureaucratic routines and school oversight (Kuhlemann, 1992). In Berlin, the reform of the elementary school system was highly contested for more than 20 years, before being temporarily solved in 1903 (Uhlig, 1997). The reforms were driven by a growing awareness of the importance of education and a desire to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the school system, often leading to conflicts between local, provincial and national bodies of oversight (Herbst, 2002).

One focus of these changes was the identification of “feeble-minded” children in elementary schools. To achieve this, pre-printed forms for identifying these children were introduced to standardise the process and make it more efficient (Garz, 2022). These forms were to be filled out by teachers and administrators, and included questions about the child’s behavior, ability to learn, and physical and mental health. Based

By 1910 most cities had developed own version of these pre-printed forms. When a standardised national version was introduced in 1913, conflicts between the Prussian Minister of Education and the municipal school administrations emerged. Since the municipalities and regions had their own forms and procedures for identifying “feeble-minded” children that had developed over time, they were resistant to abandoning them for the nationally standardised forms, fearing a loss of autonomy and questioning of their professionalism (Garz, 2022). It was the “Berlin-Brandenburgische Provinzial Schulkollegium” (Berlin-Brandenburg Provincial School Board) that negotiated the conflict. The Berlin-Brandenburg Provincial School Board was the governmental body in Prussia responsible for overseeing and supervising the administration of primary and secondary schools within the province (Heinemann, 1974). Among other things it was responsible for setting educational policies and evaluating the performance of teachers and schools and ensuring that schools met certain quality criteria.

Letters exchanged between the different administrative entities concerning the introduction of the new standardised form (Prussian State Archive I. HA Rep. 76 VII neu, Sek. 1B Teil I Nr.4) let me retrace the negotiations surrounding the reform of nationally standardised forms. The following questions will be addressed: What was the role of the Berlin-Brandenburg Provincial School Board in mediating the conflicts between the Prussian Ministry of Education and the municipal school administration over the use of pre-printed forms for identifying “feeble-minded” children? What did the criticism pertaining to the introduction of a nationally standardised form focus on? And how did the conflicts between the national and local level bureaucratic practices over the use of pre-printed forms for identifying “feeble-minded” children affect the introduction and implementation of these forms in the Prussian education system?

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Bruno Ciari, Antonio Gramsci and activism: history of a conflict among Italian communists (1959–1965)

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After World War II, the pedagogical debate in Italy is marked mainly by the presence of a strong Catholic tradition and a minority laic tradition, although relevant in terms of academic and intellectual prestige, the one that moves around Ernesto Codignola and Lamberto Borghi's journal *Scuola e Città*. A silence has fallen on Maria Montessori's method. A silence that will take years to overcome. Italian Marxism, for its part, has not until now been interested in school and education in an organic way. It has already been studied: the first intervention of the Italian Communist Party in school organization was in 1955, the same year as the birth of the magazine *Riforma della scuola*. Its organizational chart denounces the shortcomings in terms of formal reflection on pedagogical issues: of the first editorial board only Dina Bertoni Jovine has a solid pedagogical background. Mario Alighiero Manacorda will join a year later.

The figure of Bruno Ciari, a teacher from Certaldo, a communist militant and among the animators of the Cooperative of Typography at School, which, since 1951, intends to introduce Freinet techniques in the Italian school, emerges from the beginning.

The figure of Ciari is particularly interesting and deserves to be recovered in its complexity so many are the themes he addressed in his short life (1923–1970). From activism to Gramscian pedagogy, full-time education, and disability, Ciari anticipates through theoretical but also didactic elaboration first and then as an administrator in the municipality of Bologna some of the most important reforms of the 1970s.

Bruno Ciari, from below rereads the thought of Antonio Gramsci in an original way: to him and certainly not to the PCI we owe the most original contribution of pedagogy of teaching on the Marxist side.

Bruno Ciari outlines a pedagogy of experience from a direct relationship with the sun, rain, snow, wind, weather events, and the cycle of the seasons. However, it is not just a matter of observing and bringing fragments of nature into the classroom, only to make episodic, fragmentary discoveries; "nor is it a matter of collecting the usual generic and superficial notions about the 'three kingdoms', or of padding ourselves with definitions and classifications. Nor should it be a matter of pure and simple descriptions of a phenomenon. Even at the child level, one must proceed scientifically albeit at a very low level. One must search, formulate hypotheses, connect one fact with another, perform, in short, true logical reasoning."

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Keywords: Bruno Ciari, activism, Marxist theories, Antonio Gramsci, Gianni Rodari



YWCA's Public Health Campaigns in Interwar Hong Kong

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This paper examines how Chinese women's activism functioned as an important element in shaping the public health infrastructure in interwar Hong Kong. It looks at one specific women's organisation – founded by a group of elite and professional Chinese women in 1920 in the context of expanding industrial economy (The China Mail, 1921): the Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association (the HKYWCA). Focusing on a diverse range of public health initiatives carried out by the association, including the establishment and daily running of baby's clinics, seasonal offering and organising of mother's help classes, children's health conferences, women's health weeks, vaccination campaigns, and visits to working-class homes and rural hospitals, this paper spotlights the changing landscape of medical care for women and children in colonial Hong Kong. As well, it shows how Chinese women in YWCA thought about, reacted to, and used the dominant public health concerns in interwar Hong Kong to claim a meaningful existence in a British colonial society. With an explicit focus on the health of Chinese women and children, and by mobilising a cohort of European female physicians and nurses in its medical service, the HKYWCA operated as a platform where European female medical professionals interacted with Chinese women's activism in the context of heightened state concern over public health.

The paper argues that YWCA's public health campaigns in interwar Hong Kong responded simultaneously to a wide stream of cultural currents. In a transnational context, the outburst of women in the medical profession and their subsequent concentration in school health and child health illustrates the shifting gender dynamics in the medical profession. It also shows the changing career access for female physicians. The imperial network further allows this cohort of Western-trained female medical professionals to exert their expertise and to form alliance with Chinese female professionals in developing a health care infrastructure for Chinese children and women. Second, the proliferation of scientific approaches to motherhood moved apace with the gradual development of child care in the medical profession where the child emerged as a distinct cohort in medical discourses. Third, medical work with women and children responded to the intensified eugenic concern in interwar Hong Kong. Saturated with a refreshed look on the health of youth as the foundation of the British empire, the colonial government in Hong Kong launched a series of interventionist measures targeting at the health of school children, including the establishment of the School Hygiene Branch, the standardisation of physical education school curriculum, and sports competitions. HKYWCA's medical work supplemented this strand of colonial medical care for children, and further helped to integrate the rural and working-class neighbourhoods into the colonial medical and public health service orbit. The paper fills a significant gap in current scholarship on the history of medicine and public health in colonial Hong Kong that has largely overlooked the contribution of Chinese women, and more broadly, the role of Chinese women's activism in shaping public medical provision.

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Keywords: YWCA, Chinese women, gender, public health, Hong Kong



“Readings For Middle School”: Lights and Shadows of the 1962 Italian School Reform Through Fiction

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This study aims to outline the educational changes that were promoted by the reform of the unified middle school in Italy in 1962, using, as a source, the didactic instruments offered to students: fiction books. Italian historiography has extensively studied the Reform, but without dwelling, if not occasionally, on the publishing strategies that followed it.

In particular, I am examining a fiction collection called “Letture per la scuola media” [Readings for the middle school] published by Einaudi from 1965 until 1989. I attempt to show how the collection interpreted the spirit of the reform and in some ways anticipated some instances brought forward by the cultural and social movement of the Sixties and Seventies.

After a long debate lasting almost a century, the 1859th law of 1962 which established the institution of the unified middle school, was finally approved by the Italian parliament, and welcomed as a practical realization of democracy. The lesson’s plans put the focus on learning the Italian language and literature: it was mandatory to read a modern fiction book. As might be expected, publishers started to design collections of classic novels, reduced in length, with several footnotes and exercises, in order to help students and also teachers with text comprehension. Einaudi, on the contrary, decided to publish books talking about recent history, which appeared in the market in the first edition for adults only few years before. The absolute innovation was to eliminate the exercises and give students the text only with short footnotes and a brief introduction, made by the author himself. The message was clear: “Read, and that’s all”, as said by one of the editors of the publishing house.

The study of the correspondence exchanged between authors and editors preserved in the archives has helped to clarify the reason for Einaudi’s choice. According to him, reflecting the political aspirations of the Italian Left, students needed to know about fascism, antifascism, and the war, to make them understand the value of political participation and actively realise the democratic purpose of the Reform. Einaudi, also, thought that the new students were different and should be treated as adults, guessing the generational conflict that was about to break out.

In conclusion, we might say that the collection was an ambitious project, maybe too risky for the times. As a matter of fact, unfortunately, some cuts had been made to the texts. The authors themselves removed from their works those expressions and references, concerning sex and religion in particular, that might have appeared inappropriate to the teachers. Einaudi had to deal with the conservatism of some teachers, but he also intended to give some others instruments to rediscover the social importance of their job, since the reform had left them to outline their lessons with complete autonomy and without guidelines and they had the opportunity challenge the students. This would have had consequences on the political orientation of the teachers during the Seventies and also on Italian culture in general.

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Keywords: Einaudi, middle school reform, letture per la scuola media, readings for middle school, history of publishing



A reform From Below. The transformation of School Practices in Buenos Aires (1880–1890)

Una reforma desde abajo. La transformación de las prácticas escolares. Ciudad de Buenos Aires (1880–1890)

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This work is a chapter from an investigation that inquired about the characteristics adopted by the schooling process in Buenos Aires from the moment it became the Federal Capital of the Argentine Republic in 1880. The purpose of the investigation consisted of analysing – through the reconstruction of the projects, transformations and debates around the characteristics that the Buenos Aires schools should adopt – the different ways in which a series of problems were objectified and a set of challenges were assumed that guided the schooling process. From the analysis of multiple dimensions (material culture, school government, reforms at the classroom level, etc.) I try to demonstrate that the school reforms implemented between 1880 and 1910 were much more gradual and difficult to implement than a historiographical triumphant version of the school usually holds. Likewise, I postulate that these changes did not respond to legal initiatives or jurisdictional reconfigurations exclusively, but were determined by political, cultural and pedagogical elements that broke down into a multiplicity of issues and problems that require – for their understanding – to review the ideas and practices through which numerous agents related to the schooling of a territory with a specific educational past and social conformation.

This presentation will address the reforms that took place between 1880 and 1890 at the classroom level, based on the analysis of three intervention strategies that aspired to reform the ways of teaching: teaching methods, assessment strategies and updating of teacher knowledge. In each one of these plans, reforms were produced that, within the framework of the schooling process, can be analysed in an interconnected way from the visualisation of a collective work (in which teachers and directors, school counsellors, inspectors and authorities of the National Education Council intervened) that was committed to influencing pedagogical modernization at the school level. Teaching methods, public exams and pedagogical conferences formed the elements of a triad that, combined, aspired to regulate school practices in tune with the idea of a school that sought to be promoted. Indeed, the initiatives that are analysed here are part of situations where a very wide network of subjects who participate in the daily management of schools intervene and are challenged. An approach to the dynamics through which changes – fundamental or subtle – were introduced in these three vectors of analysis allows us to glimpse the interventions at the level of school institutions and to test an interpretation of how these initiatives were linked under specific logics with representations of more general order, such as the ideas of “modern pedagogy”, “schooling”, “school” and “common education”.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Este trabajo es un recorte de una investigación más amplia que indagó sobre las características que adoptó el proceso de escolarización de la ciudad de Buenos Aires desde el momento en que se convirtió en la Capital Federal de la República Argentina en 1880. El propósito de la investigación consistió en analizar -mediante la reconstrucción de los proyectos,



transformaciones y debates en torno a las características que debían adoptar las escuelas porteñas- los diferentes modos en que se objetivaron una serie de problemas y se asumieron un conjunto de desafíos que orientaron el proceso de escolarización porteño. A partir del análisis de múltiples dimensiones (cultura materia, gobierno escolar, reformas a nivel del aula, etc.) procuro demostrar que las reformas escolares implementadas entre 1880 y 1910 fueron mucho más graduales, paulatinas y difíciles de implementar de lo que una versión historiográfica triunfal de la escuela suele sostener. Asimismo, postulo que esos cambios no respondieron a iniciativas de orden legal o a reconfiguraciones jurisdiccionales exclusivamente, sino que estuvieron determinados por elementos políticos, culturales y pedagógicos que se desgranaron en una multiplicidad de asuntos y problemas que requieren -para su comprensión- revisar las ideas y prácticas mediante las cuales se relacionaron numerosos agentes en torno a la escolarización de un territorio con un pasado educativo y una conformación social específicas.

En esta presentación se abordarán las reformas que tuvieron lugar entre 1880 y 1900 a nivel del aula, a partir del análisis de tres estrategias de intervención que aspiraban a reformar las formas de enseñar: los métodos de enseñanza, las estrategias de evaluación y la actualización de los saberes docentes. En cada uno de estos planos se produjeron reformas que, en el marco del proceso de escolarización, pueden analizarse de manera interconectada a partir de la visualización de un trabajo colectivo (en el que intervinieron maestros y directores, consejeros escolares, inspectores y autoridades del Consejo Nacional de Educación) que apostaba a incidir en la modernización pedagógica a nivel de las escuelas. Los métodos de enseñanza, los exámenes públicos y las conferencias pedagógicas conformaron los elementos de una triada que, combinados, aspiraron a regular las prácticas escolares en sintonía con la idea de escuela que buscaba promoverse. En efecto, las iniciativas que aquí se analizan forman parte de situaciones donde intervienen y son interpelados una red de sujetos muy amplia que participan de la gestión cotidiana de las escuelas. Un acercamiento a las dinámicas mediante las cuáles se introdujeron cambios -de fondo o sutiles- en estos tres vectores de análisis permite entrever las intervenciones a nivel de las instituciones escolares y ensayar una interpretación sobre cómo estas iniciativas se fueron vinculado bajo lógicas específicas con representaciones de orden más generales, como las ideas de “pedagogía moderna”, “escolarización”, “escuela” y “educación común”.

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Keywords: escolarización, evaluación, métodos, conferencias pedagógicas, reformas



The Reforms of Kindergartens in Mexico 1928: Between Froebel, the New School and Nationalism

Las Reformas a los Jardines de Niños en México 1928: Entre Froebel, la Escuela Nueva y el Nacionalismo

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Preschool education in Mexico has its own history, which began more than a century ago, but about which we know very little. Taking as a framework the interest in describing the different construction processes of the school culture of this educational level in different countries of the Preschool and Early Childhood Education History Network, this paper is presented, whose purpose is to carry out an analysis of the context. Politicians who propitiated the reforms to the kindergartens in 1922 and 1928 as well as the tensions and forms of appropriation and interpretation that these had on the teachers and institutions.

We have selected the period of the early twenties due to the first specific reforms that present strong contrasts both in conjunctural and sociopolitical aspects as well as in strictly pedagogical aspects. It is a moment of reorganization of the national educational system and the kindergartens still do not have a defined place, they are even considered institutions contrary to the revolutionary ideals, quote "because the number of kindergartens has always been limited, society has looked at them always as a privilege of the rich class" (SEP, 1988, p. 70), and it was considered that in terms of methodology, they had remained isolated from the rest of education, since the Froebelian influence was applied rigidly and the students did not find a continuity of what was practiced when they entered primary school.

Both reforms will seek to "Mexicanize" kindergarten and thereby harmonize it with the nationalist politics of the time. This communication briefly shows the way in which they were interpreted, appropriated and adapted to reality and the national political moment, the two teachers from the central government directed the school life of the kindergartens; the tensions between them as well as with the authorities and how the reforms finally translate into actual practice in the classroom.

Carrying out this, the documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources of the time and from the approach of the new cultural history of education, always focusing on the school culture.

Concluding that at a time when educational policy, or at least the discourse, was to build a "Mexican school", these reforms made possible the definitive incorporation of kindergartens into the national educational system through building a hybrid pedagogy and discourse. Also, in a certain hypocritical sense, the "modernized" Froebelian coexisting with principles and activities of the New School, without openly accepting that they were European influences, since this would be contrary to the prevailing nationalism and would put the continuity of this educational level at risk.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La educación preescolar en México tiene una historia propia, la cual se inicia hace más de un siglo, pero de la que sabemos muy poco. Teniendo como marco el interés por describir los distintos procesos de construcción de la cultura escolar de este nivel educativo en distintos países de la Red de Historia de la Educación Preescolar e Infantil, se presenta esta ponencia, la



cual tiene como propósito realizar un análisis del contexto político que propició las reformas a los Jardines de Niños en 1922 y 1928 así como las tensiones y formas de apropiación e interpretación que éstas tuvieron en las docentes y las instituciones.

Hemos seleccionado el periodo de la década de los veinte ya que en ella se gestan las primeras reformas específicas que presentan fuertes contrastes tanto en aspectos coyunturales y sociopolíticos como en los estrictamente pedagógicos. Es un momento de reorganización del sistema educativo nacional y los Jardines de Niños no tienen todavía un lugar definido, incluso se consideran instituciones contrarias a los ideales revolucionarios ya que “por haber sido siempre limitado el número de Jardines de Niños, la sociedad los ha mirado siempre como un privilegio de la clase rica” (SEP, 1988, p. 70), y se consideraba que en cuanto a la metodología, se habían mantenido en aislamiento respecto al resto de la educación, pues la influencia froebeliana era aplicada en forma rígida y los educandos no encontraban una continuidad de lo practicado al ingresar a la escuela primaria.

Ambas reformas pretenderán “mexicanizar” el kindergarten y con ello armonizarlo a la política nacionalista de la época. En esta comunicación se muestra de manera breve, la forma en que las interpretaron, apropiaron y adaptaron a la realidad y al momento político nacional, las dos maestras que desde el gobierno central dirigían la vida escolar de los jardines de niños; las tensiones entre ellas así como con las autoridades y cómo las reformas finalmente se traducen en la práctica real en las aulas.

Realizando para ello, el análisis documental de fuentes primarias y secundarias de la época y desde del enfoque de la nueva historia cultural de la educación, teniendo como como eje la cultura escolar.

Concluyendo que en un momento en que la política educativa, o al menos el discurso, era construir una “escuela mexicana”, estas reformas posibilitaron la incorporación definitiva de los Jardines de Niños al sistema educativo nacional a través de construir una pedagogía y un discurso híbridos y -en cierto sentido hipócrita-, coexistiendo lo froebeliano “modernizado” con principios y actividades de la Escuela Nueva, sin aceptar abiertamente que eran influencias europeas, pues esto sería contrario al nacionalismo imperante y pondría en riesgo la continuidad de este nivel educativo.

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Keywords: early childhood education, preschool education, kindergarten, párvulos



Henriette Amado and the educational reform at Colégio Estadual André Maurois in Rio de Janeiro (1965–1979)

Henriette Amado e a reforma educacional no Colégio Estadual André Maurois no Rio de Janeiro (1965–1979)

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Henriette Amado carried out an educational reform inspired by North American and French methods in Secondary Education at Colégio André Maurois, in Rio de Janeiro, in the 1960s. She developed innovative pedagogical work based on teaching the arts at Colégio Estadual Brigadeiro Schorcht in Jacarepaguá, in Rio de Janeiro, at the end of the 1950s. In 1965, she was appointed the first director of Colégio Estadual André Maurois, located in the Rio neighbourhood of Leblon. This institution was created by the governor of the State of Guanabara Carlos Lacerda, who developed a policy aimed at expanding the school system. Henriette Amado implemented the proposal for a renewed secondary education, with experimental classes, in which the educational guidelines converged towards the fundamental objective of transforming each class into a group of creative action. She used Jean Piaget, Lauro de Oliveira Lima and Zoe Neill as pedagogical references. The pedagogical proposal made to the teachers had the following objectives: discover new teaching methods, develop strategies to spark the interest of young students, and stimulate the students' mental and emotional balance so that they could trust their own decisions. Henriette Amado believed it was fundamental that the school's administrative structure was not bureaucratic. The following were created: the Educational Guidance Service, the Pedagogical Guidance Section and the circle of parents, where guardians and students discussed issues that mobilized them in the school routine.

The College's pedagogical structure allowed for innovative experiences to be carried out in different curricular areas: science classes on Urca beach, the students' preparation of a newspaper with historical facts, the creation of a cinema club open to city residents and the formation of a group of experimental theatres. In partnership with the Osvaldo Cruz Foundation, an experiment was carried out on the impact of drugs on mice, when students were tasked with recording changes in the animals' behavior. In 1971, the Secretary of Education accused the principal of allowing the use of psychotropic drugs in the school. The police became a constant presence outside the school. Students and teachers were repressed and began to feel threatened. In 1971, Henriette Amado was removed from her position by the military who accused her of being subversive, for encouraging the use of drugs at school and inappropriate practices.

The research will be carried out by implementing the method of documentary analysis. The sources will be personal documents and books published by Henriette Amado, periodicals and testimonials from students who graduated from Colégio André Maurois. This paper aims to contribute new perspectives on the history of Brazilian Secondary Education, especially for the educators who participated and contributed to the educational renewal movement, and resisted authoritarian proposals during the period of the military regime in the 1960s and 1970s.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Henriette Amado foi realizou uma reforma educacional no Ensino Secundário do Colégio André Maurois, no Rio de Janeiro, na década de 1960. Como diretora escolar, se inspirou nos ensaios renovadores ocorridos no ensino secundário brasileiro, após a Segunda Guerra Mundial, que tinham como referência métodos pedagógicos norte-americanos e franceses. Desenvolveu um trabalho pedagógico inovador baseado no ensino das artes no Colégio Estadual Brigadeiro Schorcht em Jacarepaguá, no Rio de Janeiro, no final dos anos 1950. Em 1965, foi nomeada a primeira diretora do Colégio Estadual André Maurois, situado no bairro carioca do Leblon. Esta instituição foi criada pelo governador do Estado da Guanabara Carlos Lacerda que desenvolveu uma política voltada à ampliação do sistema escolar. Henriette Amado implantou a proposta de um ensino secundário renovado, com classes experimentais em que as diretrizes educacionais convergiram para o objetivo fundamental de transformar cada classe num grupo de ação criadora. Utilizou como referências pedagógicas Jean Piaget, Lauro de Oliveira Lima e Zoe Neill. A proposta pedagógica feita aos professores tinha como objetivos: descobrir novos métodos de ensinar, desenvolver estratégias para conquistar o interesse dos jovens estudantes, estimular o equilíbrio mental e emocional dos alunos, para que eles pudessem confiar em suas próprias decisões. Henriette Amado acreditava ser fundamental que a estrutura administrativa do colégio não fosse burocrática. Foram criados: o Serviço de Orientação Educativa, a Seção de Orientação Pedagógica e o círculo de pais, onde responsáveis e alunos discutiam questões que os mobilizavam no cotidiano escolar. A estrutura pedagógica do Colégio permitiu a realização de experiências inovadoras em diferentes áreas curriculares: aulas de ciências na praia da Urca, elaboração de um jornal pelos alunos com fatos históricos, criação do cine clube aberto aos moradores da cidade e a formação de um grupo de teatro experimental. Em parceria com a Fundação Osvaldo Cruz, foi feita uma experiência sobre o impacto das drogas em camundongos, quando os alunos foram encarregados de registrar a alteração no comportamento dos animais. Em 1971, o Secretário de Educação acusou a diretora de permitir o uso de psicotrópicos no colégio. A polícia se tornou presença constante na porta do colégio. Alunos e professores foram reprimidos e passaram a se sentir ameaçados. Em 1971, Henriette Amado foi destituída do seu cargo por militares que a acusavam de subversiva, por incentivar a utilização de drogas na escola e de práticas inadequadas. Em 1978, foi concluído o inquérito policial. O trabalho será realizado a partir da análise documental. As fontes serão documentos pessoais e livros publicados por Henriette Amado, periódicos e depoimentos de alunos egressos do Colégio André Maurois. Este historiográfico objetiva contribuir novos olhares da história do Ensino Secundário brasileiro, em especial para as educadoras que participaram e contribuíram para o movimento educacional renovador, resistiram às propostas autoritárias no período da ditadura militar nos anos 1960 e 1970.

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Keywords: Henriette Amado; experimental secondary classes; educational reform; Rio de Janeiro; military regime



The Female Occupational Representation in Elementary School Textbooks During the Spanish and Portuguese Transitions to Democracy

Imaginarios Laborales Femeninos en Libros de Texto de Educación Primaria Durante la Transición a la Democracia de España y Portugal

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In the mid-1970s, Spain and Portugal underwent a process of transition to democracy that involved significant transformations in a wide variety of areas, such as the legislative, political, economic, and cultural spheres (Viñao-Frago, 2020). Both countries were striving to leave behind military dictatorships, Franco's and Salazar's, which had dominated the lives of their inhabitants for several decades and had limited the rights and freedoms of all citizens (Ossenbach & Martínez, 2011).

Undoubtedly, there was one-half of the population that was most severely affected, the female population, who had suffered the consequences of the application by the state apparatus of the 19th-century conservative doctrine of the two spheres, the public sphere for men and the private sphere for women (Flecha, 1989; Leal, 1979). The domestic sphere was reserved for women and the function of being "mother-wives", i.e., taking care of the husband and raising the offspring. For women, the transition to democracy did not only involve new legislative measures and the implementation of gender equality policies in the labour field but, above all, it promoted a socialization process to deconstruct traditional female stereotypes and offer new references for women that would make them feel and act in the professional sphere without limitations based on their sex/gender (De la Torre-Sierra & Guichot-Reina, 2022). The school played a leading role in this mission, and within it, the textbook, the didactic resource used par excellence by teachers to transmit knowledge. The main objective of this research is to examine the socio-occupational representation of women transmitted through elementary school textbooks used in Spain and Portugal during their political transitions to democracy, particularly in the areas of social sciences and language, to observe if there was a clear implication in order to present a wide professional range for women and encouraging them to incorporate into the labour market on equal terms with men.

We consider the textbook a socializing instrument with a relevant power in shaping personal identities (Escolano, 2002) and, therefore, with potential influence in the transmission and configuration of a biased socio-occupational culture if it reproduces gender stereotypes. For this purpose, we used a mixed methodology comprising quantitative and qualitative techniques, following the guidelines of critical discourse analysis (verbal and iconographic). The results show that textbooks used in both countries (Spain and Portugal), focusing on strictly economic terms, depict few women obtaining a salary and perpetuate horizontal and vertical occupational segregation. The research points out the consequences of the absence of female role models on women's self-esteem, ambitions, and career choices from an early age.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

España y Portugal vivieron a mediados de los setenta del siglo XX un proceso de transición a la democracia que supuso importantes transformaciones en muy variados ámbitos como el legislativo, el político, el económico o el cultural (Viñao-Frago, 2020). Ambos países se esforzaban en dejar atrás dictaduras militares, la franquista y la salazarista, que habían



dominado la vida de sus habitantes durante varias décadas y que habían limitado los derechos y libertades de toda la ciudadanía (Ossenbach & Martínez, 2011). Sin duda, hubo una mitad de la población que resultó más gravemente perjudicada, la femenina, quien había sufrido las consecuencias de la aplicación por parte del aparato estatal de la doctrina conservadora decimonónica de las dos esferas, la pública para los varones y la privada para las mujeres (Flecha, 1989; Leal, 1979). A ellas, se les reservó el espacio doméstico, y la función de ser “madre-esposas”, esto es, de encargarse del cuidado del esposo y de la crianza de la progenie. El paso a la democracia debía suponer para las mujeres no sólo nuevas medidas legislativas y la puesta en marcha de políticas de igualdad de género en el campo laboral, sino sobre todo impulsar un proceso de socialización para deconstruir estereotipos tradicionales femeninos y ofrecer nuevos referentes para las mujeres que les hiciesen sentirse y actuar en el terreno profesional sin limitaciones en razón de su sexo/género (De la Torre-Sierra & Guichot-Reina, 2022). La escuela jugaba un papel de primer orden en esta misión, y dentro de ella, el recurso didáctico empleado por excelencia por el profesorado para transmitir conocimiento, el libro de texto. El objetivo principal de esta investigación es examinar el imaginario sociolaboral femenino que transmitieron los manuales escolares de Primaria empleados en España y en Portugal durante la Transición política a la democracia, concretamente de las áreas de ciencias sociales y lenguaje para comprobar si hubo una implicación clara en presentar un amplio abanico profesional para las mujeres y en animarlas a que se integrasen en el mercado laboral en igualdad de condiciones con los hombres. Consideramos el libro de texto como un instrumento socializador con un poder relevante en la conformación de las identidades personales (Escolano, 2002), y, por consiguiente, con potencial influencia en la transmisión y configuración de una cultura sociolaboral sesgada en caso de contener estereotipos de género. Para ello, se emplea una metodología mixta, comprendiendo técnicas cuantitativas y cualitativas, siguiendo las directrices del análisis crítico del discurso (verbal e iconográfico). Los resultados muestran que en los libros de texto empleados en ambos países (España y Portugal), centrándonos en el plano estrictamente económico, escasean las mujeres que obtienen una remuneración salarial, y se perpetúa una segregación ocupacional horizontal y vertical. Nuestro estudio invita a reflexionar sobre las consecuencias de la ausencia de modelos femeninos en la autoestima, las ambiciones y las elecciones profesionales de las mujeres desde una edad temprana.

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Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, elementary education, gender discrimination, occupational socialization, textbooks.



Tensions and school transitions in Southern Italy. The case of Basilicata Province (1861–1911)

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The major contribution of this report relates to the reconstruction policies that were put in place during the post-unification period to support the social and economic development of Southern Italy, utilizing in particular the channel of public primary schools.

When the Kingdom of Italy was established as a unitary Italian state in 1861 under the Savoy monarchy, the deep divide between North and South had a significant impact on the Italian school situation. This situation, in conjunction with the conditions of poverty and inequality, as well as the backwardness of the old pre-unification states, was not conducive to school transition. In fact, in Italy, the process of school modernization enacted by the 1859 Casati Law, which was based on previous Piedmont legislation and initially applied to Piedmont and Lombardy, then to all of Italy, appears to have been long, difficult, and beset by complex dynamics and choices concerning both its educational aspects and those more strictly social and economic.

This school system, which applied the school organization of the Kingdom of Sardinia to all of Italy without distinction, proved difficult to implement because providing measures such as compulsory schooling instead of adopting a unified method inevitably clashed with the economic, social, and cultural backwardness of some provinces, such as Basilicata, a southern Italian region in the Ionian basin, between Puglia and Calabria.

In a letter to Cavour in 1860, Luigi Carlo Farini, the Italian politician and patriot, in fact, described the underdevelopment of Basilicata as being more akin to Africa than to an evolved society. Similarly, in the famous report *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel regno d'Italia*, published in 1865, Carlo Matteucci, the Minister for Public Education, highlighted how evident the linguistic divide and diversity appeared after the unification of Italy and not only in Basilicata. Moreover, Alfredo Zazo in his work *L'istruzione pubblica e privata nel Napoletano (1767–1860)* defined, in no uncertain terms, the Lucan school network as the most inadequate miserable in the whole Kingdom.

In the light of documents held in the State Archives of Potenza (Prefecture Fund – Administrative Acts) it is possible to re-read the history of elementary schools in Basilicata during the first fifty years of the Italian Kingdom (1861–1911) in an attempt to highlight the lights and shadows, tensions and transitions in the difficult implementation of the Casati Law, in advance of the Daneo Credaro Law, which was intended to modernize the Italian school system, coming into force in 1911.

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Keywords: Casati Law, educational reform, elementary schools, illiteracy, Southern Italy



The Preparatory Grade in the Thought and Work of Giuseppe Lombardo Radice From the Gentile Reform Onwards

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The paper intends to illustrate the projects for the preparatory degree within the Gentile reform (Charnitzky, 1996), focusing on the thought and work of one of their main creators, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice. The institution of such a three-year degree, although not compulsory, represents one of the novelties of the reform and the culmination of previous debates between numerous forces in the field: liberals, socialists (Catarsi, 1994), Catholics, without forgetting the new educational experiences that timidly began to appear in Italy, on the model of what was already happening in many parts of Europe. Lombardo Radice explored the issue of magisterial education for this grade in numerous publications, both in volumes and in the journal he founded, "L'educazione nazionale" (Lombardo Radice, 1927).

Thus, both a conception of the Italian popular school, reread in the light of idealistic philosophy, and a conception of the mother teacher according to precise Pestalozzian reminiscences emerge clearly. In such a way, the reform of the preparatory grade, and consequently of the formation of the magistral class in charge of it, is not a simple legislative update, but takes on the dimension of a broader educational project, aimed at linking, in Lombardo Radice's view, the pre-primary experience with the elementary, in the conviction that in that age, and in those school grades, education plays a diriment role. The attention that cultural contexts other than idealism, such as the Catholic one, would have, over the years, towards the nursery and primary schools thought up by Lombardo Radice, from time to time integrating them with their own reflections that they were developing at the same time, testifies to how the perspective of the pedagogue from Catania is a fruitful ground for reflection in crucial years for Italian scholastic history.

The aim of the research is to investigate continuity and discontinuity within the Italian school system, especially with regard to the preparatory level, between the period before and after the reform, outlining Lombardo Radice's role in the construction of a new paradigm. The methodology will involve the use of published and unpublished sources, focusing above all on Lombardo Radice's coeval writings and on his epistolary production, which helps to link him to an innovative pedagogical panorama that was able to make its echo heard beyond national borders, especially in the sphere of Francophone activism. The reconstruction will also make use of previous research on the subject, thus re-reading both the figure of Lombardo Radice and his reform as a fundamental page of school history.

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Keywords: Gentile Reform, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, preparatory grade, idealism, mother teacher



Normativities of Childhood in Times of Transition. The Example of “Children Born of War” in Austria After WWII

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During and after all armed conflicts “children born of war” are born. They result from voluntary and involuntary, loving, consensual as well as violent encounters and relationships between women and enemy soldiers, occupation soldiers, members of rebel groups as well as of UN peacekeeping forces. In Europe, a large number of children of war were born during World War II. and its aftermath: children fathered by German Wehrmacht soldiers for example in France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, in Poland, Greece and in the territory of the former Soviet Union, children of Allied soldiers in Germany and Austria, but also children of prisoners of war. Due to being a hidden population, estimations are difficult but numbers of more than two million seem very likely. In the past two decades, there has been an increasing number of studies on their biographies, experiences of discrimination and exclusion, different aspects of their life situation in childhood as well as adulthood, and the consequences of growing up as a “child born of war” (E.g. Stelzl-Marx & Satjukow, 2015; Lee, 2017). All of these studies are faced with the challenge of specifying the relation of individual situations and social structures with the risk of remaining “ahistorical” if they do not sufficiently consider the changing historical circumstances (Kössler, 2019).

In this paper, preliminary results from an ongoing project on the experiences of children born in Austria fathered by occupation soldiers is presented. So far, I conducted ten biographical interviews with persons born from 1946 to 1953 and raised by their single mothers or their grandparents (Guerrini, 2022). The post-war era was a time of material hardship but it also offered opportunities: As a result of the war, traditional ideas of gender and family had been shaken, and at least in the first post-war years, social reforms were debated. Soon, however, patriarchal structures were reinstalled (E.g. the legal favouring of the male-breadwinner-model and the discrimination of single motherhood). The powerful dispositive of familiarized childhood including its notion of the exclusivity of an emotionally intimate mother-child relationship had become dominant again, although for a significant part of the population, this did not (yet) correspond to their reality of life (Honig & Ostner, 2014).

Based on preliminary results, I would like to discuss the question, of how societies deal with the situation when children question dominant norms by their mere existence. In doing so I aim to historically contextualize the experiences of the children born of war by considering the interconnections between individual life stories and contemporary history (Hengst, 2005) and explore possible insights offered by the theoretical perspectives of new social childhood studies.

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Keywords: children born of war, new social childhood studies, post-war history, normative notions of family and childhood



English Is Not For Indians

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In 1854, leaders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) conducted a deputation to India to observe the missionary schools and their curricula. Boarding schools had been established to convert local Indians with the goal of creating self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting indigenous churches. Conversion, in the Protestant tradition, required literacy to the level of bible reading. The boarding schools thrived under the guidance of experienced teachers, while the main attraction for parents was an English language education that would prepare boys, especially, for employment in the British East India Company bureaucracy. The foreign secretary of the ABCFM, Rufus Anderson, had been opposed to creating boarding schools, believing, rightly, that boarding schools would unfit the students for returning to their home villages. He felt that missionaries should instead be going to the villages and educating students within their own communities, in their vernacular languages, without raising expectations for a life with the amenities that missionaries enjoyed. Village instruction had not been successful in converting locals, though, while boarding schools were financially secure and overflowing with eager students.

Anderson was upset to learn that the boarding schools were teaching English at levels beyond the fundamentals of bible literacy, prompting his trip to India. It was just as Anderson had feared and he immediately halted English language instruction, arguing that it was not their business to train people for employment in the BEIC. The consequences were both swift and instructive.

With English banned, parents removed their children from the schools, having been much more interested in economic opportunities than Christian conversion. Many missionaries responded by quitting their missionary service in India. From the perspective of the leadership in Boston, missionaries were there to educate the prospective converts by Christianizing but not civilizing. This meant respecting the local cultures with the idea that Christianity, being universalistic in its message, could be added to or integrated into local traditions and customs. The place of converts was back in their villages propagating the faith. These ideas proved to be idealistic, misguided, and unsuccessful.

This episode illustrates the local and universal disconnect between distant home office policies and what local people wanted. Among the middle-class people who brought their children to the schools, the greater need was for economic improvement more than religious conversion. Moreover, those few villagers who did convert to Christianity wanted to be recognized as equal to their teachers. Were not they now qualified and deserving of the missionaries' wages and comforts? The word from the Boston office was an unequivocal no. Missionaries were warned never to allow native converts to think of themselves as equal, but rather to be glad to go back to their villages and live within the means their communities could provide for them.

In the end, the policy of a self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting indigenous Christianity was hierarchical, colonial, and fanciful at its core and could never be achieved to the satisfaction of the ABCFM leadership, the missionaries, the students, or even the converts.



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Keywords: missionaries, India, education



Learning By Doing ... Empire: Educating The Native For Work

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This paper focuses on the centrality of notions of active learning by doing in the interwoven histories of African American and Native schooling in the United States. The paper traces educational ideas and practices from the arrival of US missionaries in early 19th century Hawaii to the continuing educational work of those missionaries as they became Hawaii's sugar plantation elite, to the reliance of the planters' most celebrated son, Samuel Armstrong, on Hawaii's model of industrial training in the US's preeminent model of schooling for newly freed slaves, and finally to the impact of this Jim Crow model on the development of progressive education in Hawaii. The paper demonstrates the similarity between justifications for colonialism and justifications for active learning by doing. Both focus on the need to instill a self-disciplining commitment to peonage in "dependent peoples" who would benefit from colonial tutelage.

Even before the creation of the system of public schooling in the United States, American missionaries were constructing a colonial school system in Hawaii. Their pedagogy of doing practical activities that integrated learning and life anticipated ideas of both Common School Movement leader Horace Mann and progressive education. In short, just as England's American colonies preceded and created the template for the American nation, colonial education preceded and created the template for American public education and progressivism in schools. Or better, American colonial and domestic educational ideas and practices emerged in tandem. This creation of a system of schooling and a pedagogy that served both the colonized and the colonizing worlds constituted the first and still most crucial movement for educational reform in US history.

This paper offers a number of critical revisions to the history of US education. Rather than treating progressive education as a new departure in educational theory and practice, it highlights the continuities of American progressivism with the 19th century common school movement era and traces those continuities to the crucial, ongoing role of colonial expansion in American life. The paper argues that the interconnected deployment of learning-by-doing in colonial Hawaii and the post-Civil War American South constitutes the essential prehistory of progressive education.

Historians have generally portrayed Native and African Americans as distinct groups whose experience of schooling was fundamentally different. Boarding schools were imposed on Native Americans to destroy their people's hoods and seize their lands; African Americans thirsted for schooling despite the resistance of whites. And yet, the paper demonstrates that one would better treat these histories as two aspects of a single, unified political economic process. An emerging body of scholarship has illuminated the role of schooling in US colonialism; this paper highlights the central role of colonialism in the history of US schooling. The paper makes extensive use of school record, archival collections and published works by such noted educators as Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Richard Pratt and Booker T. Washington.



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Keywords: colonialism, progressive education



Progressivism, Colonial Governance, and First Nations Education: Contesting Knowledges, Networks, and Agendas for Educational Reform in Interwar Australia

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This paper examines three landmark conferences held in Australia in the late 1930s – the New Education Fellowship Conference, the Commonwealth Native Welfare Conference both held in 1937, and the Day of Mourning Conference in 1938. These temporally proximate conferences had different aims, agendas, and audiences, convened, respectively, by progressive education advocates, government officials and bureaucrats, and Aboriginal leaders and activists. Yet interrogating the juxtaposition of these events reveals important insights into connections and disconnections across progressive educational ideals, advocacy for the reform of colonial governance, and debates about differentiated educational provision for Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people, all of which had direct and indirect implications for the education of First Nations people in Australia. Each conference was a site of intersection and tension between local and transnational networks and the exchange of ideas particularly in the social sciences (Paisley, 2016; Swartz & Kallaway, 2018), variously grappling with positioning Australia as part of broader international movements of educational and colonial reform.

The 1937 NEF conference *Education for Complete Living* was a high point of progressivism in Australia (Campbell & Sherington, 2006); like other NEF events, it covered a broad range of topics, from school curriculum to world affairs, teacher training, psychology, and the schoolchild. While most papers bore the influence of progressive and internationalist ideals and child-centred learning, some showed the growing influence of mental testing and psychologically based classification of students, reflecting a persistent tension between recognition of difference and aspirations for equality under the sign of the universal child –yet consideration of the Aboriginal child is strikingly absent.

The Native Welfare Conference was concerned with the administration of legislation targeting Aboriginal people in each Australian state and territory. It sought to develop new ways for these jurisdictions to respond to negative international interest in the treatment of First Nations people in Australia, including the provision of schooling and education to First Nations children. At the same time, schooling was positioned as a key site for furthering the implementation of assimilationist policies, which remained central in the governance Aboriginal people. In contrast, the 1938 Day of Mourning Conference, held in Sydney, was an Aboriginal-only conference, organised by the Australian Aborigines League and the Aborigines Progressive Association (APA). Aboriginal political activism in Australia had long been drawing on and contributing to the exchange and networks of ‘black transnational politics’ and were active in organising against systems of oppression (Maynard, 2014). The APA in particular was grounded in the traditions of previous organisations that had utilised international developments to articulate an Aboriginal political agenda, including declarations at the Conference that school access be extended, and standards improved to better meet the aspirations of Aboriginal children and their families. We argue that seen in context and comparison, these conferences speak to distinct, if overlapping, educational and social agendas, each bearing the influence of social scientific expertise and the growing reach of psychological and anthropological pieces of knowledge on educational provision and reform and the construction of the educable child and the modern citizen.



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Keywords: progressivism, colonialism, race, social sciences, transnationalism



Transnationalism, The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the NECC (1985–1995)

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The National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) was a social movement inside South Africa lasting from approximately 1985–1995 that worked through and with a vision of education that assisted in organizing collective action of interlocking networks of social actors to build an alternative to apartheid in both policy and practice. This paper intends to explore the transnational dimensions of this social movement with a specific focus on the international anti-apartheid networks in which its social actors were engaged, the channels through which local and global ideas intersected as well as those ideas to which the social movement was the most receptive and those which emerged from it.

As such it aims to fill a gap in the significant literature that has emerged within the last 20 years on the anti-apartheid movement. Recent scholarship has defined the anti-apartheid movement as a global and 'truly transnational social movement' (Houston, 2008; Seidman, 2000; Skinner, 2017; Skinner & Konieczna, 2019; Thörn, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). This literature has explored the manifestations of the global anti-apartheid movement across continents as well as its role in the production of new knowledge and of a global political culture during the Cold War. But while its construction of transnational networks, political imaginaries and activist solidarities were crucial to it, "most research has focused on its national aspects."

The same can be said of the history of the NECC itself. A PhD thesis in 1996 by one of its key actors, Ihron Rensburg, uses social movement theory to show inter alia how it changed in character as a result of processes of resource mobilization altering (Rensburg, 1996). Another thesis (Muhammad, 1996) assessed the NECC's theoretical and organizational interventions in the 1980s through people's education and its role in educational negotiations, conflict resolution and learning campaigns in the early 1990s. It argues that the NECC was critical in laying the basis for a democratic dispensation in education. If little historical attention has been paid to the NECC, there has been even less to its transnational dimensions and its contributions to the globalization of oppositional educational ideas. It has been seen as a local phenomenon, loosely linked to the internal opposition.

This paper intends to look at some of the transnational networks and ideas, in which the NECC social actors were inserted, and to which they were receptive. It will explore the role of exile and diasporic networks and funding relationships in the NECC's adoption firstly of the idea of people's education and secondly its push for policy in the transition to democracy at a critical moment in world history. It will do so on the basis of both documentary sources – conference records, resolutions, pamphlets, speeches, and so on – as well as oral interviews conducted with key informants in the course of an ongoing project on the history of the NECC.

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Keywords: social movements, transnationalism, South African education



Educationalizing Reform: Global and Local Reform Projects Within an Imperial National Tension Field

Chair: Daniel Tröhler

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Discussant: Christine Mayer

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Throughout the last two centuries, education as an institutionalised, state-led organisation grew from the margins to the cornerstone of modern societies where it now plays an indispensable role for “both state and citizens” (Labaree, 2008, p. 447). This success story has been enabled by the ascendancy of the nation-state with which education entered a long-lasting symbiosis to the point that national schooling systems are perceived as the most natural and normal way to organise education (Tröhler et al., 2022). Hence, the nation-state was described as an educationalised project. A project within which social, economic, and political problems and challenges are addressed most and foremost as educational questions. Consequently, researchers not only identified the educationalisation of social problems but also the educationalisation of society and even the world (Ribolits & Zuber, 2004; Tröhler, 2016). While “doing-nation” and the educationalisation of society attracted already some attention (Popkewitz, 2005; Tröhler, 2017), one aspect seems to go unnoticed, namely that nation-building and educationalisation processes ever since were also coupled to a particular reform rhetoric. Thereby, reform rhetoric was and is used to denote the new, the aspired, the needed in order to progress, develop and enhance the nation (National Research Council, 1992; Yamasaki, 2017, p. 7). In this regard, reform seems to be an innocent, progressive and ameliorative tool with which reformers and policy makers merely address existing real-life problems. In such a perspective, the performativity of reform rhetoric is largely disclaimed, namely that by addressing problems, stakeholders concurrently create a specific perception of what constitutes a problem, a crisis, and possible solutions (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016).

This panel wants to approach the performativity of reform rhetoric comparatively by juxtaposing reform discourses from imperial and national settings in the 19th and 20th century. By looking into how reform was framed in multi-ethnic empires (Ottoman Empire and Austro-Hungarian Empires) compared to their successor nation-states (Republic of Turkey and Republic of Austria), the panel aims to shed light on different techniques, enactments, and agents of reform processes by taking the examples of 4 case studies. It intends to understand which underlying assumptions about society, progress, the past and the future, the old and the new were entailed in imperial and national reform rhetoric. Thus, the panel contributes to comparative educational historiography as reform processes are investigated in a long durée perspective and understood as “changes in cultural attitudes and mentalities” (Osterwalder, 2011, p. 17). Furthermore, this comparison enables to grasp how and which continuities, breaks, tensions and challenges were identified by reform rhetoric and how this perception shifted within the same geography. In order to do so, the panel relies methodologically on different discourse analytical approaches.

Another aspect of reform throughout the 19th and 20th century was the theme of transfer as especially ailing heterogeneous empires tried to strengthen themselves by transferring knowledge, expertise, policies, and institutions from powerful states (Roshwald, 2001; Aksan, 2012). Therefore, this panel also addresses the theoretical problématique of “as it moves, it



morphs" (Cowen, 2009), by identifying a genuine link between reform and transfer. Accordingly, it aims to contribute to the conceptualisation of the notion of reform by researching the intermingling of educational, political, ideological and institutional transfer processes and reform rhetoric through time and space. This will add to the understanding of the political project of secularisation and modernisation as both of them were grossly linked to the notion of reform (Buchardt, 2021).

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Keywords: educationalisation, educational nation-building, policy transfer, reform, empires



Reforming an Empire: The First Ottoman University and its Socio-Political Enactment

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Student Contribution

By the middle of the 19th century, Ottoman bureaucrats were convinced that the strength of their European adversaries was undoubtedly bound to their advanced educational institutions (Evered, 2012; Fortna, 2022). They shared this commitment with European contemporaries who stated that the crisis of the Ottoman empire was “closely related [to the] problem of education, on the solution of which the future of the Orient depends perhaps even more than on the solution of economic and political questions of the moment” (Becker, 1916, p. 9; trans. K. M.). Hence, the empire’s future was perceived to be bound to the question of whether the Ottoman state would be able to organise a standardised and comprehensive educational system as the French and British already did for decades.

Within this atmosphere, the idea of an Ottoman university was born. It was especially meant to compensate for the lack of education in the natural sciences. After years of preparation, it was finally implemented in 1863 as the “darülfünun” [House of Sciences]. However, the darülfünun had a rather arduous history: just two years after its inauguration, it had to be closed due to a fire. The renewed opening in 1870 was again followed by several closures as well as legislative and nominal adjustments until 1900 when a substantial reformation occurred. Nevertheless, the darülfünun outlived the empire and existed for ten more years in the newly found Turkish Republic until its closure and reopening as the University of Istanbul in 1933 (Cf. Ihsanoglu, 2010).

This history was oftentimes analysed as a story of failure due to hasty preparations, mere mimicking of European institutions, or lack of material and personal resources. Accordingly, the reforms targeting the darülfünun were described as betterments of specific enlightened Ottoman agents that were regularly frustrated by sluggish modernisation.

This presentation wants to open up a new perspective within which Ottoman stakeholders navigated particular political, ideological, and societal demands by reforming the darülfünun. Thereby, they oscillated between new and old, indigenous and exogenous.

Hence, my presentation aims at historicising reform as a context-bound endeavour and not as a universal idea or timeless policy. As such, actions of reform unravel how Ottoman policymakers intermingled old and new in a unique way thereby initiating political and societal changes. Thus, the question I want to pursue is how the darülfünun was linguistically framed and politically enacted between 1863 and 1900 when the first major legislative changes occurred. To do so, I want to analyse the Sultanatic decree for the opening of darülfünun, the opening speeches of 1870, and the reformed legislative text of 1900.

Methodologically this investigation builds on a Skinnerian discourse analysis which points out the relationality of transforming language and changing ideologies (Skinner, 2012). Corresponding with Skinner, the meaning of reform is not pre-supposed rather Ottoman utterances like “tanzimat” [reorganisation] and “islahat” [improvement] are to be understood within their historical context and the scope of the acting subjects. In this sense, my presentation contributes also to the history of ideas as well as political history.



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Keywords: educationalisation, educational nation-building, policy transfer, reform, empires



Atatürk's University Reform in 1933 and the Ambivalent Notion of Modernity

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Student Contribution

Educational reforms which had been going on since the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, gained a new dimension with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. With a rapid pace, the nation-state implemented educational policies in line with its own goals. In the first decade, the Istanbul Darülfünun [House of Sciences], an Ottoman institution of higher education, was left untouched. However, in the 1930s the incompatibility of this institution with the principles of the state started to be discussed. Albert Malche, a professor of pedagogy at the University of Geneva, was asked to prepare a report on the Istanbul Darülfünun (Tasdemirci, 1992). The Turkish president Mustafa Kemal who examined the suggestions of Malche's report, decided to close down this institution. With the law enacted on 31st May 1933, the Istanbul Darülfünun was abolished and replaced by the University of Istanbul (Özata, 2007). Ever since national historiography recognised the 1933 university reform as the real beginning of the modern university in Turkey omitting the continuities between the Ottoman Istanbul Darülfünun and the Turkish University of Istanbul. This presentation problematises the notion of modernity in Turkish national historiography along with the closure of Istanbul Darülfünun and its replacement by the University of Istanbul. The leading question will be, what the statement of the 1933 university reform as the real beginning of the modern university in Turkey reveals in terms of nation-building and education. It will be examined how the Kemalist nation-state resorted to educational reform within higher education as a nation-building tool (Winter, 2019) and how the narrative of modernity and progress overlapped with the embracement of Republican principles.

Following Skinner (1969), the meaning of the concept of "modern university" will be investigated by considering texts as well as the context of this period. The analysis focuses on what Turkish statesmen understood and expected from the "modern university" as they decided for the closure of Istanbul Darülfünun and its replacement by University of Istanbul. The study will be conducted with Albert Malche' report (1932), the decision to close Istanbul University (1933), the scientists who were dismissed (Özata, 2007) and the German refugee scientists who were assigned to the new university (Dölen, 2010; Widmann, 1973). Thus, this presentation will contribute to the field of history of higher education. Furthermore, it will add to the theorisation of the concept of nationalism and especially educational nation-building.

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“Prussian Teachers Had Beaten the Austrians”: Austrian School Reforms During the 1860s

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During the 1860s and early 1870s, inner-German wars (1866) and Franco-German wars (1870–71) led to new power constellations in Central Europe. Defeated Habsburg Austria, at the forefront, struggled to explain what happened near Königgrätz (Hradec Králové) to stabilise legitimacy within the Empire. The education system was soon portrayed as deficient compared to Prussian standards. Especially the role of teachers was at the centre of debates. Theodor Fontane echoed the bon mot of the time that Prussian teachers had beaten the Austrians in Königgrätz. Not surprisingly, Austria introduced a major school reform in 1869 (Reichsvolksschulgesetz), the first far-reaching reform since Maria Theresa’s famous school edict of 1774. It dismissed clerical influence, revamped curricula and school structures and, most importantly, rearranged teacher education programs. This was seen as the state’s attempt to regain power during critical periods in order to recover mass-loyalty of its subjects (See Hemetsberger, 2022; Winandy & Hemetsberger, 2021).

These attempts were crossed by specific “Austrian” sentiments, which strongly refused “Germanness” thereafter. Johann Gottfried Piefke, for example, composed the “Königgrätzer March” for Prussia and, in Austria, the term “Piefke” turned into a synonym for a snappy and arrogant German. Austrian school textbooks were rewritten and tried to pass on a genuine “Austrianness” (Gotling, in press). Histories of education were published for the World Exhibition in Vienna 1873 (See E.g., Ficker, 1873) displaying specificities of Austrian school history. During the period of 1866 and 1869 (See E.g., ANNO Wiener Zeitung), newspaper articles discussed how schooling could enhance patriotic Austrian feelings within the crises driven society of the Habsburg Empire. The latter sources will be examined by a critical discourse analysis (E.g., via Fairclough, 2003) to reveal how schooling was portrayed to promote “Austrian” sentiments. In this way, the presentation aims to portray the diagnosis of social problems in the Habsburg Empire of the 1860s, its educationalisation to meet them with school reforms and their attempts to promote a “national” feeling of defining oneself specifically as “Austrian”.

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Educational Reform as Means of Nationalizing Austrian Students 1918–1938

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Student Contribution

In the aftermath of World War I, the Austro-Hungarian Empire ceased to exist and fell apart; many of its successor states claimed to be nation-states, e.g., Hungary, Czechoslovakia and so forth. One of these states, the newly founded Republic of German-Austria, claimed to be part of the German nation. However, this unification was not in the interest of the winner states which prohibited German-Austria from annexing Germany. Hence, because of the peace treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919, German-Austria was renamed into the “Republic of Austria” (Olechowski, 2019, pp. 378–381) – a political entity which was supposed to accord to the internationally predominant model of the nation-state. Despite the significant political changes in 1918–19, Austrian educational policies remained rather conservative (Engelbrecht, 1988, p. 5) and hardly touched upon national questions; it deemed self-evident that the German-speaking citizens of the former empire were members of the German nation. However, nationalising efforts in education and schooling became more visible, reaching a peak in the middle of the 1930s.

According to the basic assumption of this panel that is broadly acknowledged by international comparative research, schools and educational institutions have acted as and were utilised as places of creating and fostering national ideologies and sentiments from the 19th century on (Tröhler, 2020). Furthermore, the interdependence of state-led mass schooling and the nation state contributed heavily to mechanisms of “educationalization of social and political problems” (Labaree, 2008; Tröhler, 2016). In the Austrian case, this became evident when under the two dictators Dollfuß and Schuschnigg, a changed state ideology depicting Austrians as better Germans translated into educational reforms. During this reform process curricula, textbooks, and other teaching materials were created and rewritten to emphasise the unique character of Austria and its inhabitants as true bearers of real “Germanness”, that is Austrianness.

These materials will serve as sources to portray and analyse how the moulding of an Austrian national identity took place in the tension field between still existing imperial imaginaries and an emerging national ideology. Referring to Michael Billig’s concept of banal nationalism (Billig, 2010) and historical discourse analysis (Landwehr, 2018), manifestations of the nation and a national ideology in school will be analysed in order to gain a better understanding of how the transition from empire to republic, from multinational state to homogenized nation-state took place in Austria between 1918 and 1938.

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Keywords: educationalisation, educational nation-building, policy transfer, reform, empires



Educational Reform and Public History: New Challenges for Historians of Education Part 2

Chair: Francisca Comas Rubí

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Discussant: Gianfranco Bandini

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Historians of education, working with multiple audiences and publics connected by an interest in history, memory, heritage, and material culture have witnessed (sometimes with a certain distance) the evolution and consolidation of what we call nowadays “public history”. In the last decennia this subdiscipline of history has gained popularity but has been put only recently explicitly on the research agenda of historians of education (Bandini et al., 2019; Herman et al., 2022). In this seminar we are presenting theoretical reflections, and concrete empirical steps that historians of education have recently taken in the new land of public history, which paradoxically is uncharted territory for them on the one hand side, but also very familiar to them – on the other hand side – often even without knowing it themselves (Herman et al., 2022). Today’s public history proposes participatory and collaborative processes of history making (Frisch, 1990; Noiret et al., 2022). Along these lines, recent trends in historical research and museum studies have entered an era of shared authority and community engagement to make historical knowledge and storytelling inclusive and more democratic (Ayers, 2018). However, tension between different audiences, communities of practice, and diverse public groups over interpretations of the past remains and this raises questions about the changing role of academic actors in communicating history to non-academic audiences and sharing authority with the public (Doumolin, 2003). From the perspective of the history of education, it seems that the engagement with public history for more than five decades has been materialising from dissemination, (re)mediation and popularization to more participatory approaches that involve the public in the historical enterprise, and that are closer to the conception of public history today (Demantowsky, 2018; Bandini et al., 2022; Herman et al., 2022).

The past and present manifestations, we can refer to as “public history of education”, have always been related with topics about educational reform. These topics varied from legislative provisions approved from above, to those related with movements, communities, and individual actors. All these topics had implications for changes and continuities at several levels: political, economic, or social. The central theme of this proposed symposium is focused on the relationship of educational reform, understood in the broadest sense, with research that is done or/has been done about public history of education.

In short, this symposium aims to present works of reflection both on the evolution of the public history of education and on the development of current projects in different European contexts, always in relation with educational reform.

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Educational Reforms and Public History in Spain: The Reconstruction of the Republican School through Documentaries

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The audio-visuals on the history of education produced over the last five decades according to the criteria of the documentary genre – the so-called non-fiction films and its subgenre of documentaries (Daniels, 2019) – present a scientific basis and a didactic and informative objective that allows them to be considered today as public history productions (Kelley, 1978; Bandini et al., 2022; Herman et al., 2022).

The historical-educational documentary is a way of telling the story of the past of education through images. This type of audio-visual narrative has aroused enough interest in all fields over the last five decades to be able to speak of a “documentary turn” (Nash, 2007). Recently, people have even begun to speak of Docu-Mania to define the explosion of views that certain documentaries produced by streaming platforms have achieved among the audiences locked-in during the years of the pandemic (Berman, 2021).

The documentary genre is a more informative and didactic type of film than a dramatic one, which usually uses interviews, images, archive material, documents and places to offer, in the form of scientific dissemination, an interpretation of the past based on historical and historical-educational knowledge provided by specialists, often from the academic world. But it is also an artistic genre, which explores all the enunciative possibilities of the visual medium, thus enabling a wide range of interpretations.

Taking as a reference framework a research project that we are developing on historical-educational documentaries produced in Spain from the end of Franco’s regime to the present day, in this paper we will focus on those that have as a specific subject matter one of the most important periods of school reform in contemporary Spain: the Second Republic (1931–1939). The initiative to make these products was not merely informative. The interest in showing this period in the history of education in Spain has responded to the social demand that emerged during the so-called Transition (1975 onwards), to vindicate and make known to the public a past with which to feel identified as a young democratic society. This is why, from the 1970s onwards, from different groups – academics, trade unions, the media – and from different geo-historical realities, interesting audio-visual projects have been developed to publicise the Second Republic (Bahamonde, 2011) as a period of social transformation unique in the history of Spain. The educational reform has been considered the fundamental pillar of this renovating project.

In this paper we will find, introduce, and analyse educational-historical documentaries, a neglected and yet unstudied source. Based on these documentaries, we will try to answer the following questions:

1. How many documentaries have been produced in Spain about educational reforms of the Second Republic?
2. What were their fundamental characteristics (promoters, participants, public dissemination)?
3. What different narratives about the republican education reforms can be distinguished in these documentaries?

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Narratives and Representations of Italian School Reforms and Educational Reformers between Memory and Public History

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The history of education is characterised by long periods of stasis, fast transitions leap forward and sudden slowdowns. The school resists changes very strongly, but there are times when changes happen. Again, however, changes do not produce a systemic change in school, but – more often – adaptations, casts, advanced experiments and utopias. There was a misalignment between the school theorised by educationalists and codified in laws and the real school, the everyday school, that school in which conforming to the grammar of schooling prevails. What exactly do we mean by tradition and innovation in education? It is from the continuous tension between these two opposing trends that educational reform projects arise. How do we remember and represent changes in an immobile institution, able to quickly reabsorb its revolutionary impact? How do we remember and represent the ground-breaking educational reformers?

This contribution aims to investigate how school reforms and educational reformers were represented by commemorative publications, exhibitions, museum installations, documentaries, newspapers and other media throughout the 20th century in Italy. Another purpose of this contribution is to define what the public image of school reforms and educational reformers has established in the collective imaginary, how it has changed over time and for what reasons. We will focus on some concrete examples, both linked to New Education: Giuseppe Lombardo Radice and the Gentile Reform; the Movement of Cooperative Education (MCE) and the attempt at innovation of educational practice in post-war schools through the introduction of Freinet's teaching techniques. Which historical narratives have been made of these (successful or unsuccessful) reforms over time? First research suggests that school reforms were more studied from an academic perspective, but had almost never become objects of historiographical mediation to the society as a whole; on the contrary, the traditional school – which resisted those reforms – is the one that was most commemorated and represented. If the school which is better able to generate memory and to arouse the interest of people is the “school for all”, it follows that educational experiments – being extremely innovative but often linked to the charisma of a great reformer – have not been able to fulfil the difficult task of incarnating a great collective experience, shared by the largest possible number of people from all social classes and more generations.

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Commemorative Book in the Public History of Religious Schools: Evolution of Corporate Discourse on Educational Reforms and Tensions

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The design and dissemination of their own autobiographical narrative have been a frequent practice not only by prominent people and figures in our society but also by social and political organisations (nation-states, specific political regimes, trade unions, cultural entities, sports clubs and NGOs). Numerous studies have shown that most of these organisations have followed common patterns to consolidate and disseminate their official history, occupying public space with monuments, organising festivities, publishing monographs. The educational world and the institutions that make it up have not been left out of this need to legitimise and promote themselves in society (Vinao, 2010). Thus, the purpose of this paper is to analyse this phenomenon within the framework of the educational sphere, focusing on one of the most relevant and influential school institutions in Spain: the private religious school.

Traditionally, studies related to religious schools have been a minority in historical-educational research, and even more so if we refer to research that has dealt with the official history constructed by themselves (Dávila & Naya, 2008). However, some recently published works shed light on the network of means and elements that have configured and proclaimed the official history of religious schools. In this sense, according to the published results, it has been shown that the denominational school has used many means of dissemination for this purpose, including corporate publications, public events, institutional symbolism and the hidden curriculum (Moll & Comas, 2022). Among all of these media, the commemorative books published by most religious schools to celebrate the 25th, 50th, 75th and 100th anniversary of their foundation stand out for their high production and influence (Nieminen, 2016). If we analyse these historiographical products, we can observe that their production and dissemination clearly follow the patterns and rules of corporate history, which has an important commercial and propagandistic component (Delahaye, et al., 2009). At the same time, the active and decisive participation of the educational community of these schools (former students, teachers and families) in the elaboration of commemorative books, added to the fact that they are produced outside the academy, would also hint at their relationship with the genre of public history, even if they do not strictly follow the current parameters of collaboration and shared authority that regulate this historical field (Demantowsky, 2018; Noiret et al., 2022).

Focusing on the Balearic Islands, this paper will analyse both quantitatively and qualitatively the importance of these commemorative books in the configuration of the public and corporate history of religious schools. Above all, we will pay special attention to the evolution of the discourses and evaluations of the socio-educational tensions that resulted from the secularist reforms undertaken during the Second Republic and the Civil War. In order to get a more precise glimpse of the discursive ruptures and continuities, specific examples will be given of schools run by the "La Salle" congregation, which have been the ones that have made the most decisive commitment to the dissemination of their past through commemorative books.



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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Wikipedia and Public History. Possibilities and Controversies

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As Wikipedia defines itself, it “is a multilingual free online encyclopedia written and maintained by a community of volunteers, known as Wikipedians, through open collaboration and using a wiki-based editing system” (Wikipedia, 2023).

From this definition, we can draw some conclusions. The first is that voluntary, free and collaborative work emanates from a popular will to democratise access to information (Pérez & Vargas, 2019).

The second one relates to the fact that the topics that appear in Wikipedia, and the depth in which they are treated, depending on the interests of the community to spread them. Therefore, it is a knowledge that is born out of popular concern for certain topics. Consequently, there is a grassroots motivation and a community effort in disseminating them.

Thirdly, multilingual versions allow us to study how different idiosyncrasies, many times depending on the country or the culture, influence the way how the same topic is regarded differently by communities with different cultural conditions or different cultural sensitivities.

Moreover, the possibility to access previous versions of Wikipedia articles, even within the same language, can inform us about changes in the popular perception of an issue or lack of consensus. No public historian can avoid observing parallelism between what has been said above and the foundations of public history. The objective of democratising information, the need to start from community interests, the inclusion of people’s perceptions and visions about the facts, and the joint work of different actors and stakeholders are characteristics of public history (Cauvin, 2016) that we can see reflected in the form and means used by Wikipedia.

To investigate some of these questions in a way that takes into account the perspective of public history and the main theme of this ISCHE, which is Education and Reform, I will examine how the first three principal educational laws of Spain are described in Spanish and Catalan (Egido, 2000). It does not come as a surprise that Catalonia, in terms of education and defence of language and national identity, differs on many occasions from the rest of Spain. Therefore, doing this exercise can lead us to reflect on the public uses of history in Wikipedia and the variations on the same topic.

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Keywords: educational reform, public history, history of education



Rhythm of Space, Breath of Life. Connection to Nature and Transcendence in Education-related Artistic Reformist Projects of the Early 20th

Chair: Brigitta Balogh

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Discussant: András Németh

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Connection to nature and transcendence are central motifs of the life reform movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which also appear in the reform pedagogical trends of the time. In the frame of the panel, we will examine four projects that use urbanism, architecture, visual art and movement to achieve this connection.

The first presentation will focus on the relationship of human communities to the geographical environment and historical time they inhabit – a relationship conscientised also in education – through the representation of the rhythm of nature and history in the visual arts through the rhythmicity of form, colour and light-shadow alternation, as well as through images of flow, ripple and repetition. At the same time, the artistic approach also attempts to be partly witness, partly driver of the social changes initiated in the name of achieving or regaining harmony with nature.

The second lecture will analyse the problem of the living environment in the context of natural space and historical time, using the example of an urban planning project whose objective was to achieve a connection with nature in the context of urban life, using urban spaces also in service of education. István Bárczy's work in urbanism was a response to the challenge of humanising the living environment; a response to the problem of how to breathe again within the city, how to give a role to air, light, space and nature – and to offer new programmes in new spaces for the citizens of the city.

However, the spaces of the city are home to human movements too – this is the subject of the third presentation in the panel, which deals with one of the applications of movement art, exploring the possibilities of the body and movement as a link to natural time and rhythm. The mystery plays of Valéria Dienes were both artistic and pedagogical projects, gradually progressing from filling small – typically cultic or symbolic – human-scale spaces to the monumental scale of open-air theatre, where the human body is placed in its natural environment, in an open space, but on the other hand, through the monumentality of the choreography, reaches a superhuman scale, and thus realises, through the natural performative interconnection of dance and music, a connection to the transcendence through the communion of interconnection.

Finally, the fourth lecture of the panel will explore the broader framework of the connection to nature and transcendence through movement by analysing the movement theory and pedagogy of Valéria Dienes, with a special emphasis on the role and significance of the natural rhythmicity of human movement in pedagogy.

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Keywords: life reform, František Kupka, István Bárczy, Valéria Dienes, rhythm

Embodied Knowledge: The Changing Image of Man through Elisée Reclus' *L'Homme et la Terre*, Illustrated by František Kupka

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From what historian Eric Hobsbawm called the “long nineteenth century (1789–1914)”, a world accelerating with the scientific and technological discoveries and advances could be regarded as the beginning of a drift into a time when humanity lived in harmony with nature – and with itself. One of the possible directions of this retreat from the changed circumstances is the various movements for the reform of life, educational reforms, and new religions that unfolded at the turn of the century, which also had a significant influence on the artistic life of the period and in many cases became inextricably intertwined with it.

Elisée Reclus (1830–1905) was a French geographer and writer, a prominent scholar and an anarchist/reformer of his time, who was strongly committed to the education of the people and believed in the power of education to transform society. He wrote in exile in Brussels – as a consequence of his anarchist views – his six-volume synopsis *L'Homme et la terre* (1905–1908, Paris: Librairie Universelle), in which he attempted to describe human history, the history of different nations, with great attention to the influence of the geographical environment on human society. The volumes are illustrated with 105 graphical works by the Czech-born František Kupka (1871–1957). Kupka studied thoroughly the texts before starting to work on the illustrations, and his graphics were intended to reflect as closely as possible the ideas of Reclus. Kupka was also an early student of freemasonry, magnetism, theosophy, and anthroposophy, and in Munich, alongside with Gusto Gräser (1879–1958) and Hugo Höppener, aka Fidus (1868–1948), he was a disciple and follower of Karl Wilhelm Diefenbach (1851–1913), who advocated nudism, vegetarianism, and freedom of sexuality in his writings and monumental works of art.

Reclus shared similar reformist political and philosophical views, and in his writings, he highlighted the need for “back to nature”, the importance of experience and visual aids in education. After settling down permanently in Belgium, he even taught at the Free University of Brussels. Reclus was acquainted with the founder of Modern School, Francisco Ferrer y Guardia (1859–1909). By his request, Reclus wrote an essay in 1903 on the reform of education of geography. Kupka's illustrations in *L'Homme et la terre* – especially the one titled *Rhythm of history/Wave* (*Členění a rytmus dějin / Vlna*) – help to sketch the turning point, the moment when the society of the 19th century began longing away from its rapidly changing world towards a “lost golden age”.

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Art.* Peter Lang.

Keywords: life reform, František Kupka, István Bárczy, Valéria Dienes, rhythm



The Idea of the Welfare City State –István Bárczy’s 1909–1912 Housing and School Building Reform Programme in Budapest

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In Hungary, industrialisation and urbanisation accelerated significantly from the 1880s. The city leadership of Budapest, including the mayor István Bárczy, was one of the pioneers of modern urban policy, reorganising the city’s administration, education, and public infrastructure. His urban development concept drew on modern demographic and sociological, pedagogical, and psychological research of the time. Bárczy’s changing scenes of urban life and living conditions were the subject of debate in the *Urban Review*, which he founded. The pedagogical issues were covered in the journal *Népművelés* (Folk Education). Between 1909 and 1912, a large-scale programme of building apartment bloc houses, small flats and schools resulted in the construction of 6,000 new flats, 55 schools (with nearly 1,000 classrooms) and two public institutions for social and cultural education. In the schools, the reformers aimed to create bright classrooms to provide sufficient light, space and air for pupils. Gyms, student libraries, school gardens connected to nature, roof terraces and spaces for craftwork ('slöjd') and household knowledge were also created (Erdei, 1995).

The reformers reflected the critical ideas of the time and identified a more natural way of life in their search for a way out. Reform pedagogical and life reform initiatives, mainly as countercultures, sought to restore the traditional relationship between man and nature by proclaiming the slogan 'back to nature' (Barlösius, 1997). The innovators saw the humanisation of urban life in the creation of harmonious living environments and schools, and in the increase of green space (small gardens, school gardens, garden cities) (Bárczy, 1909).

The goal of this sub-research is to explore and illustrate the relationship of the Bárczy reform programme to international and national efforts at pedagogical and life reform. I seek answers to the questions: Which foreign predecessors served as models? Which mental and cultural trends (debates) played a role among the reformers? How were new the buildings, the educational and social initiatives integrated into Hungarian social practice in space and time?

Domestic efforts to create a new home, a new house ('oikos'), a new community, and a new school, brought about a lasting change in mentality. They reshaped the urban texture, created a 'new rhythm' in the way of life of the inhabitants, and gave 'breath' to the working and low-middle classes of the city (Meggyesi, 2005). As the lifestyle and pedagogical reform movement do not have a unified worldview (materialist, Darwinian, monistic doctrines, which on the one hand are irrational or express a culture-pessimistic conviction, combine philosophies of life, vitalorientalist and religious contents), it is characterised by eclecticism, which is also reflected in its domestic reception (Krabbe, 1974; Németh, Mikonya & Skiera, 2006).

The research uses reception-historical, interpretative, and qualitative methods. It attempts to identify motifs at the crossroads of several disciplines, including architecture, sociology and pedagogy, through a comparative analysis of domestic and international literature, press and urban planning documents.

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Keywords: life reform, František Kupka, István Bárczy, Valéria Dienes, rhythm

The Development of Valéria Dienes's Mystery Plays from School Drama to Choral Drama Performed by Thousands

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Several life reform studies have already examined Valéria Dienes's pedagogical oeuvre, her philosophy, and the history of her school (Boreczky, 2018a, 2018b; Balogh, 2020). The religious mystery plays are the defining pieces of Valéria Dienes's life's work. However, there is only a general description about Valéria Dienes's mystery plays (Fenyves & Pethő, 2017). Therefore, the aim of this study is to give a more detailed analysis of these works.

Dienes's Catholic mystery plays were performed between 1924 and 1943. During this period, Dienes has gradually changed the concept of her mystery plays. Her first mystery play was performed by a small group of children, while others were performed in open-air theatre in a Catholic assembly with over 1000 participants. Several of these performances were commissioned by the Catholic Church (Gianone & Klestenitz, 2017) and this fact may influenced and determined the pedagogical and artistic aims of the creators.

Inspired by the art of Isadora and Raymond Duncan, Valéria Dienes developed her own concept, the so-called Orchestics. The aim of this concept is to use the natural movements of the human body. Her educational goal is to reflect and develop the performer's awareness of his or her natural bodily expressions and use them as artistic tools. She taught orchestics in her private school until 1919. Then she had to leave the country because of political reasons. When she returned, a new position was offered to her: to implement elements of her method to regular gymnastics in a reform school, the so-called New School in Buda. The first mystery play was developed with the participation of the students of a reform school. She developed this mystery play from spontaneously improvised movements of her students. Besides her work with school groups, she founded her own School of Orchestics again. From 1926, her mystery plays were developed in different manners. First, she started to cooperate with Lajos Bárdos and his choir. Second, in some works, they involved people not previously trained in music and dance. In the 1930s the most spectacular mystery plays were performed with the participation of 1000 dancers and singers.

In this presentation, I will provide a perspective on this development with the example of a few selected mystery plays. I will discuss the most important external and internal promoters of this change from improvised school drama to the enormous performance. For this research, I used document analysis methods to process primary documents, the legacy material of Valéria Dienes in the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest.

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Keywords: life reform, František Kupka, István Bárczy, Valéria Dienes, rhythm

Rhythm and Reform in the Movement Pedagogy of Valéria Dienes

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Philosopher, mathematician, movement artist, choreographer and teacher, Valéria Dienes (1879–1978) was one of the pioneers in the history of Hungarian reform pedagogy. In her scientific, artistic and pedagogical work, she combined her multi-faceted education and training in an original way: on the philosophical level, she continued Henri Bergson's philosophy, and on the artistic, scientific and pedagogical level, she developed, following Raymond Duncan's practice of movement pedagogy, her own system of movement or movement theory, called "orchestics".

In Dienes's understanding, orchestics is a comprehensive science of human movement, which does not relate movement to a specific range of movement, but to the human condition in general; on the other hand, it is also 'the study of reality', since in Dienes's understanding, movement, respectively the tendency to move, is the primary form of being, experiencing, acting and communicating in living beings – and thus movement is also the basis of all human experience and action.

Dienes's system of movement has four theoretical parts, one of them being "rhythmics" which examines the construction of temporality that manifests itself in movement. Dienes draws our attention to the fact that the simplest modes of articulating time are not the repetitive phenomena of the outer world, but the very movements of our own body: the steps that we make or the breath that we take. Due to the fact that rhythm originates itself in observable repetitive movement patterns, Dienes builds her rhythmical system on the forms of ancient Greek prosody, developing an entire syntactic of possible rhythmical combinations with concepts like "time constructions", "time sentence", "time structures" and "displacement units". Based on the science of movement, Dienes built a living art practice – her own branch of the Hungarian art of movement – and a pedagogical system that considers the development of "the culture of movement" as the basis for all aspects of education.

In Dienes's movement pedagogy, the basic structure of the pedagogical process starts from the children's spontaneous capacity to express their experiences by unstructured movement, continues with the "active analysis" of movement experiences ("formal training"), and culminates in the "free creating of movement", the phase in which the learner learns to combine the acquired skills with their spontaneous powers of expression.

In our research, we will examine, through text analysis of Dienes's philosophical and pedagogical works, the role and significance of the natural rhythmicality of human movement in her interpretation of general pedagogical processes and especially of movement pedagogy.

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Keywords: life reform, František Kupka, István Bárczy, Valéria Dienes, rhythm



Capturing Reform Streetwise: Posthumanist Incisions into History, Education and Street Art

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In my paper I explore possibilities of thinking with contemporary data materials – here: recently recorded street music performances and interviews with street artists – for writing histories able to capture “education” and “reform” from the ground up. I take my cue from Nóvoa (2015, p. 49–50), who has urged historians of education to engage in “risk-taking and transgression” to help “discover new problems [...] left hidden, in silence, by [...] educational historiography”. As suggested elsewhere (Thyssen et al. 2021, 2023; Thyssen, 2023), the latter may refer to practices of “knowledge effecting” (*historia*) concerning education and “writing” or “drawing” together (*graphein*) such knowledge effecting, in turn entailing incisions “troubling time/s” (Barad, 2017).

Using Porto, Portugal as a case while drawing on international scholarship (Watt, 2019; Fernandes & Herschmann, 2018; Campbell, 1981), in my paper, then – more historiographical than historical in scope –, I explore potential drawing/s together of knowledge effecting concerning education and street music grounded in two “performative”, “posthumanist” approaches: the “compositionist” one developed by Latour (2005, 2010, 2013) comprising Actor Network Theory (ANT) and An Inquiry into Modes of Existence (AIME) enfolded into it, and the agential realist one advanced by Karen Barad (2007). I read these approaches through one another to analyse to what extent “articulations” (Latour, 2004) or “enfolding”-s (Barad, 2007) of education and street art in Porto reveal reform affecting vernacular cosmopolitan subjectivities (Goodman, 2017) across eras – the Constitutional Monarchy, the First Republic, the Second Republic dictatorship extending into *Estado Novo*, and the contemporary era (1834–2023).

I examine the implications of treating such eras not as singular and successive but “multitemporal” (Serres & Latour, 1995) or made of “temporalities specifically entangled and threaded through one another” (Barad, 2017, p. 67) while upholding the importance of precise incisions into their fabric. Both Latour and Barad suggest decentring reform as what is to be traced through collective effort dispensed requiring integration in a web of allies of various, not necessarily human kinds supporting, transposing and transforming it (Latour, 2005) or what emerges through performative implication of (“intra-action” with) various, not necessarily human “apparatuses” (Barad, 2007).

Methodologically, then, I approach all data materials used as entangled “performances” (Edwards, 2009). Among archival materials are those of the Historical Municipal Archives and Municipal Library of Porto featuring, for instance, “Tripeiro” (1909–1974), a vernacular local journal read in artisan, merchant, and similar circles across the mentioned historical eras, as well as photo, postcard, and document collections. Analysed through these materials and vice versa are a dozen semi-structured interviews with street artists based on audio-visual recordings (one chosen by each from a body of circa 2,000 performances of street music in Porto recorded and made public by me via Instagram and YouTube), as well as materials produced by street artists themselves (E.g., Garcia, 2021). From reading accounts of curious figures like “The Disgrace” in Tripeiro (1909) and elsewhere (Pimentel, 1873) through interviews and films of current performing street artists, one can indeed catch history, education and reform that might (yet) have been.



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Keywords: Bruno Latour, Karen Barad, posthumanist history, temporalities, street art



From Disegno to Maniera: Iterations of Mannerist Art Theory in Academic Classicist Doctrine and its Modernist Critique

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In the proposed presentation, we seek to describe derivations of 16th-century mannerist art theory: specifically its sedimentation in the 17th century in the French Academy, as well as its reverberations in modernist narratives that opposed institutionalised forms of art education. To this end, we begin with the analysis of art theories conceived in 16th-century Italian mannerism – in particular around the concept of *disegno* and *maniera*. Authors such as Vasari (1511–1574) conceptualised *disegno* not only as an indispensable technical skill but foremost as an intellectual activity and a way of thinking. *Disegno* was “una apparente espressione e dichiarazione del concetto” (1846, p. 14), an invention and representation of a concept at the same time. *Maniera*, in turn, referred to the hand (*mano*) and one’s individual visual style of execution. Contrary to the generalised view of mannerism as the decline and saturation of the Renaissance and its creative potency, the significance of mannerist art theory stems from the fact that it goes beyond classical interpretations of the harmonious balance between *disegno* (idea) and *maniera* (style) in service of a perfect representation of Nature (*mimesis*). In Lomazzo, creative freedom was already mobilised in service of the expression of personal *fantasia* and individual style, and not Nature alone. Thus the mannerist theory of art posited, for the first time, the perennial question of the tension between imitation and genius (Kemp, 1987) – a problem which will be the core of the later debate between classicist academicians and French modernists.

Subsequently, we propose to examine the appropriation of mannerist ideas by authors who effectively established tenets of the French Academy. Specific ideas that in 16th-century art theory illuminated traditional conceptions of artistic praxis in a new way and pushed boundaries of visual arts, in classicist reading of critics like Félibien (1619–1695) and Le Brun (1619–1690) resulted in the theory that was in many instances absurd and pedantic, if not completely false (Lee, 1940, p. 254). If for Dolce or Lomazzo, the idea of the learned painter was partially theoretical, in the 17th century, the painter came to be perceived not only as an intellectual but also as an educator, an erudite, a moralist and a historian – in other words, as an *encyclopedic painter*. Consequently, French theorists, in their application of mannerist ideas, suppressed rather than fostered generative possibilities, establishing “an unequalled emphasis on the academic training and rational systematisation of creativity” (van Tuinen, 2014, p. 442), against which the modernist movement revolted. Paradoxically, the same Cinquecento art theory provided foundations for modernist claims about the supremacy of individual expression (*maniera*) over academic formalism (technique).

By identifying and describing the iterations of mannerist art theory, this presentation aims to contribute to a broader comprehension of how certain narratives are embedded in different historical moments, by diverse actors and institutions, in the context of formal art education and the persisting question of the formation of an artist.

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Keywords: disegno, maniera, history of art education



Re-imagining Sound Through Memoir, Not Caricature: Beryl Gilroy on Transition and Reform when 'Discoursing' in Primary Schools (1945–1976)

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Beryl Gilroy (1924–2001) had an intense and emotional relationship with the sound of primary schools – the children's voices immersed in conversation, the power of singing and the blatantly racist condemnations of colleagues all echoed in her memory when she came to write her first memoir *Black Teacher* (1976) and later her collection of autobiographical essays *Leaves in the Wind* (1998). She had also used BBC radio programmes in the 1960s to share her own spoken-word reflections on primary education with a wider audience.

Gilroy grew up in a multi-ethnic multi-faith community where her own large extended family were Christian. Awarded a first-class in her teacher training diploma in Georgetown, Guiana, she worked as a head teacher at an infant school in Guiana, South America, in the 1940s, before migrating as a British Commonwealth citizen to London, England, in 1951. She eventually secured a job as a primary school teacher in East London after a number of jobs in offices and domestic service where dialect and the power of sound fascinated her. When bringing up her own babies in the late 1950s, while not having a teaching job for a number of years, she: "could not go past a school playground without stopping [and] listening" (Gilroy, 1976, p. 142). Gilroy's published writing re-told the story of the journey to her promotion as head teacher at a West Hampstead primary school and her subsequent retraining as an ethno-psychotherapist. In all this storytelling she drew on the recreation of remembered dialogue: "because throughout her formative years talk was paramount and free flowing [...] The story tellers in my family held us spell bound ... in song, dance, gesture, and laughter" (Gilroy, 1998).

For historians of education in the 21st century Gilroy's memoirs, alongside the extensive recordings of her voice held at the British Library Sound Archive, enable us to re-imagine the sounds of the learning environments she facilitated and consequently the educational context of the London primary school postwar as Gilroy experienced it. However, the most recent edition of *Black Teacher*, republished by Faber in 2021, offers a new introduction where contemporary novelist, Bernadine Evaristo, offers an apology for Gilroy's phonetic replication of the vernacular suggesting it is: "not generally considered wise in fiction nowadays as it can make characters sound like caricatures" (2021, xi–xv). If Gilroy had lived to challenge this she would perhaps defend the power of sound and indeed mimicry in educational experience: "Talk is my special ingredient ... its creativity is ongoing, malleable, able to avoid the kiln of rigidity" (Gilroy, 1998, p. 16). This presentation will use short sound clips alongside the presenter's own voice, rather than any visual PPT material, to reinforce the argument about how much sound mattered to Gilroy and that it was not used as parody or caricature but as part of the joy of learning and remembering.

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Keywords: primary schools, sound, migration, memoir, spoken word



Between Genius Aesthetics and Workers' Literature in the Early GDR. Young Authors Working Groups and the Promotion of Young Writers

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In terms of practices regarding the writing process of creative texts, i.e., novels, poems, it seems, that even today – and especially in the German-language discourse – the outcome is considered as an ingenious idea. Therefore, the occupation of an author was and is not understood as a craft or trade one could learn and be trained in, but rather a result of talent. In 1947, Franz Hammer founded the 'Arbeitsgemeinschaften Junger Autoren' (Young Authors Working Groups), a model for the promotion and support of young writers that not only sought out talented young writers but also embraced the idea that the creative process of writing could be taught. While the humble beginnings of the AJAs were intended to give young talent a chance to explore and tell the story of the formation of the GDR and the new man, later cohorts linked successful participation to membership of the German Writers' Union, thus tightening the selection criteria. This was accompanied by a reorganisation of the structure of the working groups and the inclusion of the growing number of locations and groups in the national cultural funding of the GDR.

The proposed paper will outline the founding phase of the Young Authors Working Groups as a grassroots movement, the expansion of the organisation and its integration into state institutions. Based on these three phases of development, the lecture will describe the reform process of an informal educational initiative that became a kind of semi-official training unit for authors of the workers' and peasants' states. These developments have brought about many changes in the author-personalities of aspiring writers, in stylistic orientations and traditions, and in the conditions of production of literary works in the context of working groups and public appearances.

While the ideas of the Bitterfeld Way and the workers' writers' slogan "Grab a pen, comrade!" are well known in the research field of the former GDR, the earlier attempts to create a literature by workers and peasants for workers and peasants have remained largely unexplored. In this context, new sources from the early years of the SBZ/GDR are brought into focus, and in addition to administrative documents, literary texts are also examined as samples of work in applications to the working groups, as working material in seminars, and as measures of success in the numerous anthologies.

In a wider context, the approach adopted allows conclusions to be drawn about the relationship between the state level of the GDR, the developing Arbeitsgemeinschaften Junger Autoren and the young writers trained in them. Not only was new literature to be created and written for a new audience, but the authors were to come from the working and peasant classes and be part of the idea of the new man, which was to be communicated in an educational way. The differences with the much better researched West German literary production seem obvious, but they need to be further contextualised and contrasted in order to understand the ideas behind them.

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Keywords: young authors, East Germany, sociology of literature, proletarian literature



The New School between Italy and Argentina in the First Decades of the 20th Century: María Montessori and Olga Cossettini

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The paper develops the modes of circulation of pedagogical ideas between Italy and Argentina during the first decades of the 20th century, focusing on two female figures: the renowned Italian pedagogue María Montessori and the Argentinian educator, closely linked to the Italian pedagogical ideas, Olga Cossettini.

Carrying out the study from these two women of Italian roots, almost contemporary and committed to the education reform of their time, offers elements to appreciate the various nuances of the networks of access to pedagogical innovations in Argentinian territory and to analyse the different ways of internationalisation of pedagogical knowledge.

María Montessori visited Argentina in 1926. This paper examines the impact of Montessorian ideas before – since 1910 – and during her visit to the country. During this period, the local interest in revealing international publications referring to her method could be observed, which gave rise to vernacular controversies between her detractors and her defenders. The investigation considers the role of the pedagogical press in the process of reception and redefinition of the Montessorian work in Argentina. The pedagogical press made possible the circulation of foreign ideas and experiences between local educators who did not have access to travel or to read foreign literature (Finocchio, 2009). To carry out this analysis, the main sources are the magazine *El Monitor de la Educación Común*, the official press organ of the Argentine State in educational matters, and the magazine *La Obra*, edited on the initiative of a group of teachers in a particular way.

Also, another route of circulation of New School ideas between Italy and Argentina during the 1930s is analysed, focusing on the Argentinian educator Olga Cossettini. She implemented educational proposals based on the developments of the Italian reformer Giuseppe Lombardo Radice (Serra & Welti, 2018; Scaglia, 2021). Olga Cossettini's interest in reforming school education led her to establish an epistolary contact with Lombardo Radice that was maintained until his death (Todaro, 2019). This study is based on a documentary corpus composed of the epistolary of Olga Cossettini and some publications of her authorship.

The circulation of pedagogical ideas between Italy and Argentina took place in a particular epochal context: the growing international expansion of the New School movement produced during the first decades of the 20th century, which also coincides with the process of internationalisation of the pedagogical field (Suasnábar & Cheli, 2015).

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Keywords: new school, Montessori, Cossettini, circulation, ideas



**Silent Reforms: Juan Ramón Jiménez, a Poet in the School of the Cossettini Sisters
(Rosario, Argentina, 1948)**

***Las reformas silentes: Juan Ramón Jiménez, un poeta en la escuela de las hermanas
Cossettini (Rosario, Argentina, 1948)***

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Abstract (in English)

The literature on the failure of educational reforms is surprisingly abundant. This could suggest that, in many cases, reforms have not only been conceived as normative devices but also as mere rhetorical artefacts of supposed political utility. In fact, many observers have frequently noted a clear fracture between the political assumptions of the reforms and the realities of school culture. Hence, the interest aroused in, and the value represented by, those other minor, less publicised, reforms which sprout and flourish on the margins, quietly, as apparently unusual and unique school experiences. This was the case with the *Serena School* of the sisters Olga and Leticia Cossettini in Rosario, Argentina, between 1935 and 1950.

In 1948, the Spanish poet Juan Ramón Jiménez, who was to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature eight years later, visited that school twice during his only trip to Argentina. He had published *Platero y yo* [Platero and I] in 1914, and by the 1940s it was already one of the most widely read books in schools in all Spanish-speaking countries, especially in Argentina.

In a public primary school in a poor neighborhood of Rosario, The Cossettini sisters had managed to fuse “educational horizons,” (to employ Gadamer's hermeneutic expression) that normally were separated: pedagogy and poetry, virtue and beauty, which in the work of Juan Ramón Jiménez had always been united in an “aesthetic ethic”.

The encounter with the Andalusian poet was fleeting. Even the very existence of the *Serena School* was to be brief, due to its preemptive closure by Peronism. However, the density of its significance was such that, like the poet's work, it has endured over time and continues to be the subject of readings and re-readings. A classic of a (pedagogical) poetics joined together with an outstanding example of poetic pedagogy, this methodology is very far removed from today's hegemonic technological approaches. This silent reform is marginal if you will, but deeply embodied in the school community.

This paper seeks to recreate a poetic-pedagogical convergence, which was preceded and followed by the visits of other Latin American and Spanish poets. All of these encounters, in their apparent singularity, gravitate around two major milestones of contemporary educational renewal: the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (1876–1939) and the *New School* movement. Not in vain was the fact that the founder of that Institution Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who saw in *Platero and I* the most complete expression of his own pedagogical thinking. He probably would have thought something similar about the Cossettini sisters' efforts with their school, if he had had the opportunity to learn about it.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La bibliografía sobre el fracaso de las reformas educativas es sorprendentemente abundante. Lo que podría sugerir que, en muchos casos, no sólo han sido concebidas como dispositivos normativos, sino también como meros artefactos retóricos, de supuesta utilidad política. De hecho, muchos observadores han advertido con frecuencia una clara fractura entre los



presupuestos políticos de las reformas y la cultura escolar. De ahí el interés que suscitan y el valor que representan esas otras reformas menores y, desde luego, menos publicitadas, que brotan y florecen en los márgenes, calladamente, como experiencias escolares aparentemente insólitas. Es el caso de la Escuela Serena de las hermanas Olga y Leticia Cossettini en Rosario, Argentina, entre 1935 y 1950.

En 1948, el poeta español Juan Ramón Jiménez, que recibiría el Premio Nobel de Literatura ocho años después, visitó dos veces esa escuela, durante su único viaje a la Argentina. Había publicado, en 1914, *Platero y yo*, ya en aquel entonces uno de los libros más leídos en las escuelas de todos los países de habla hispana, especialmente en las argentinas.

Las hermanas Cossettini, en una escuela primaria pública de un barrio popular de Rosario, habían logrado fundir horizontes educativos, siguiendo la expresión hermenéutica de Gadamer, normalmente separados: la pedagogía y la poesía, la virtud y la belleza, que en la obra de Juan Ramón Jiménez habían estado siempre unidos en una “ética estética”.

Ese encuentro con el poeta andaluz fue fugaz. Incluso la experiencia de la Escuela Serena tuvo una corta vida, a causa de su clausura por el peronismo. Sin embargo, la densidad de su significado fue tal que, como la obra del poeta, ha perdurado en el tiempo y sigue siendo objeto de lecturas y relecturas. Un clásico de una poética (pedagógica) junto a un ejemplo sobresaliente de una pedagogía poética, tan alejada de los enfoques tecnológicos hoy hegemónicos. Una reforma silente, marginal, si se quiere, pero encarnada en la comunidad escolar.

Esta comunicación pretende recrear ese encuentro poético-pedagógico, precedido y seguido por las visitas de otros poetas latinoamericanos y españoles, sobre el que gravitan, en su aparente singularidad, dos hitos capitales de la renovación educativa contemporánea: la Institución Libre de Enseñanza (1876–1939) y el movimiento de la Escuela Nueva. No en vano fue el propio fundador de esa Institución, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, quien vio en *Platero y yo* la expresión más cabal de su pensamiento pedagógico. Probablemente hubiera pensado algo similar de la escuela de las hermanas Cossettini, si la hubiera conocido.

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Keywords: educational reforms, the Cossettini Sisters, Serena school, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Platero and I, poetic pedagogy



The General Law of Education in Spain through the magazine *Crítica* (1970–1979) *La Ley General de Educación en España a través de la revista *Crítica* (1970–1979)*

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Throughout history, it has become clear the greater or lesser influence that the Catholic Church exercised on all those matters that it considered its competence. Education is one of the fields where this influence has been most clear, which has brought tensions on the part of the State and the Church. In general, relations between the State and the Church have been complex, often difficult, but they have always had an enormous impact on educational policy in different eras. Since the beginning of Francoism, especially after the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini, that importance and influence will have greater emphatic force due to the pact agreed in 1953 between the Catholic Church and the Spanish State. The second will acquire a subsidiary role in education, leaving in fact education in the hands of private entities and especially of the Church, which was the institution best positioned to be able to take charge of it.

However, decades later, both positions will be separated again, especially after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), where it will be clear that both institutions are on two different and even opposed levels. And this separation is to be clearly seen in the field of teaching, where the most subtle battle between the State and Church was fought. Within this are framed the different congregations and religious associations that are dedicated to teaching. Among the female ones, the role of the Teresian Association in Spanish education stands out from its foundation in 1911 to the present.

The objective of the communication is to know the position of the Teresian Association, on the role that religious education should have, before the General Law of Education (LGE) approved on August 4, 1970 and its subsequent development. We will see first of all what they thought about the changes that were coming and the need for them, as well as what the turning points would be. We will analyze the dichotomy between state and non-state education and the problem of free education that arises, and how its development will be definitive in the change of attitude of different religious institutions in educational matters. The promulgation of the Constitution of 1978 and the Agreements between the State and the Holy See of 1979 will be the framework in which relations between the two will have to move, from that moment, in terms of education. A framework that is still in place today. Of course, the change of regime, and the non-denominational character of the new constituent state in 1978, were not irrelevant.

For this, we will resort to original sources, such as the publications of the time and more specifically we will analyze what is discussed on the subject in the magazine *Crítica*. It began to be published in 1913 and has changed its name and format until it reaches the current one, being the organ of diffusion of the Teresian Association.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A lo largo de la historia ha quedado patente la mayor o menor influencia que la Iglesia Católica ejercía sobre todas aquellas materias que consideraba de su competencia. La educación es uno de los campos donde esta influencia ha estado más clara, lo que ha traído tensiones por parte del Estado y la Iglesia. En general, las relaciones entre el Estado y la Iglesia han sido complejas, a menudo difíciles, pero siempre han tenido una enorme repercusión en la política educativa de las distintas épocas. Desde el comienzo del franquismo, sobre todo a partir de la



derrota de Hitler y Mussolini, esa importancia e influencia van a tener mayor rotundidad debido al pacto acordado en 1953 entre la Iglesia Católica y el Estado español. El segundo va a adquirir un papel subsidiario en educación, dejando de hecho la educación en manos de las entidades privadas y sobre todo de la Iglesia, que era la institución mejor posicionada para poder hacerse cargo de esta.

Sin embargo, décadas después, ambas posturas van a ir separándose de nuevo, sobre todo a partir del Concilio Vaticano II (1962–1965), donde va a quedar claro que ambas instituciones están en dos niveles diferentes y hasta contrapuestos. Y esta separación se va a ver claramente en el campo de la enseñanza, donde se libró la batalla más sutil entre Estado e Iglesia. Dentro de ésta se enmarcan las distintas congregaciones y asociaciones religiosas que se dedican a la docencia. Entre las femeninas destaca el papel de la Institución Teresiana en la educación española desde su fundación en 1911 hasta la actualidad.

El objetivo de la comunicación es conocer la postura de la Institución Teresiana, sobre el papel que debía tener la educación religiosa, ante la Ley General de Educación (LGE) aprobada el 4 agosto de 1970 y su posterior desarrollo. Veremos en primer lugar lo que opinaban ante los cambios que se avecinaban y la necesidad de estos, así como cuáles serían los puntos de inflexión. Analizaremos la dicotomía entre la enseñanza estatal y no estatal y el problema de la gratuidad de la enseñanza que se plantea, y como su desarrollo va a ser definitivo en el cambio de actitud de distintas instituciones religiosas en materia educativa. La promulgación de Constitución de 1978 y de los Acuerdos entre el Estado y la Santa Sede de 1979 serán el marco en el que se tendrán que mover, a partir de ese momento, las relaciones entre ambos en cuanto a la materia educativa. Un marco que sigue vigente actualmente. Por supuesto que el cambio de Régimen, y el carácter aconfesional del nuevo Estado constituyente en 1978, no fueron irrelevantes.

Para ello vamos a recurrir a fuentes originales, como son las publicaciones de la época y más concretamente vamos a analizar lo que se debate sobre el tema en la revista *Crítica*. Se empezó a publicar en 1913 y ha ido cambiando de nombre y formato hasta llegar al actual, siendo el órgano de difusión de la Institución Teresiana.

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Keywords: educación, Iglesia, Ley General de Educación (1970), revista crítica, Institución Teresiana



The Socio-Technical Imaginaries of Digital Education Policy in Mexico (2012–2022)
Los Imaginarios Sociotécnicos de la Política Educativa Digital en México (2012–2022)

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In the last two decades, educational policies have given significant weight to digital technologies in Latin America. Programs such as Plan Ceibal in Uruguay, Conectar Igualdad in Argentina, Um Computador por Aluno (UCA) in Brazil, and OLPC in Peru and Paraguay, have shown the priority given by the region's governments to educational technology both in budgetary and discursive terms. Digital technologies were called upon, or perhaps one could say conjured up, to solve problems of socioeconomic inequality, through training in digital skills to improve the employability of the poorest sectors or to be digitally included in new forms of economic and cultural participation, and also as a means to address the criticisms of obsolescence and irrelevance of school systems.

Following this trend, Mexican educational policies incorporated digital technologies as a central factor in expanding the right to education and improving educational quality. In the last decade, programs such as Mi Compu.Mx (2013–2014), the Digital Inclusion Program (2016–2018) and the Digital Education Agenda (2020–2024) were developed, which, although with diverse scopes and objectives, coincided in pointing to the digital divide as an obstacle to overcome in order to reduce inequalities. It should be noted that these initiatives contrast with the great asymmetries between public and private schools in terms of access to basic services, physical infrastructure, provision of computer equipment and internet connection, among others.

This paper presents an analysis of Mexican educational policies that address digital technologies and the issue of inequality using the concept of 'sociotechnical imaginaries' (Jasanoff & Kim, 2015). The corpus includes over 220 documents from 2012–2022, which corresponds to two governments (sexenios, six-year periods) that have seemingly contrasting political leanings and encompasses official materials and "grey literature" (periodicals and blogs). It was analyzed looking for problematizations and nodal points relevant to the imagination of sociotechnical futures using the software Infranodus and performing a close critical reading.

The findings open some reflections on educational priorities related to digital technologies and inequality in both periods. Even if these governments have opposed political rhetorics, there are some shared assumptions: a direct association between digital technologies and economic growth, the rhetoric of the inevitability of technological change, and the promise of reducing inequalities with virtual education that will expand school enrolment. Among the divergent points, in the recent sexenio there is more talk about inequality, a discursive shift from digital skills towards digital cultures and notions that are supposed to overcome technocratic views. However, there are no references to Big Data or data colonialism, and digitalization is limited to improving people's income and access to equipment and connectivity. The absence of guidelines and debates regarding the growth of algorithmic processes in education and digital governance raises questions about the potency of these policies to effectively guide educational practices amid contemporary challenges.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

En las últimas dos décadas, las políticas educativas han dado un peso importante a las tecnologías digitales en América Latina. Programas como el Plan Ceibal en Uruguay, Conectar Igualdad en Argentina, Um Computador por Aluno (UCA) en Brasil, y OLPC en Perú y Paraguay, han mostrado la prioridad otorgada por los gobiernos de la región a la tecnología educativa tanto en términos presupuestarios como discursivos. Las tecnologías digitales fueron convocadas, o quizás podría decirse conjuradas, para resolver problemas de desigualdad socioeconómica, a través de formar en capacidades digitales que mejoren la empleabilidad de los sectores más pobres o bien de incluirse digitalmente en nuevas formas de participación económica y cultural, y también como medio para atender a las críticas de obsolescencia e irrelevancia de los sistemas escolares.

Siguiendo esta tendencia, las políticas educativas mexicanas incorporaron las tecnologías digitales como un factor central para la ampliación del derecho a la educación y para mejorar la calidad educativa. En la última década, se desarrollaron programas como Mi Compu.Mx (2013–2014), el Programa de Inclusión Digital (2016–2018) y la Agenda Digital Educativa (2020–2024), que, aunque con alcances y objetivos diversos, coincidieron en señalar a la brecha digital como un obstáculo a superar para reducir las desigualdades. Debe notarse que estas iniciativas se contraponen con las grandes asimetrías entre escuelas públicas y privadas en términos de acceso a servicios básicos, infraestructura física, provisión de equipos de cómputo y conexión a internet, entre otros.

Esta ponencia presenta un análisis de las políticas educativas mexicanas sobre tecnologías digitales y desigualdad a partir del concepto de “imaginarios sociotécnicos” de Jasanoff y Kim (2015). El corpus está compuesto por más de 220 documentos del período 2012–2022, que corresponde a dos administraciones (sexenios) con orientaciones políticas contrapuestas, e incluye fuentes oficiales y “literatura gris” (periódicos y blogs). Estos documentos se analizaron buscando problematizaciones y puntos nodales relevantes sobre la imaginación de futuros sociotécnicos a partir del software Infranodus y de una lectura crítica.

Los resultados permiten reflexionar sobre las prioridades educativas de las reformas implementadas desde el Estado en relación con las tecnologías digitales y la desigualdad en ambos periodos. Pese a la retórica contrapuesta de ambos sexenios, hay algunos supuestos compartidos: la asociación directa entre tecnologías digitales y crecimiento económico, la retórica de la inevitabilidad del cambio tecnológico, y la posibilidad de reducir la desigualdad con ofertas virtuales que amplíen la cobertura. Entre los puntos divergentes, en el sexenio reciente hay más preocupación por la desigualdad, un desplazamiento discursivo hacia conceptos como cultura digital y otros que quieren superar las visiones tecnocráticas. Sin embargo, no hay referencias al Big Data ni a la colonización de datos, y lo digital aparece restringido a mejorar ingresos y acceder a equipos y conectividad. La ausencia de orientaciones y debates respecto al avance de la algoritmización en la educación y a la nueva gobernanza digital plantea preguntas sobre la capacidad de estas políticas de orientar las prácticas educativas ante los desafíos contemporáneos.

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Keywords: education policies, digital technologies, sociotechnical imaginaries, educational inequality, Mexico



Political Repression and Struggles for Democracy: Brazilian Education Under the Military Dictatorship (1964–1985)

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The Brazilian military dictatorship is a typical case of confrontation between repression and aspiration for freedom. This subject, little researched, is political, but treated in a scientific way, as all research requires. The methodology consists of the following steps: documentary and bibliographic sources and, in large part, newspapers of the time. These primary sources are classified and data relating to our hypothesis are extracted from them. All methodological procedures are linked to the following hypothesis: even under repression, educational reforms took place and expanded schools and universities in Brazil. This expansion made the area of Brazilian education one of the most expressive in the struggle for democracy during this historical experience. The coup d'état carried out by the military in 1964 took place in the international context of the Cold War.

In Latin America, the Cuban Revolution (1959) fueled the military geopolitical discourse that Brazil was on the verge of joining “communism” but, due to its historical formation, it should share the characteristics of the West: democracy, science and Christianity. In the years prior to the military coup, Brazil was experiencing a political effervescence marked by the labour and peasant movement; student action for the democratization of the university; Brazilian popular music on the rise and popular movements for adult literacy (Paulo Freire’s method) since in 1950, Brazil had 39% of its adult population illiterate. Political repression hit them all. During the 21 years of the dictatorship, educational policy maintained two apparently contradictory characteristics: on the one hand, ideological control over curricula, schools and universities. On the other hand, the quantitative expansion of the system, as the military governments considered that education was strategic for their national project. Important reforms were carried out without participation, compulsory schooling became 8 years, higher education expanded through private initiative and also through the creation of a public university in each state of the Brazilian Federation. This network of universities was increased with the creation of Graduate Studies (1965). All these policies took place in the midst of repression, ideological control and press censorship.

However, they generated fruits contrary to the dictatorship, as the expansion gave rise to a new category of teachers who were one of the main protagonists of democracy, as well as students. In addition, even under control, Graduate Studies generated the first criticisms of the educational policy of the dictatorship. From the second half of the 1970s, a large political front was formed against the military dictatorship. Leftists, liberals, and those who were in some way opposed to the regime joined the long and victorious journey, enlivened with critical songs of Brazilian popular music as “Tomorrow will be another day!” Conclusions: First of all, the dictatorship’s educational reforms were lasting and still shape Brazilian education. Secondly, The dictatorship was unable to silence all voices, it was not able to impose everything it wanted. Lastly, a new democratic front was the strategy that allowed Lula to win the presidency (2022) against authoritarianism, one of the most important political lessons learned under the military dictatorship.



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Keywords: Brazil, military dictatorship, educational reforms, democracy



From Victory to War: A Case of History Education and History of Education in Nigeria, 1982–2022

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History connotes the entire human past as it did happen in all spheres of life. Therefore, the record of the significant past attempts to interpret it to discover the essential things that may influence or affect the future. On the other hand, the history of education studies and explains how society uses education as an instrument of problem-solving activity from age to age. It is necessary to note that this proposal discusses two different subjects – history education and the history of education.

In Nigeria, between 1982 and 2018, for 36 years, history education was not taught at the primary school level. Not teaching history education negates Brett and Guyver's (2021) submission that "one of the core purposes of history education in most nation states was as a unifying mechanism to prop up national identity and inculcate a common, shared national story." It was a period of "war" between policymakers and historical societies in Nigeria, which was won by the latter leading to reintroducing history education into the school curriculum. This victory characterises the images of intellectuals and scholars in Nigeria as resilient in their roles. Unfortunately, the achievement of reintroducing history as a subject is short-lived as another field in history; the history of education has been delisted in Nigeria's new curriculum for tertiary education. Delisting the history of education as a course of study is seen as another affront against historians of education who have just registered their association with the Corporate Affairs Commission (C.A.C.) as a standard and recognised association in Nigeria. Why the removal is not yet known.

A significant problem may be that policymakers are unaware that "every situation has its roots in the past, and the past survives in the present; the present is indeed the past undergoing modification" (Omolewa, 2016, p. 2). Also, a people not prepared to face its history cannot face its future (Jekayinfa, 2014). The delisting of the history of education from the curriculum has implications. In the contextual framework of Fafunwa's (1974) submission that "a people with no knowledge of their past would suffer from collective amnesia, groping blindly into the future without guide-posts of precedence to shape their course" (p. 13); delisting history of education from the curriculum is tragic. Therefore, this paper focuses on how historical societies won the "war" on delisting history (1982–2018) and discusses a new war brewing by not including the history of education in the new tertiary education curriculum, even for students studying education.

The following questions, and others that may arise during this study, will be addressed. First, what is the situation globally and in the African region (a) for history education and (b) for the history of education? Second, are the policymakers aware of the importance of the history of education? Third, were the historians of education represented in the processes of the new curriculum formulation? Lastly, who should be aware of curriculum modification before it takes place?

The researcher will make relevant recommendations for stakeholders to avert such errors during curriculum redesign in the future.



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Keywords: national policy on education, history education, the history of education, policymakers, curriculum



Exclusion and Inclusion: The History of Hungarian Socialist Pedagogy in the 1950s

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Analysing the history of the Hungarian socialist pedagogy, it can be observed that at the beginning of the 1950s, certain individuals and groups became excluded from education science, and then after a few years their exclusion was lifted and they were accepted. Subsequently, in the mid-1950s, the same educational scientists became excluded again, and a year later they were admitted again. However, at the end of the 1950s, they were excluded again, and then at the beginning of the 1960s, these scientists were repeatedly admitted again. In our research, we try to interpret the series of repeated exclusions and inclusions. We are looking for the answer to the questions of what reasons led to the repeated exclusions and inclusions, and it happened for political or professional reasons.

To understand this process, we use documents of the Party and the education policy (Kardos & Kornidesz, 1990) as well as pedagogical journals (Pedagogical Review, Public Education) as sources.

The methodological framework of our study consists of sociological works related to exclusion (Collins, 1990; Murphy, 1984; Weber, 1978). These authors argue that social groups reach a monopoly position in various areas of the social field with the help of exclusions.

We embed our analysis in a political historical framework, which means that we examine the history of exclusions and inclusions within the Hungarian socialist education science in the political historical periods of the 1950s (Rákosi-era: 1950–1956; Early Kádár-era: 1956–1963).

According to our results, in the 1950s, two groups fought with each other in the Hungarian socialist education science: the founders of socialist education science in the early fifties, and those who deviated from this direction in the mid-1950s. These two groups used the tools of exclusion and inclusion during their struggles.

According to the research of Raymond Murphy (1984), exclusion in a socialist society is always based on the relationship with the communist-socialist party. Our study confirms Murphy's (1984) thesis. After all, in the Hungarian socialist education science of the 1950s, those who represented not the current socialist direction suffered exclusion in all cases. However, as a result of the many and rapid political changes, as soon as the old socialist ideology became current and at the same time official, the previously excluded scientists were allowed to return to education science. This also means that exclusion and inclusion were done for political reasons. At the same time, in the socialist education science of the 1950s, political exclusion also meant professional exclusion, since politics and science could only work intertwined.

By the end of the decade, the founders of socialist education in the early fifties emerged victorious from the series of conflicts. However, in the 1960s, as one of the elements of the reconciliation policy in the Kádár-era, the excluded were permitted to return to the field of educational science and pedagogy. We consider this moment to be one of the main characteristics of educational science in the Kádár-era, that is, the two opposing groups had to work together (Sáska, 2016).

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Keywords: exclusion, inclusion, socialist pedagogy, Rákosi Era, socialist education policy



Characteristics of Centralised Curriculum Regulation in the Hungarian Preschool Teacher Training

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We already have resources from the period around the opening of the first Hungarian kindergarten on *organized and mostly regular training* for those working with young children. After the *course-like preparation* (1837) the education took place in the *preschool teacher training* institutes that opened following the 1891 law, and in 1959, kindergarten education became a *higher level*. The *college education*, which initially ran parallel to *secondary school education* and later replaced it, increased to 3 years from 1989.

The purpose is to place *the issue of preschool teacher training* at the centre of this educational history review and analysis. The research, in the synthesis of kindergarten education and preschool teacher training, focused on a dedicated period, *the events between the end of the 1950s and the end of the 1990s*.

Following the chronological line of the domestic history of preschool teacher training, I wanted to grasp *the structural changes of the training through the descriptive analysis and interpretation of original educational historical sources*, which can be followed based on laws, regulations, curricula, guides, and educational programs. Basically, I would like to present in detail the moments of curriculum regulation that significantly determined preschool teacher training in the examined historical period. During the analysis, I prioritise the *designation of goals, the definition of training content, and the relationship between theoretical training and kindergarten practice*.

The *ministerial instructions* prescribed the introduced curricula and laid out their framework. The *educational programs* defined the detailed content of the knowledge and practises to be acquired. From 1970, the declared goal of educational work in preschool training institutions was to train preschool teachers with a *communist worldview and morality*, who understand and love their profession. The *educational program* appeared not only as a new central document in addition to the *curriculum*, but also strengthened the central nature of teacher training by defining detailed central content for the trainers. These documents were woven by *socialist ideology*. The *personality model and ideal of the 'socialist preschool teacher'* is present; both on a conceptual level and as a goal to be achieved, expected, and desired during preschool teacher training.

Between 1959 and 1989, several new needs and expectations for *early childhood education* appeared. The analysis confirmed that the Hungarian preschool teacher training, even in the otherwise *highly centralised educational policy environment*, simultaneously *tried to preserve its traditions and renew itself professionally*.

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Keywords: curricula, East-Europe, teacher training, theory, socialism



Traditions and Transitions in Empire: Seeking Gender From 'Below' in Colonial and Postcolonial India.

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This paper examines the intersectionality of race and gender in the empire when the paradigm of religiosity is superimposed upon this intersectionality. This methodology is used to analyse the transnational pulses that drove the interplay: particularly the entanglements this interplay created for female religious agency in India that was not always conterminous with empire. Such female agency is significant because it engages more effectively with very poor Indians at the local level. To illustrate this conceptualisation, and these tensions, the paper focuses on the outreach of Indian women religious, and Indian women more generally, (as opposed to their European sisters in religious Orders) to excavate and interrogate their largely hidden voices as they both responded to globally constructed notions of learning, yet also connected to Indians: whose cultural and poverty understandings of community life, rather than individual Western achievement, pulled these Indian sisters in another direction.

Three sites of intimate interaction are briefly examined in illustrative mode. They are: the Roman Catholic missions at Morapai (on the tiger infested and flood prone Ganges delta) in Bengal; Entally (a large Roman Catholic orphanage in Kolkata) and, more recently, Sealdah (a centre for Indian outreach and education). The paper briefly sketches how Jesuit masculinity – often in opposition to their own church and certainly to colonial government – created these alternative spaces of interaction in India in the first place. The pattern was then followed by female religious Orders, which attempted to create a colonial-inspired femininity, while their students still worshipped, under the supervision of their parents, Indian deities at home. Yet deeper epistemological and cultural connections with tribal Indians also occurred at the hands of Indian women religious whose activism crossed colonial educational borders. This was in contrast to elite Hindus, who were resistant to European interplay of this kind – except for elite forms of schooling and college education.

The paper is responsive to European-constructed timeframes and colonial placements, keeping in mind Sudipta Kaviraj's (2015) simple invocation: "Why should the history of Europe happen elsewhere?" It also understands that even for European missionaries, their constructions of poverty varied according to their own agendas rather than only to the needs of Indians. Semiotic and situational elements located in the empire have been easily stirred, and analysis built, with the dumping of Colston's statue into Bristol harbour (Olusoga, 2021). And the way this paper sees these Christian sites of Indian interaction is influenced by this analysis and helps explain why such outreach is still acceptable today to the Indian BJP nationalist government.

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Keywords: gender, empire, religion, education, transnational



Feminine and Masculine Bodies as an Effect of Biotypological Discourses in the Training of Physical Education Teachers in Uruguay (1948–1968)

Cuerpos Femeninos y Masculinos Como Efecto de Discursos Biotipológicos en la Formación de Profesores de Educación Física en Uruguay (1948–1968)

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The article addresses the ways in which the discourses of biotypology, the Latin branch of eugenics, had its presence, mainly instrumental and practical, in the field of physical education and sport in Uruguay. At the same time, how did bio-typological discourse produce certain bodies, genders and sexualities in the field of physical education and sport, specifically in the training of physical education teachers in Uruguay?

The biological theories on inheritance, fundamentally in versions like Spencer's social Darwinism, Morel's theory of degeneration, Galton's eugenics, and the biotypology created by Pende, with their particularities, gave sex a "biological responsibility for the species". In this framework, the set of "perversion, heredity, degeneration" was deployed as the solid core of the new technologies of sex, and thus medicine became "scientifically insufficient and abusively moralising" (Foucault, 1992, p. 143, 144). Regeneration and degeneration in these theories depended fundamentally on women, or rather, on the female body, hence the importance of care, vigilance, control, and the prescriptions and proscriptions on women's bodies (Vertinsky, 1987; Park, 1987). After the 'Great War', Italy developed biotypology through the work of the endocrinologist Nicola Pende. Biotypology was the discipline in charge of creating a 'practical' instrumentation of Galton's eugenics in the Latin world. Pende's ideas were disseminated internationally through a series of institutes of biotypology, leaving behind the traditional hygienist procedure of isolating and enclosing "the abnormal" and establishing a eugenic-sanitary policy aimed at each individual and the entire population. (Vallejo, 2004, p. 222, 224). In the field of physical education, there was an epistemic movement from an integral and hygienist conception at the end of the 19th century to a eugenic evolutionist one, mainly from the second and third decade of the 20th century with the development of biometrisation and the psychologisation of the field, accompanied by the justification of the inclusion of sport in schools (Galak, 2016).

The main sources selected are the students' degree theses and the Biotypology syllabi that were taught in the 1948 and 1956 academic programmes.

The postulates of biotypology in the sources investigated promoted a differentiated, binary, exclusionary physical education between men and women, delineating specific body types for each one and specific ways of being, behaving and moving that placed women in a place of lower hierarchy and power, which was reinforced and articulated with other social inequalities.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

El artículo aborda los modos en que los discursos de la biotipología, la rama latina de la eugenesia, tuvieron su presencia, fundamentalmente de tipo instrumental y práctica en el campo de la educación física y el deporte en Uruguay. A su vez se pregunta, ¿cómo el discurso biotipológico produjo determinados cuerpos, géneros y sexualidades en el campo de la educación física y el deporte, específicamente en la formación de los profesores de educación física en el Uruguay?



Las teorías biológicas sobre la herencia, en su versión fundamentalmente de darwinismo social como la de Spencer, la teoría de la degeneración de Morel, la teoría de la eugenesia desarrollada por Galton y a la biotipología creada por Pende, con sus diferencias, otorgaban al sexo una “responsabilidad biológica en lo tocante a la especie”. El conjunto “perversión, herencia, degeneración’ se desplegaba como el sólido núcleo de las nuevas tecnologías del sexo y así la medicina se convertía en “científicamente insuficiente y abusivamente moralizadora” (Foucault, 1992, p. 143, 144). La regeneración y la degeneración en estas teorías dependía fundamentalmente de la mujer, o mejor dicho, del cuerpo femenino, de allí la importancia otorgada al cuidado, vigilancia, control, y a las prescripciones y proscripciones sobre el cuerpo de las mujeres (Vertinsky, 1987; Park, 1987). Posteriormente a la “gran guerra”, el médico endocrinólogo Nicola Pende, creó la biotipología como disciplina que se extendió en los países latinos como instrumentación práctica de la eugenesia galtoniana. Difundió capilarmente sobre un vasto territorio una serie de institutos de biotipología a nivel internacional, dejando ya atrás el tradicional procedimiento higienista de aislar y encerrar “lo anormal” y estableció una política eugénico-sanitaria dirigida a cada uno de los individuos y a toda la población (Vallejo, 2004, p. 222, 224).

En el campo de la educación física hubo un movimiento epistémico de una concepción integral e higienista a fines del siglo XIX a una evolucionista eugenésica a partir fundamentalmente de la segunda y tercera década del siglo XX con el desarrollo de la biometrización y la psicologización del campo acompañado de la justificación del ingreso del deporte a la escuela (Galak, 2016).

Las principales fuentes seleccionadas son las tesis de grado de los estudiantes y los programas de Biotipología que se dictaron en los planes de estudio de 1948 y 1956.

Los postulados de la biotipología en las fuentes indagadas promovían una educación física diferenciada, binaria, excluyente entre hombres y mujeres, delineando tipos de cuerpos específicos para cada uno y maneras de ser, sentir, comportarse y moverse específicas. Si bien otorgaban un lugar activo en las prácticas de educación física y el deporte a las mujeres, estas eran puestas en un lugar de menor jerarquía y poder, que se reforzaba y articulaba con otras desigualdades sociales.

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Keywords: biotipología, cuerpos, géneros, sexualidades, educación física



Entanglements and Reforms in the Greek Textbooks: The Question of Gender and Transnationality (19th to Early 20th centuries)

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In early 19th to mid-19th centuries, the Greek textbooks contained themes that expressed strict didacticism and strong nationalist views. The idea of a reformulated Greek nationalism lay in the fact that the Greeks had recently gained their independence after a four-hundred-year Ottoman occupation. As a consequence, school education was planned to be built on new national ideals and along the lines of the modern Greek history that was re-written. In girls' fee-charging private schools, such as "Arsakeion", the school curriculum was heavily influenced both by strong national ideas as well as by the universal notions focusing on female domesticity, and on the attainment of the appropriate feminine accomplishments. Thus, the significance of being familiar with domestic crafts-practicing such as sewing and embroidering, as well as of being imbued with the ideas of duty, obedience, commitment, piety, cleanliness, thrift, and dress respectability were the main features that globally pertained to the schooling of girls also serving as marks of well-brought-up young women. In Victorian middle-class, female education had to correspond to their status. Thus, waged work was considered to be demeaning also applying to Greek middle-class women. This notion pertained to the texts of the Greek schoolbooks.

This conference paper attempts to answer the following questions: To what extent the school reforms made in the national Greek textbooks, were used in girls' schools? Did they meet the challenges of an emerging transnational world, or were they only filled with nationalist views and gendered biases? Were any definitive proposals made in terms of modernity and transnationality? In the present research, I explored the contents of a number of primers and readers used in girls' schools that spanned a period of mid- mid-19th to early- 20th centuries. I scrutinized the universal notions as well as on the idea of Greek nationalism that pertained to their texts.

The present study heavily relies on original sources such as school records, textbooks, and readers used in girls' classes. Moreover, the use of secondary sources such as books, journal papers, newspaper articles, and lectures is equally important as they supply us with fresh data based on recent research.

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Keywords: Greek textbooks, reforms, transnationality, entanglements



The Victorian Portrait of Graduates of the Jerusalem School for Jewish Girls (1900–1914)

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The Anglo-Jewish Association network, which aimed to provide free education for Jewish girls from low-income families in the Middle East, adopted the colonial approach that emphasised the role of gender in driving social change (Rogers, 2012; Albisetti, Goodman & Rogers, 2010). The ultra-conservative Jewish community regarded the acquisition of a profession as a desired goal, only for those incapable of becoming religious scholars. As a result, girls whose place was on the margins of religious society did not clash with the social and gender norms.

The Evelina de Rothschild School in Jerusalem serves as an example of how the model of the Victorian girl of education from England diffused to Ottoman Jerusalem through the three stages of lending and borrowing. The first was active reception, the second was implementation, and the third was indigenisation (Steiner-Khamsi & Popkewitz, 2004). Annie Landau, a former teacher at the Jewish Girl School in London, was the leading actor behind the diffusion of the graduate portrait of the Victorian girl. In 1900, the AJA appointed her as headmistress of the Evelina de Rothschild School in Jerusalem. Landau took steps towards implementing the graduate portrait of the Victorian girl through formal and informal curricula (Tadmor Shimony & Raichel, in print), despite the fact that the girls did not belong to the middle class.

The school participated in ceremonies that linked important events in the life of the British Empire. For instance, in 1901, the schoolgirls commemorated Queen Victoria's passing by wearing black ribbons and Landau, along with some teachers, and chosen students attended the memorial service in Jerusalem. The school also celebrated the crowning of Edward VII at a ceremony sponsored by the English consul, where "God Save the King" was sung by all attendees (Kremer, 1901).

The Victorian model of femininity encouraged girls to aspire to the role of wife and mother as the highest ideals within the middle class (Gorham, 2012). It conveyed the notion that girls should strive for moral improvement. Landau sought to instil self-improvement norms and a sense of the common good through informal educational means, such as introducing an attendance flag awarded to the class with the fewest absences, which fostered group solidarity (Schore, 2013).

An important aspect of the Victorian model of femininity model was the emphasis on domestic skills, although it was not unique to this particular model. Domestic Education entailed a dual conception that focused on acquiring domestic skills, insisting on the value of lessons from professionals while simultaneously claiming that domesticity was an inborn feminine ability. Domestic Education was also termed domestic science, and a range of social reformers employed the terms *scientific*, *mother*, and *efficient housewife* (Heggie, 2011). Domestic Education in Evelina's school encompassed cooking, baking, sewing, and cleaning.

In conclusion, the s graduate's portrait was of a Jewish Victorian girl in the Levant, as promoted by AJA network and implemented by Evelina de Rotcheild School, reflected the combination of traditional religious observance with the adoption of Victorian gender norms and Ideas.



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Keywords: gender roles, diffusion, Victorian girl, Jewish girl, lending and borrowing



Local Reforms, Regional Bureaucrats and National Funding: a Case Study of the Transition of Swedish Compulsory School (Folkskola/Grundskola) 1930–1970

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In Swedish and international reform history, the school reforms after the 1950s are usually seen as a tipping point. The state then came to be very much involved in the governance and operation of the school according to previous studies. Often the modern and rational elements of the reform agenda are emphasized (Labaree, 2005; Lindsjö & Lundgren, 2014; Sundberg, 2022). Political science speaks of the postwar period as “the time of the great programs”, in which rationality and state planning paved the way for a more modern society (Peck & Theodore, 2015). But if you look at the development of finance and planning of school activities, it is possible to nuance the notion of the post-war period as a radical tipping point.

In the reform process, a central part was the construction of new schoolhouses after 1950. However, the state also had interest in school buildings before the 1950s as well. The school was mainly a municipal activity, but the state had some responsibility. For example, the state financed school buildings by 75 per cent of the total cost before the 1950s (SOU 1940, p. 24). In order to receive support, the municipality had to conduct local school investigations. The municipality should also have a dialogue with regional authorities. In the application for funding, the municipality should also attach a sketch of the planned school building. The municipality then initiated a dialogue with national authorities regarding funding and the design of the schoolhouse (SFS 1936, p. 45). Thus, building schoolhouses involved extensive activity at the local level involving regional and national authorities even before the major reforms that took place in the post-war period. It therefore becomes relevant to compare the local planning process before and after the 1950s when extensive state reform work was initiated. For example, a preliminary review of the sources shows that the local planning processes were similar throughout the period 1930–1970. The funding model for schoolhouses was also similar throughout the period.

The aim of the paper is to see continuity and change regarding funding for schoolhouse construction and reforms at the local level in 1930–1970. This is done by looking at four construction projects in a medium-sized Swedish city, Karlstad. Municipal planning material such as board minutes, architectural material and municipal council material are analysed. National and regional materials relating to the financing of schoolhouses have also been used to some extent.

Research on the financing of school buildings has been a source of inspiration. The construction of schoolhouses should be understood in relation to economic, social and cultural processes (Westberg, 2017; Melin 2022). I have also been inspired by research that looks at mixed forms of financing of public activities (Cf. Beadie, 2008; Westberg; 2017; Michaëlsson, 2012; Samuelsson & Michaëlsson 2021, 2022).

Theoretically, inspiration has been taken from institutionalism and the idea of path dependence regarding planning and financing (Cf. North, 1993; March & Olsen, 1989).

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Keywords: local reform, school building funding



How Much Money for School? A History of Schooling through the Quantification of Expenditures and its Uses (France 1945–2020)

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This paper deals with the production and uses – academic, political and administrative – of data on the financing of education in France in the second half of the 20th century.

The quantification of educational expenditures raises real methodological difficulties. While financial data are regularly collected and compared by international organizations, few countries have, to date, had an education satellite account integrated into the system of national accounts. France has been one of the exceptions since 1976. In the 1990s, the development of a retrospective satellite account by Alain Carry, based on the same concepts, provided a robust basis for historical analyses of the trajectory of national education expenditure by funder. These retrospective statistical data, which are also available for other countries such as Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom, have been the subject of economic and econometric analyses, aimed in particular at establishing relationships between economic growth and education spending.

Before being stabilised in the form of statistical series, and giving rise to academic uses, the data on education financing were first used for political purposes. With the “golden rule of Jules Ferry” – a rule of more than dubious origins brandished in the aftermath of the war by Georges Cogniot – left-wing politicians demanded 1/6th of the state budget for the national education. This is the yardstick by which measured, during budgetary debates, the effort made by the government. When the target was reached in the 1960s, following the “school explosion”, the question arose as to if and how to slow down. Although the debates were lively, the majority conviction – at the beginning of the 1970s – was that it was neither necessary nor desirable to increase further the weight of education expenditure as a percentage of GDP.

Since the mid-1960s, the increase in expenditure in relation to GDP has been a benchmark and a yardstick, not only a posteriori, as an object of debate or analysis but a priori, in that it directly enters, through multiple channels, into the very making of the budget allocated by the state to education expenditure. Redefined by decentralization in the early 1980s, the rules for the distribution of expenditures between the state and local governments did not modify – except temporarily – the overall progression of expenditures. Nor did the expansion of higher education upset the balances defined in the early 1970s. The deceleration of economic growth thus translates into a marked slowdown in the growth of financial resources, not without repercussions for the implementation of educational policies.

Based on archives from the administration, the government, the presidency, the press and parliamentary debates, this exploration of the production and use of financial data on education offers an original touchstone of the priority given – or not – to education, and of the way in which the practical constraints, the scholarly analysis and the imagination conveyed by this expenditure circumscribe the horizon of possibilities in educational matters.

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Keywords: education expenditure, quantification, statistics, economic growth, state budget



BRAC's "Conscientizing" Education: A Historical Analysis of the Perception Gap between Program Providers and Recipients

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BRAC (ব্র্যাক), the world's largest development NGO, coopted Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire's critical literacy concepts and pedagogy in its adult education program for socially disadvantaged groups in Bangladesh in 1974 (Fateh, 2021). Taking into account the socio-political aspects of Freire's radical "conscientizing" education rooted in the Catholic-Marxist social movements of Brazil and experiences in Chile (Fateh, 2021), BRAC contextualised Freirean concepts in its functional education curriculum within the framework of its development strategy and organizational needs (Abed, 2014). With an objective to "liberate" the rural poor, BRAC integrated Freire's revolutionary conscientisation philosophy into its functional education program for the rural poor in Bangladesh to alleviate poverty and oppression (BRAC, 1980).

This article provides a critical analysis of how "conscientising" education programs were perceived by both BRAC and the program recipients. The analysis is based on BRAC curriculum documents, project proposals, and evaluation reports, and statements of Fazle Hasan Abed (BRAC's founder), and other related materials. I primarily focus on the objectives and curriculum of BRAC's functional education program, and its adoption and adaption of the conscientisation approach around higher productivity and income-generating opportunities for its clients. I also consider the outcomes this program produced for BRAC and the program recipients for whom the curriculum was designed, BRAC's orientation to local power structure, and its association with successive Bangladeshi regimes. My findings suggest that BRAC's interpretation and understanding of "conscientising" education for its clients was not aligned with the perceptions of its participants who attended the program. There was a clear gap between BRAC's intended meaning of "conscientisation" for its clients and what the clients perceived. Since the literacy program was not delivered as effectively as BRAC had expected, and the program had no immediate benefit for its participants, a perception gap about "conscientisation" was created. Also, as BRAC intentionally depoliticised and de-radicalised Freire's radical conscientisation approach in its curriculum, participants did not get a clear sense of the systemic nature of poverty and oppression they faced, and their potential to challenge the established status quo to emancipate them. In addition, as BRAC moved away from Freire's liberating education (Freire, 1971) and emphasised income-generating initiatives, program participants largely became immersed in microfinance, higher productivity and other money-generating opportunities that, in turn, made them more dependent on BRAC. I argue that BRAC consciously manipulated the fundamental essence of Freire's radical conscientisation in its functional literacy curriculum in order to align itself with dominant power groups, autocratic Bangladeshi regimes, and the hegemonic international aid industry. My findings also imply that, while BRAC insists that it was motivated by Freire's radical literacy concepts (Smillie, 2009; BRAC, 1977), it actually de-revolutionised and dehumanised Freirean revolutionary aspects, drifted away from true "conscientisation," as suggested by Freire, and embraced profit-driven neoliberal development ideology intensely criticised by Freire (Apple, 1999).

My critical-historical analysis draws on the interpretive theories and political thoughts of Quentin Skinner, postcolonial perspectives of Frantz Fanon, the dependency theory of Andre Gunder Frank, theories of decoloniality of Anibal Quijano, and Byung-Chul Han's critiques of neoliberal education and neoliberal development.



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Keywords: BRAC, functional education, conscientization, emancipation, curriculum



The Historicity of the Crisis in Education and its Role in the Demands for Educational Reform (Uruguay, 1930–2020)

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Recent literature on educational reforms in Latin America has pointed out the importance of distinguishing between demands for reform, reform texts, and efforts to implement them (Gvirtz & Biccás 2011). The continuous demands for reform can, thus, be considered an object of analysis in itself, closely linked to diagnoses of problems in education and, in some cases, to the idea of crisis. It can be argued that, to a certain extent, the notion of crisis is inherent to modern education, which moved away from mere cultural transmission to attempt to create a future society (Caspard, 1998), thus producing a permanent discrepancy between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation (Koselleck, 1993).

In Uruguay, different studies have identified the recurrence of diagnoses of educational crisis in recent decades and have shown that this is not a novelty, tracing precedents in the first half of the 20th century (Sánchez & Oroño, 2019; Romano, 2015). In their work on educational reforms, Gvirtz, Gonçalves Vidal and Biccás suggested the need to dismantle the representation of reforms as automatic processes and to pay attention to the work of the different subjects concerned with their production (2011). It can also be stated that educational crises are not simply diagnoses of objective conditions but involve processes of representation that build these crises.

The paper is based on the analysis of several episodes throughout the 20th and 21st centuries in Uruguay, which involve both educational actors and other social actors (ecclesiastical authorities, intellectuals, political parties, and other opinion makers) who interpreted what they experienced as an “educational crisis”. The paper presents preliminary results of a broader research that studies the uses of the notion of crisis in the context of claims and initiatives for change in education.

Beyond the succession of crisis claims and calls for change, the paper addresses the historical variations in the ways discourses of educational crisis are produced. We inquire about change, about the meaning of what is enunciated as a crisis in education at different times (even in those cases where the term is not explicitly used), and about how this relates to the social expectations set on education. We also explore how, within each of the selected episodes, there are disputes over the meaning of the existing crisis. We pay special attention to the subjects who resorted to the notion of educational crisis, to the knowledge on which these discourses were based and to the means, by which they circulated. As Popkewitz (1997) called for the study of change in the historical meanings of the term reform, restoring its “condition of historical category”, a perspective that recovers the historicity of the discursive production related to the educational crisis could contribute to a history of change in education.

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Keywords: crisis, Uruguay, reform



The Reform in the French Historiography of Education a Paradigm and its Limits

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"Reform remains the ordinary means of promoting change, which does not mean that it necessarily succeeds" (Prost, 2014). A central figure in the history and historiography of French education, Antoine Prost delivers in these lines a key to the interest of French historians in educational reform. Reforms are not seen as the sole lever of change, but as the sole lever likely to be efficiently activated by an actor or a group of actors.

The interest in educational reform is not the prerogative of any historiography. However, the way in which this theme is invested may vary considerably according to national contexts, in relation to the degree of centralization of the educational system and to the evolution of the academic field. While the importance of this theme in French production has been highlighted in a recent historiographical review (Enfert d' & Rogers, 2020), the origin, specificity and effects of this paradigm have never been precisely analysed. This presentation therefore focuses on how French historians have addressed the issue of educational reform.

To this end, it combines several approaches. First of all, based on a bibliometric and lexicometric study of books and articles published between 1960 and 2022, it will sketch a typology of historical works dealing with this issue (which reforms? which research questions? which authors? which temporality for these works?) Secondly, it will then analyse the links (filiations, citations, cross-references) that connect these historical works on educational reform, on the one hand, to educational reform as it is understood by other disciplines (educational sciences, political science), and on the other hand, to other types of reforms that have also attracted the attention of the social sciences in this same period (social reform and state reform) (Round Table. SHMC, 2009). Finally, it will resituate the production of historians in the context of contemporary educational reforms, by examining the places of passage between historical research and decision-making (local and central). The journal *Administration et éducation* will be particularly exploited in this perspective (Prost, 2014; Dizambourg et al., 2022).

By way of conclusion, the presentation will sketch a summary exploration of British (*History of Education*) and American (*History of Education Quarterly*) journals in order to reveal, by comparison, the specificities of French literature. In particular, we will describe the attachment to the figure of the reforming state as a potential lever of pedagogical changes, and question the contrast between this paradigm and the skepticism professed, among others, by the American Larry Cuban as early as 1995, and again in 2013 (Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Cuban, 2013).

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Keywords: French historiography, public policy, academic journals, bibliometrics



Requiem for a Failed Reform: Affirmative Action in Revised Historical Context

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By the middle 1990s, the idea that policies designed to ameliorate racism are themselves racist enjoyed widespread acceptance in the United States. The idea of *reverse racism* animated the 1996, popular referendum that saw affirmative action banned in California. That voters in the nation's most liberal and populous state passed California Proposition 209, the language of which equated affirmative action with anti-White racial discrimination, suggests that the idea of reverse racism enjoyed widespread acceptance. Around the same time, best-sellers like Shelby Steele's *The Content of Our Character* and Thernstrom's *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible* championed, as received truth, the idea that affirmative action policies constituted discrimination against White Americans (Steele, 1990; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997).

But this "truth," so readily accepted by the middle 1990s, was all but unheard of among northern White liberals in the middle 1960s. Within these contexts, "racism"—a term that had gained currency just two decades prior—denoted personal and social antagonism (and their structural legacies) played out within a racial hierarchy fixed by lasting historical power relations. The idea of reverse racism, on the other hand, implied that such social relations no longer mattered; White Americans were as vulnerable to racist depredation as were those pummeled by Whites' own racist cudgel.

In this presentation, I use historical analysis to challenge the claim that reverse racism is the natural and inevitable consequence of race-based reforms that redistribute higher education resources in the United States. I do so in two ways: first, building on the important work of historian Linda Perkins, I unearth an earlier "affirmative action" origin story, one that begins in 1947 with the birth of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), a non-profit corporation founded by a young Felice Schwartz that recruited "talented" Black young men and brokered their admission to elite, United States colleges (Perkins, 2014). In this revised, post-war origin story, claims of reverse racism are almost entirely absent. This historical silence on the issue of reverse racism undermines claims of reverse racism's inevitability. It also reveals a historical change in meritocratic values that informed race-based, redistributive reforms in higher education admissions.

Pragmatist-inflected, meritocratic norms of the immediate post-war period and subsequent two decades garnered grassroots, institutional, and popular support through the 1960s. This revised affirmative action story contradicts the dominant scholarly narrative that race-based preferences were an unpopular, but ironically durable reform strategy promulgated primarily by the State (Skrentney, 1998; Executive Order 11246, 1965). That said, by the late 1970s, the post-war understanding of meritocratic norms that accounted for social impediment and benefit had given way to an idealized yet reductive understanding of merit was a precisely measurable (through standardized test scores and high school grades), objectively rendered object wholly governed by achievements – or lack thereof – of the individual. This historical change, which remains unacknowledged by affirmative action advocates and opponents alike, begs historical examination. Without such examination, we cannot truly understand the reform that so many propose to end.



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Keywords: reform, race, integration, higher education



The Second Spanish Republic's Educational Reformist Policy Reflected in Children's Drawings of the Civil War (1936–1939)

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With the help of numerous drawings of children preserved from the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), an attempt will be made to reconstruct their experiences with the new educational reformist policy of the Second Spanish Republic, especially in wartime. Special attention will be paid to those latent contents of the drawings that may be in contradiction with the official representation of this educational policy or, at least, do not fully correspond to it. The interpretation of images, such as children's drawings, has become a generally accepted method in educational history research after long decades of neglect.

The study begins with a brief overview of the context in which the annotated children's drawings were created. Next, data on the evacuation of children from the regions at war to school colonies by the republican government are provided. This is followed by information on the collections and institutions that currently hold this historical material and make it available to researchers. This part also discusses the current importance of children's drawings in Spanish and international Civil War memory culture. A brief overview of the specific characteristics of the educational policies of the Second Spanish Republic precedes the interpretation of the selected children's drawings according to hermeneutically constructed categories, the intention of which is mainly to reconstruct the children's experiences, as manifested in the drawings, of the educational policies to which they were subjected. This topic is presented as particularly interesting from a history of education perspective. The findings then address, among other things, the question of the extent to which educational policy intentions are reflected in these experiences and where discrepancies can be identified.

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Keywords: Second Spanish Republic, Spanish Civil War, children's drawings, educational reformist policy



Universities and War: The Second World War and the Re-shaping of Higher Education by National Priorities

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The GI Bill is widely considered the major American social welfare reform of the twentieth century and access to education opportunities was one of the key platforms in this signature policy initiative (Frydl, 2009). Other combatant countries also saw education reform as critical to ensuring a thriving economy and society in the aftermath of this global conflict. This paper, drawing on extensive government archive files, examines the major reforms in Australian higher education as a consequence of Australia's entry into the Second World War. For the first time the National Government entered into higher education policy to reshape universities to meet both manpower and research needs as part of the wider war effort. As the war progressed the Government shifted its policy focus to how universities might play a crucial role in re-shaping post-war Australia. This necessitated further major reforms focused on greatly expanding universities and colleges to facilitate the education of significant numbers of returned service personnel and equip new generations for a rapidly changing industrial economy. The Labor Government of the war and immediate post-war years was intent on using education as a key tool to avoid the twin threats of another major economic recession and the potential tragedy of disaffected and disillusioned veterans that had been so evident after the Great War (Macintyre, 2015). Universities became a key plank in the Government's post-war reconstruction reforms of the 1940s.

Australia's Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, bears comparison to similar schemes such as the GI Bill in the USA and reforms in higher education in the British Dominions, such as New Zealand, Canada and South Africa (Watters, 1992; Neary & Granatstein, 1998). This comprehensive educational reform initiative involved key areas such as admission pathways, income support for students, major investment in education and research infrastructure, the expansion of research training and substantial increases in research funding. While some university authorities feared the loss of autonomy from too much government regulation, the lure of significant funding overcame this residual opposition. The war-time emergency context, however, did represent a major moment of transition in Australian higher education (Tannock, 1975). Universities were no longer just relatively autonomous 'ivory towers' supported by State government grants, fees and philanthropy but increasingly government funded instruments in national social and economic policy. National government policy and regulation became key features of the post-war higher education system.

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Keywords: reform, reconstruction, war, national priorities



Between Universalism and Jewishness. Henryk Goldszmit's/Janusz Korczak's Pedagogy and the Reality of the Orphans' Home.

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Janusz Korczak has a place among the greatest humanists of the 20th century. His pedagogy and philosophy of education are often presented as an example of universal thinking about education and humanity (E.g. Efrat Efron, 2008; Silverman, 2017).

Nevertheless, most of his crucial educational experiences were rooted in the Jewish environment, especially the Orphans' Home at Krochmalna 92 in Warsaw. In one of his most important books about it, he did not mention there any word about the Jewish character of that institution (Korczak, 2018). It means that not only the approach and pedagogy of Korczak were universal but he universalized also his very Jewish experiences making them invisible in many of his works.

The main objective of my paper is to answer the question: to what extent universalism of Korczak's pedagogy arose from the particular, Jewish circumstances he experienced in the Orphans' Home?

Seeking the response demands the demonstration of enormous tension between Korczak's approach, stories and pedagogy presented in his works and the image of the day-to-day reality of the Orphans' Home.

I will present the results of the archival research I do for my PhD thesis. I use a collection of saved archival sources created in the Orphans' Home, primarily in the Polish language; almost unknown in the Korczakian literature, especially in English (See Dror, 1998). Among them are notes of so-called Bursaries in the Orphans' Home, on whom I focus in my PhD thesis. Bursaries were a group of young adults who lived temporarily in the Orphans' Home for free but had to work there in exchange. One of their duties was to conduct a kind of diary. Some of them remind transcripts of dialogues because they consist also of Stefania Wilczyńska's comments (E.g. Sternkac, 1933–1934).

For authors of these sources, Jewishness was a taken-for-granted reality. To be more precise they had to handle many proposals of Jewishness in the Orphans' Home along with the Polish language, Polish school and a mix of acculturation and Zionism, represented by Korczak and Wilczyńska.

Many dilemmas, characteristic of Jews in Poland before WWII, are visible in the sources from the Orphans' Home. These dilemmas affected Korczak and many people around him, including children and Bursaries. Making them invisible, especially in his educational works, Korczak hide an important element of his experience which shaped also his universal vision. He wrote he tried to 'synthesize' a child (Korczak 2018, p. 152). But it is very important to see among the inspirations of Korczak's 'universal child' the Jewish children from the Orphans' Home.

Methodologically, I am embedded in interpretative paradigm and microhistory which are focused on the agency of the so-called 'ordinary people' in present and past, their interpretations of reality and their attempts at creating their lives (E.g. Schwartz-Shea, Yanow, 2013; Magnússon, Szijártó 2013). Hence, the crucial sources are for me 'ego-documents' (E.g. Clifford, 1978). I use also other types of sources but most of them perished in Shoah.



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Keywords: Janusz Korczak, Orphans' Home, pedagogy, universalism, jewishness



Higher Education and Post-war Repair: The idea of 'reconstruction', 1943 to 1957

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My paper explores the idea of higher education as a form of postwar educational reform intended to achieve social, cultural and economic repair. It examines the place of higher education in post-World War II rebuilding and renewal as national or, occasionally, transnational projects based on progressive thinking. The paper will focus on analysing the thinking in the 1940s and 1950s which eventually led to the establishment of the European University Institute (1972) as a postwar peace project to unite Europe, drawing on liberal internationalist visions (Sluga, 2013); but I do so in the light of national higher education reform projects, such as in Australia, which drew on social-democratic ideals.

The postwar period is a key moment when universities were created or repurposed as institutional instruments to reshape the future (Horne & Sherington, 2013). With the not-too-distant memory of social disruption and decay in the decades that followed the end of World War One, much of this reshaping included nations deploying universities to retrain returned servicemen and women as engaged citizens with expertise and a preparedness to contribute to the 'national good', as well as the consolidation of research as a form of national repair (Darian-Smith, 2013; Forsyth, 2014; Goodman, 2022).

Specifically, I will draw on two examples of how education-led repair and reconstruction programs were designed to develop and sustain socio-economic futures in the postwar period. While most of these programs were devised by nation-states, such as Australia, to support national reconstruction (Macintyre, 2015), the origins of the European University Institute provide an alternate example of how transnational ideas of postwar repair – such as the 'idea of Europe' – were underpinned by new educational strategies and ideals.

The early discussions which eventually led to the establishment of the EUI provide another dimension in which higher education was deployed to consolidate the European idea as a way to repair and revive western European nations through unity. The paper examines the deployment of higher education for the goal of a united Europe, the ideas that were disseminated and the debates around national institutions as a way to support European unity and build *un esprit européen*.

The idea of 'repair' as a universal project in times of war comes from Yuliya Komska who wrote about the mourning she felt at the bombing and destruction of her father's stained glass creations in Lviv, Ukraine in 2022, yet also the hope that 'repair' offered. Here, I use the idea of 'repair' as a way to understand postwar reconstruction, not so much as 'fixer' of the destroyed or broken, but as a form of renewal; higher education, in other words, was deployed as a way for men and women not only to re-enter social circulation, but also attribute new or different forms of meaning and significance to the future.

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Keywords: postwar reconstruction, war, higher education, European University Instit



Traditions, Tensions and Transitions in Educational Historiography: Bruno Latour and the History of Education

Chair: Inés Dussel

Cinvestav, Mexico

Discussant: Geert Thyssen

Western Norway University of Applied Science, Norway

The next ISCHE conference will be dedicated to the history of pedagogical reforms, the “traditions” these reforms challenge and “tensions” that accompany change in educational systems. However, neither history of education nor history in general is a distanced observer of change in the past. On the contrary, modern history is characterised precisely by its knowledge of “historical perspectivity” (Koselleck, 1977/2020, p. 189), so that “traditions, tensions and transitions” can be observed not only in history but also in historiography itself (Cf. for the 20th century e.g. Iggers, 2005; Schneider & Woolf, 2011; Raphael, 2010). The panel is therefore dedicated to the question of “traditions”, “tensions”, and “transitions” in the historiography of education and deals with a philosopher who has so far hardly been received by historical (educational) research (Cf. Füssel & Neu, 2021): Bruno Latour. Latour is known (and feared) for challenging epistemological assumptions underlying “traditional” scientific approaches in general but also historical research and the history of education in particular. We, therefore, ask if a historiography that refers to Latour can form a reasonable basis for analysing educational and pedagogical constellations of the past. How would such a historiography be situated in relation to certain traditions in the historiography of education, such as critique and contextualisation? Does it stand in tension to other assumptions and does it mean a transition from and departure of, for instance, anthropocentric thinking in the historiography of education? The panel explores these questions in four papers.

Patrick Bühler and Daniel Deplazes take Latour’s early work in the history of science as a starting point to understand why Latour has so far got little scholarly attention in the history of education and to make an attempt at a symmetrical historical anthropology by following outings of the Swiss Wandervögel in the Twenties. In a second paper, Anne Rohstock outlines the importance of contextualisation, constructivism and critique in the history of educational historiography and describes the historiographical consequences of Latour attempts to recast these three basic concepts. She claims that by taking up Latour’s reuse of these concepts it is not only possible to diversify actors in the historiography of education but also to analyse education as a timely and spatially distributed practice of the past not limited to formal educational institutions. Hans Schildermans takes up the concept of emancipation which is central to Latour’s analysis of modernity and outlines the relation between this newly framed concept and more “traditional” notions of emancipation in the philosophy of education and pedagogical historiography closely connected to modern ideas of progress and freedom (See Masschelein, 2004; Tröhler, 2020). Jasmin Bentele uses Actor-Network-Theory to ask if and how educational historiography may profit from employing a more materialist, diverse and distributed concept of thinking which challenges the importance of individual, cognitivist thinking and only-human actors in the history of educational ideas.

Thus, all four papers take up epistemological, history of knowledge and philosophy of science questions brought up by Bruno Latour (and colleagues) and ask about empirical consequences



and the practical relevance of the historiography of education. We claim that Bruno Latour's epistemological considerations are important for a historiography of education which is concerned with and cares for narrating more diverse histories of education.

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Keywords: historiography; Bruno Latour; anthropology; material culture



**“My friends, the skis”. Historical Actor-Networks: The Adventures of the Swiss
Wandervogel in 1921**

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Although pedagogy is not an experimental science and the dream of having pedagogical laboratories was already over in Europe by the end of World War I. (Cf. Depaepe, 1993; Hopf, 2004), Bruno Latour’s idea of how science and technology studies should be conducted can seemingly be transferred effortlessly to pedagogy. Following Latour’s model, it would be easy to examine controversies that were not sparked by the discovery of bacteria, peptides, or the construction of a particular computer, but were triggered by the measurement of intelligence, the diagnosis of learning disabilities, or the meaning of school grades. Only what would happen if one turned too far vaguer and less hard facts (Cf. Latour, 1987, pp. 205–210) such as education, childhood, or reform pedagogy? And what happened when one was interested in the past? To help answer these questions, the paper first outlines the mutual disdain between Actor-Network-Theory and history. Of course, there are very convincing reasons not to put Latour and historiography together. For one thing, Latour himself celebrated a more or less serious coming-out as a “philosopher with a system” (Latour 2010, p. 607; Cf. Gertenbach & Laux, 2019), and for another, Latour had ceaselessly and unmistakably labelled his own approach as anthropological. In a second step, the paper will therefore make an attempt at symmetrical historical anthropology and follow the outings of the Swiss Wandervögel in 1921. It turns out that in the case of “poetic” actor networks like the Wandervögel, it could be helpful to apply Latour’s approach symmetrically to things and to study style and aesthetics, as well (Cf. Parmentier, 1984).

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Keywords: historiography, Bruno Latour; anthropology, material culture



Building, Doing Context and Post-Critique - The epistemological Challenges Bruno Latour and ANT offer for the Historiography of Education

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The work of Bruno Latour and Actor-Network-Theory are a provocation for the historiography of education. ANT and Bruno Latour oppose deeply inscribed assumptions of historical education research, namely constructivist perspectives, contextualisation, and critique. The question ‘What is wrong with constructivism?’ Bruno Latour answers with “Everything” (Latour, 2003, p. 2); he compares the “critical minds” of cultural and social historians to religious fundamentalists (Latour, 2003, p. 2); and it is the sacred cow of historical education research, contextualisation, that Bruno Latour calls the Big Bad Wolf (Latour, 2005, p. 173). However, Bruno Latour is not concerned with criticising, deconstructing, and rejecting constructivism, contextualisation and critique. Rather, he is driven by the concern that the instruments of (historical education) research no longer fit the ambivalent and complex developments of our presents. Seen from this perspective, his ambitious recasting of constructivism, context, and critique can also be read as an attempt to save these concepts at stake. The epistemological shifts involved, I argue, while possibly disturbing for historical educational research, also offer the possibility of getting at and productively challenging deep-seated convictions of educational historiography itself. As a first step, I will discuss the recasting that Bruno Latour proposes in terms of constructivism, contextualisation, and critique. In doing so, I suggest reading Bruno Latour as a network theorist who is himself eminently networked and thinks with others. In this way, the perspectives of Isabelle Stengers, Donna Haraway, and Vinciane Despret also repeatedly come into view. In the second step, I try to show what this means for historical education research. Here, on the one hand, it will become clear that with Bruno Latour’s new version of constructivism, history and historiography can be condensed, enriched, and thus re-visited. Second, I suggest that ANT and Bruno Latour open up the possibility of re-reading contextualisation in terms of ‘doing context’ – thus also putting common notions of time and space in historical education research to the test (Felski, 2015). And third, following discussions initiated some time ago in the Philosophy of education, I would like to suggest that the critical perspective of historical education research should be extended to include a postcritical one (Hodgson, Vlieghe & Zamojski, 2018; Schildermans, 2020; Wortmann, 2019; Editorial Team, 2020). I understand post-critique as an attitude and position that does not debunk and uncover but rather cultivates responsibility (Haraway), thus also taking responsibility for what stories we tell ourselves.

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Keywords: historiography, Bruno Latour, anthropology, material culture



Bruno Latour and the Education of the Moderns. Modes of Existence, Dreams of Progress, and the Idea of Emancipation

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In a brief article, published shortly after the passing of Bruno Latour, Didier Debaise (2022) takes stock of the French sociologist and philosopher's contribution to our understanding of modernity. In his major work, *Enquete sur les modes d'existence*, Latour (2012) defines the Moderns as a "people of the Idea" (p. 33). Debaise argues that Latour's philosophical project can best be conceived as a pharmacological inquiry into the pragmatic value of our ideas, which, in spite of their innocent appearance, have all too often functioned as disqualifiers of what was put away as 'belief', domesticators of all kinds of (scientific) knowledge, and colonizers of other ways of inhabiting the Earth. Latour's inquiry into the efficacy of ideas takes place within a more general framework of questioning modernity as the progressive emancipation of human beings from natural constraints. Although Latour rarely refers to discussions in educational theory, it is remarkable that the notion of emancipation – an educational concept par excellence – takes such a prominent position in his problematisation of modernity.

Against this background, the aim of this presentation is double. First, and inspired by Latour's definition of the Moderns as a 'people of the Idea,' it stages a conversation between Latour's work on modes of existence and approaches within the history of ideas. Latour is often read as a philosopher of objects, materialities and technologies. This presentation, in contrast, will focus on how intellectual history can treat ideas through a Latourian lens. It is interesting in this regard that in the aforementioned project of the modes of existence, Latour (2012) extensively engages with the work of philosophers of language and speech act theory that has had a decisive influence on Skinner's contextualist understanding of the history of ideas (Skinner, 2002). In opposition to all too mentalist or culturalist conceptions of the nature of ideas, this first, more methodological part will elaborate a concept of ideas that does justice to their pragmatic intents and practical effects.

The second part of the presentation exemplifies and develops these methodological considerations by bringing them to bear on the idea of emancipation and the role it has played historically both in the rhetorical construction of modernity and the meaning that education can or should have in a modern project of progress (Tröhler, 2020). More in particular, the focus will be on the notion of emancipation within the discourse of the German 'kritische Pädagogik/Erziehungswissenschaft' (Mollenhauer, 1968). Particularities of this discourse of emancipation will be elaborated via a contrast with the use of the notion of emancipation within Freirean critical pedagogy (Freire, 1968/1996). Developing these contrasts in a historical-comparative manner allows for analysing the particularities of each specific discourse while shedding light on contrastive modes of existence, each with their own educational vocabulary. My hypothesis is that there is no educational mode of existence sui generis, but that the modern-progressive educational vocabulary should be understood, at least as long as it is articulated within the "Modern Constitution" (Latour, 1993, p. 13), as a byproduct of the politico-moral imagination.



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Keywords: historiography, Bruno Latour, anthropology, material culture



Challenging Storytelling in educational Historiography: Collecting Histories of Knowledge-Making in educational Science with Actor-Network-Theory

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Student contribution

Probably the most important tradition that I as a historical educational researcher was introduced to when I started working in the field is the following: historical educational research, in contrast to the History of Pedagogy, uses context when it comes to telling stories about the past (for the differentiation between the History of Education and the History of Pedagogy see for example Oelkers (1999) or Tenorth (2002)). Without contextualisation, the interpretation of source material would deliver a narrow and one-dimensional account of past events. My job as a researcher was to render visible this context which influenced the production of historical educational knowledge. Thus, writing a history of education in line with Lyotard's idea of the 'end of grand narratives' (Cf. Landwehr & Stockhorst, 2008, 74f.) and critically deconstructing naturalised disciplinary narratives was what I was aiming at (See for example Martschukat, 2012). Studying Bruno Latour has challenged my convictions concerning disciplinary historiographic practices, and presented a new take on issues I came across during my research. My thesis is that Actor-Network-Theory allows me to write history not in a linear manner, but – inspired by Ursula LeGuin's Carrier Bag Theory (Cf. Le Guin, 1986) – to collect and present various strands of history without aiming at a story that has a clear beginning and ending (Cf. for example Grabau & Janssen, 2021).

My paper is based on my dissertation project. It focuses on how practices of thinking and knowledge-making work within scientific networks in educational science where the knowledge defining the disciplinary identity originates. It also discusses how historiography could bring the stories of these practices of knowledge production into writing. Following a praxeological approach, I assume that thinking is a social and material practice within a possibly transhistoric network. This network can be made visible. Based on ANT, which I'm reading from a feminist viewpoint influenced by Donna Haraway, I consider not only humans as agents participating in the processes of transformation but all kinds of technology, source material or other nonhuman members. I argue that this perspective on the participants involved in knowledge-making processes offers me the possibility to examine selected networks in German educational science connected to 'big' ideas or thinkers defined as 'important' by the discipline. My goal is not to create a chronological timeline of the processes involved in the creation of educational knowledge, nor to write stories which either complete or 'destroy' an existing narrative. Approaching networks in educational science from this point of view can open up the possibility of a polyphone historiography of educational science, and change the way we write about the 'making' of educational knowledge. Another shift Latour's ideas allow concerns the perspective researchers take on when talking about past events. I argue that with ANT, I as a researcher am no longer a distant observer from the future writing about the past. Instead, I am one node actively participating in the continuing knowledge-production network, and I am therefore able to write with it.

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Keywords: historiography, Bruno Latour, anthropology, material culture



Residential Education in Transformation. (Educational) Spaces of Residential Child and Youth Care as a Mirror of Social Problematizations (1970–1990)

Chair: Daniela Hörler

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Residential childcare as an institutionalised form of child and youth welfare has been the subject of lively social and political debates since the Enlightenment and, to a greater extent, since the late 19th century. Throughout history, changes in society at large were followed by problematisations for certain parts of the population, in particular for underprivileged children and adolescents. These problematizations have regularly led to demands for new or partially adapted educational institutions and methods. Therefore, this panel asks about inhibiting or promoting factors regarding institutional, methodological, and personal transformations and reforms of historical (educational) spaces and the institutional actors interacting within these processes.

Both physical and nonphysical spaces are of essential importance in the context of education. Thus, educational questions, concepts, and methodological considerations have always been closely linked to questions about spatial arrangements or settings (Cf., for example, Groppe, 2013). According to spatial theoretical approaches, spaces, practices, discourses, and actors are in a relational, reciprocal relationship and they are mutually dependent and influence each other (Lefebvre, 1991; Löw, 2001; Belina, 2013). Through the analysis of space social orders, power structures, and changes can thus be revealed (Cf. Lefebvre, 1991; Schmid, 2005). Consequently, we understand space as a cypher for the tension between change and persistence of concepts and methods of child and youth welfare. Furthermore, residential childcare mirrors in an exemplary way the normative societal conceptions of sanctioning and treatment methods considered appropriate. Hence, the institutional architecture can be seen as their materialisation. New buildings or reconstructions of educational institutions were often the subject of official and political disputes. These discussions point to the tense relationships between reform efforts and claims to control, respectively between support and punishment. Therefore, we ask the following questions, which will be discussed in the proposed panel: Which spatial arrangements were considered suitable for a specific educational model? Which institutional and legal guidelines were implemented? Which personnel requirements were derived from this? And who were the actors of transformation or of persistence?

In terms of time, the contributions will consider the aftermath of the 1960s, which were marked by sociopolitical awakening and economic upswing, followed by the epochal threshold of the 1968 movement and its critique of residential child and youth care, to subsequently focus on the transformations of the welfare-state in the neoliberal context of the 1970s and 1980s. As known, the '68 movement had a lasting impact on education with its anti-authoritarian counter-designs. Therefore, we are particularly interested in the question of changing spatial arrangements, concepts and practices within residential youth and childcare in relation to this turning point. Who were the agents of change, and who were the forces holding on to the traditions of control and punishment far beyond the time of the 1970s? All the contributors are part of the international research-project Negotiating Educational Spaces in Residential Childcare, located at the Universities in Innsbruck (Austria), Kassel (Germany) and at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland.

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Keywords: (educational) spaces, transformation, institutional actors, residential child and youth care



The Interdisciplinary Team of the State Welfare Association, Hesse: Interventions in Educational Spaces in Residential Child and Youth Care (1970–1973)

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This presentation explores the negotiation of educational spaces in public residential child and youth care in the beginning of the 1970s in the West German federal state of Hesse. An influential actor there was the State Welfare Association (Landeswohlfahrtsverband) as the responsible organization for non-denominational residential care institutions for minors. These institutions emerged as a prime target for criticism in 1969, during the so-called Heimkampagne in Hesse, a public campaign against residential child and youth care. As a consequence, the State Welfare Association initiated reforms in the criticised institutions as well as in its own administration.

Among these reforms was the installation of an interdisciplinary team in the administration of the Association in 1970. The members were an educational scholar, a social pedagogy specialist, a graduate psychologist, and a teacher as well as a lawyer. Up to 1973, they were assigned the tasks of advising the residential child and youth care institutions of the State Welfare Association as well as maintaining their professional supervision. Following their initiatives there were intensive and controversial processes of negotiation with educational staff.

The proposed presentation examines the interwoven processes of persistence and change with a focus on spatial dimensions. On the basis of archival holdings, as reports, conceptional papers or minutes of educational staff conferences, as well as expert interviews with former team members, it asks, how spatial practices, spatial concepts or the perception of spaces in residential child and youth care become visible within the negotiations between the new installed interdisciplinary team and the long-time educational staff.

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Keywords: (educational) spaces, transformation, institutional actors, residential child and youth care



Fundamental Rights and Residential Child and Youth Care – Spaces of Participation?

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Student Contribution

In 1972, the social ministry of the West German federal state of Hesse legislated the ministerial order Grundrechte und Heimerziehung [Fundamental Rights and Residential Child and Care]. Beginning in the 1960s and being pushed forward by a public campaign against residential child and youth care in 1969 (the so-called Heimkampagne), Hesse was one of the first federal states in West Germany to promote a different attitude towards children and teenagers in residential child and youth care. It constructed children and teenagers as responsible [mündig] and independent individuals with the right to freedom of opinion and personal development. With a yearly seminar following the ministerial order for both, the staff and the affected children and teenagers, the Landesjugendamt [State Youth Welfare Office] actively engaged in transforming the practice of residential child and youth care in Hesse. Hence, Hesse participated in a more basic debate on fundamental rights for children, which was taking place in Germany especially in the 1970s and 1980s and consequently leading to the Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz [Children and Youth Welfare Law] in 1991.

The 1970s and 1980s are said to be a time of transition and reform in residential child and youth care in Germany. Nonetheless, the outlined process was accompanied by negotiations about this substantial new attitude between the staff working in residential child and youth care, the staff of the state youth welfare office and the Landeswohlfahrtsverband [State Welfare Association], and the children and teenagers themselves. The presentation follows these negotiations by examining the imagined or created social spaces and their implications for participation in residential child and youth care. Following socio-scientific space theory, it seeks to analyse if and how spaces of participation were constructed within these negotiations. The qualitative analysis is based on archival documents as well as expert interviews on residential child and youth care in the 1970s and 1980s.

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Keywords: (educational) spaces, transformation, institutional actors, residential child and youth care



Experimental Arrangements and Educational Experiments in the Reformatory. Concepts and Spaces of Youth Education in Zurich in Transition (1970–1990)

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The city of Zurich, the largest city in Switzerland, was home to nearly two dozen institutions for children and young people of all ages. The facilities formed an extremely dynamic field. In the period from 1970 to 1990, i.e. in the aftermath of the 1968 movement and the fundamental criticism of residential child and youth care (Heimkampagne), a large number of institutional concept changes and innovations took place: Institutions closed their doors and reopened them years later with new functions; the number of available places was reduced almost across the board, which in many cases was also justified by more personnel-intensive care. At the same time, the traditional values and practices continued to dominate the residential care system. Some facilities showed astonishing stability with minor adjustments. This tension between persistence and change can be vividly illustrated by the Pestalozzi Youth Center Burghof, a large organization (50 to 100 places) by Swiss standards, on the outskirts of the city of Zurich. The facility for male adolescents offered a medium- to long-term stay. Training workshops were on the grounds, where various vocational apprenticeships were offered. During the period under study, the facility underwent several adaptations and conceptual changes: For example, a school and therapy ward was opened in 1970 and closed again twelve years later. In addition, various restructuring measures took place. In 1987, the facility was temporarily closed, only to be reopened with a new care model in cooperation with the psychiatric clinic.

The proposed presentation examines change on two levels: First, within the city administration, which acted as the operator of institutions of residential childcare and was shaped by an official planning logic, and second, on the institutional level with a specific view on the Burghof. The paper asks about change within official and institutional dynamics. It asks about interactions, constellations of actors, and the contemporary historical context. Particular attention is paid to the establishment of an observation station in the Burghof and the discussion about a closed ward. The latter triggered a controversy not only in the Burghof but also at the level of the city administration. These examples of new concepts show how they were linked to structural changes and that the geographical location played an important role. Instead of the abolition of reformatories demanded by the generation of 68, a new or renewed version of them was enforced by means of spatial and conceptual modifications.

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Keywords: (educational) spaces, transformation, institutional actors, residential child and youth care



Researching Simultaneous Non-Simultaneity in the History of Residential Child and Youth Care During 1970-1990: Historical Sources and Methodological Considerations

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Similar to other nation states, the decades between 1970 and 1990 can be seen as a transition period for child and youth welfare in Austria. In the aftermath of 1968, traditional residential care education came under criticism from various sides everywhere, and this was also true of the welfare landscape studied in Tyrol and Vorarlberg in western Austria. However, this criticism hardly led to rapid and fundamental institutional change. Rather, the changes took place at varying speeds and degrees and predominantly in the form of adaptations within the existing structures.

In this paper, one of these structurally immanent reforms will be analysed by means of an example: the restructuring of state-run residential care homes for teenage girls and boys. Its starting point was a reform-oriented social policy at the state level. At the beginning of the 1970s, an instrument typical of the time was used: policymaking informed by external scientific expertise. In accordance with the principle of scientifically based political decisions, it assigned a research contract to the Institute for Psychology at the University of Salzburg. Subsequently, the so-called “Salzburger Model” was developed for the reorganisation of the state’s public residential care institutions. It later became a reference for reform movements elsewhere in Austria. The model establishes reinforcement and reward learning as the theory of change, the group as the organisational form of change, and educator training as the pedagogy of change. On the one hand, the paper wants to provide insight into the relevant source genres (archival documents and interviews with contemporary witnesses) that are suitable for analysing transition processes within the field of child and youth welfare, on the other hand, it wants to present insights into a discourse-analytical interpretation of one key document informed by spatial theory. Finally, the presentation aims to discuss methodological questions regarding the analysis of simultaneous non-simultaneity in the reform processes of residential care.

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Keywords: (educational) spaces, transformation, institutional actors, residential child and youth care



Supervision of School Reforms and the Reform of School Inspectorates – The Relation Between Supervision Structures and School Reforms

Part 2

Chair: Marcelo Caruso

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Discussant: Johannes Westberg

University of Groningen, Holland

The time after 1900 is known as the heyday of New Education, a reforming educational program (Röhrs, 1998, p. 11; Seyfarth-Stubenrauch & Skiera, 1996; Tenorth & Kallert, 2022). Yet this time was not only remarkable due to the circulation of new ideas about education, schools, and teaching. It was also the time, in which reform discourses reached a position of power and influence in the established school systems of that time. School administrators such as Georg Kerschensteiner in Munich, Anna Siemsen in Hamburg, Anton Sickinger in Mannheim, and Otto Glöckel in Vienna are examples from the German-speaking countries. Yet this was a major trend in the first decades of the 20th century, well beyond Europe or the United States.

The ascendance of new and reformist educators to positions of power suggests looking more attentively to one part of educational administration that not only may have been heavily involved in educational reforms, but whose very existence may be seen as a reform itself: School inspection. The symposium of three panels intends to discuss the relationship between schools and school inspectorates from the perspective of reforms. This includes both the role of inspection in reforming schools and the reforming of inspection itself as a way of reforming schools. The links between the incorporation of reform projects into administrative ways of institutionalisation and the establishment and change of school supervision as reforms themselves are in focus. Following these links, the symposium intends to shed new light on two major problems for educational historiography. First, school inspectorates may be seen not only as a controlling, but also as a reformist institution, giving the historical study of educational administration a more flexible turn. Second, school reforms may be seen beyond their innovative moment focused on the new ideas, but also from their more institutionalised side, stressing the slow and patient institutionalisation of the new.

The papers position educational administration and its bureaucracy, being school inspectorates a centrepiece, not only as obstructing actors, but also as enabling ones. Beyond viewing school administration and school inspection as monolithic entities repeating the same kind of controlling operations, newer scholarship looks into the inner workings of school inspectorates (Kasper et al. 2022; Geiss & De Vincenti, 2014; Geiss, 2012). In this sense, the panels and papers of this symposium address the following questions: Did school inspectors initiate reforms, prepare them, or recruit specific personal to enact them? What kind of knowledge did reformist actors gather, produce, and deal with when facing administrators and inspectors? Which reforms were developed from within the school administration and how were reform projects promoted? What routines and activities and what forms of knowledge elicitation were activated in school administration in contexts of reform?

These broader questions were discussed in cases studies from different contexts, mostly focused on Europe, but also including a case of European colonial educational policy: India. The case studies cover the critical time of the formation of mass educational systems from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. Beyond simple chronology or geography, panels follow three



main perspectives of dealing with the links between school reforms and the reform of school inspection: bureaucratic, politic, and pedagogic. These main perspectives display both different motivations for reform as well as different logics of processing them. By doing this, we do not characterise the respective reforms as only bureaucratic, pedagogic, or political. All reforms combined the three aspects to different degrees. Through the contributions of the symposium, we aim at gaining a deeper understanding of the dynamics of school inspection well beyond the sole focus on “systemmaintenance function”.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Occupation of School Administration? The End of Ecclesial School Supervision as “Officium Perpetuum” in Silesia in the Early 19th Century

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Student Contribution

School inspection in the 18th century was organised by the churches and school visitations remained closely linked to church inspection. Until the end of the 19th century, however, churchmen as school inspectors had become the exception in most Western European countries (Caruso, 2022). In the meantime, as the state’s claim on the school increased, various reforms had taken place, resulting in the opening of the position of school inspector to secular personnel.

Within Prussia, however, there was initially also room for reform of the ecclesiastical oversight of the schools itself, as was done in the Bishopric of Wroclaw with the school regulations of 1801. School supervision, which had previously been carried out by archpriests together with church supervision, was detached from the office of the archpriest, thus defining the office of “District School Inspector” as a separate office that required specific instructions and qualified personnel. A churchman entrusted with this new office was to be “ein muntzer, thätiger, in der Pädagogik erfahrener Mann” [a vigorous, active man experienced in pedagogy] (v. Rönne, 1990, p. 158). Moreover, this office was explicitly not conferred as an officium perpetuum, but the prince-bishop reserved the right to replace those inspectors who did not fulfil their duties with qualified clergymen.

The separation of the duties of church and school inspector, formulated in the school regulations of 1801, has been documented by constitutional law experts (Simon, 1989; v. Rönne, 1990) as a Silesian speciality, but the qualifications of the “district school inspectors” have not been considered. This is surprising since the demand for professionally qualified school supervisors was increasing in the 19th century (Fooker, 1966). I will therefore ask whether the formulated requirements were actually reflected in the selection of the “District School Inspectors” by the prince-bishop of Wroclaw. I will examine references to qualifications of the appointed District School Inspectors in the records of the specially established Prince-Bishop’s Schools Commission and the Vicariate Office, with a focus on the early phase from 1800 to 1812.

After the dissolution of the Schools Commission as a result of secularisation in 1812, the district governments increasingly exerted their influence on the selection of District School Inspectors and their appointments (Kosler, 1984). However, the clerical personnel in school supervision remained. In the context of the theme of this conference, I will therefore also address the extent to which this reform of church school supervision has been occupied or adapted by the Prussian state school administration.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Teachers, Reformers, Civil Servants at the Same Time? Land School Inspectors and their Role in Austrian Education Administration 1869–1918

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At the end of 1860s, in the Austrian part of the Habsburg Monarchy, new school laws created a reformed school administration where each crown land was controlled and supervised by a Land School Board attached to the Governor's Office and subordinated to the Ministry of Education. In this milieu of legally trained officials, it was only the newly established position of Land School Inspectors that was occupied by candidates with actual pedagogical experience. The paper will argue that the inspectors were actually possible carriers of modern pedagogical thinking and vanguards of progressive school reform. Many of them were established scholars, authors of schoolbooks and directors of prestigious secondary schools with decades of experience as teachers in both grammar schools and teachers' institutes.

Based on archival research to selection process prior to the inspectors' appointment in Bohemia as one of the largest and most populous of Austrian Crown Lands (tentatively archive of Bohemian Land School Board and archive of Ministry of Cult and Education in Vienna will be used), the paper shall look into the criteria set by the state administration and to the candidates' motivation that led them choose a pedagogical post for a demanding administrative position. While archival resources shall be used for the analysis of the appointment process, literature and ego documents will be employed for the biographical information on inspectors and insight into their motives.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Control and Supervision of the Educational Inspection during the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain (1923–1930)

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The dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923–1930) was a seven-year authoritarian period in Spain in the first third of the 20th century. The coup d'état was forged against democratic and political legitimacy, preceded by a political system of weak parliamentary representation that dragged along a corrupt cacique system, provoking a situation of neglect in education. The Military Directory approved a series of educational reforms with the intention of exercising ideological control over the educational system. The aim was to eradicate illiteracy in Spain, improve the state of schools and supervise the role of the Inspection of Primary Education. In this paper, we consider to what extent the reforms approved during this dictatorial period influenced the professional redefinition of the Education Inspection.

Among the measures that approved, it is worth highlighting the Royal Order of 29th August 1924, which created government delegates responsible for regulating the intervention of the Education Inspection. These government officials (military) acted as representatives of the authority of the civil governor of the province, turning the inspectors into mere collaborators. On the other hand, another control measure, which was regulated in the aforementioned ministerial order, was the obligation of inspectors to draw up a report describing the situation of schools throughout the country. The interest in analysing these unpublished sources – the inspection reports – in this period constitutes very relevant historical-educational information. The study of the reports has allowed us to verify the interference suffered by the educational inspection, which was conditioned by a superior, militarised figure in charge of supervising its own activity. We are interested in studying the tensions that arose between the professional identity of the inspection and the government delegates, the possible interference of functions, the supplanting of competencies and responsibilities and the control and supervision of the political delegates over the Inspection. The inspection reports written in 1924 give us a glimpse of the eminently practical reality of education in Primo de Rivera's Spain. In this type of unpublished source, the inspectors recorded their impressions of the state of education at the time, as well as some of the possible solutions or proposals for improvement, and if there was some interference with the government delegates. All this contributed to a redefinition of the professional competencies of the Inspection of Primary Education.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



The Impacts of Hygienism in the Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos in Brazil 19th Century

Os impactos do higienismo no Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos no Brasil século XIX

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Brazil inaugurated the educational work with blind people in the 19th century, with the foundation of the Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos in Rio de Janeiro, through decree n.1428 of September 1854. The responsible for the initiative were José Alvarez de Azevedo and the doctor José Francisco Xavier Sigaud, who had a daughter with acquired blindness and who brought to the emperor his desire to found in Brazilian lands an institution similar to the Institution Impériale des Jeunes Aveugles de Paris, which results were remarkable (Araújo, 1992).

The Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos aimed to teach “primary instruction; moral and religious education; music teaching, some branches of secondary instruction, and officios fabris” (Brazil, 1854). In the Imperial period, the institute had three directors: José Francisco Xavier Sigaud (1854–1857); Claudio Luiz da Costa (1856–1868) and Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães (1869–1889) (Almanak Laemmert, 1854–1889). The first two directors were doctors and the third was a bachelor of law. In the Imperial period, bases were established for the education of blind people through the work developed in the institution initially mobilized by José Francisco Xavier Sigaud, who was quite influential at the time as a doctor of D. Pedro II, one of the founders of *Jornal do Commercio*, of the Society of Medicine of Rio de Janeiro (SMRJ) and one of the main formulators of hygienic ideas defended by this entity (Ferreira, 1999).

Thus, the objective of this study is to outline the impact of hygienism in the Imperial Institute of Blind Boys, in view of the management of two medical directors in the Imperial period and the circulation and appropriation of hygienic precepts by the Rio society. This is a qualitative research, of the documentary type (Gil, 2002), which time frame covers from 1854 to 1889. The corpus was constituted by primary sources: Reports of the directors of the Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos and Ministers and Secretaries of Business of the Empire. The study revealed that hygienism materialized in the institution in question through the organization of spaces and constant inspections, the systematic monitoring of the health status of blind students and attempts to mitigate tropical diseases based on the direct action of a medical professional.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O Brasil inaugurou o trabalho educacional com pessoas cegas no século XIX, com a fundação do Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos no Rio de Janeiro, por meio do decreto n.1428 de setembro de 1854. Os responsáveis pela iniciativa foram José Alvarez de Azevedo e o médico José Francisco Xavier Sigaud, que tinha uma filha com cegueira adquirida e que fez chegar ao imperador o seu desejo de fundar em terras brasileiras uma instituição semelhante ao *Institution Impériale des Jeunes Aveugles* de Paris, cujos resultados eram notáveis (Araújo, 1992). O Imperial Instituto de Meninos Cegos tinha como objetivo ministrar “a instrução primaria; a educação moral e religiosa; o ensino de musica, o de alguns ramos de instrução secundaria, e o de officios fabris” (Brasil, 1854). No período Imperial, o referido instituto teve três diretores: José Francisco Xavier Sigaud (1854–1857); Claudio Luiz da Costa (1856 a 1868) e Benjamim



Constant Botelho de Magalhães (1869–1889) (Almanak Laemmert, 1854–1889). Os dois primeiros diretores eram médicos e o terceiro era bacharel em direito. No período Imperial foram instituídas bases para a educação de pessoas cegas por meio do trabalho desenvolvido na instituição mobilizado inicialmente por José Francisco Xavier Sigaud, que era bastante influente, à época, como médico de D. Pedro II, um dos fundadores do *Jornal do Commercio*, da Sociedade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro (SMRJ) e um dos principais formuladores de ideias higienistas defendidas por esta entidade (Ferreira, 1999). Assim sendo, o objetivo deste estudo é delinear o impacto do higienismo no Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos, tendo em vista a gestão de dois diretores médicos no período Imperial e a circulação e apropriação de preceitos higienistas pela sociedade carioca. Trata-se de uma pesquisa de abordagem qualitativa, do tipo documental (Gil, 2002), cujo recorte temporal abrange de 1854 a 1889. O *corpus* foi constituído por fontes primárias: Relatórios dos diretores do Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos e de Ministros e Secretários dos Negócios do Império. O estudo revelou que o higienismo se materializou na instituição em questão por meio da organização dos espaços e constantes fiscalizações, do acompanhamento sistemático do estado de saúde dos alunos cegos e das tentativas de mitigar doenças tropicais com base na atuação direta de um profissional médico.

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Keywords: blind education, special education, Empire of Brazil



History of teacher training through the Pedagogy Course at Adventist Education University – São Paulo – Brazil

História da formação docente por meio do curso de Pedagogia da Faculdade Adventista de Educação – São Paulo – Brasil

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The history of teacher training in Brazil urges us to promote an attentive and careful investigation to understand aspects of the constitution of a very significant field for the history of education in the country. It runs through research on the circulation of pedagogical knowledge, school and pedagogical culture, public and private, confessional and secular education. Thus, studies of this nature can be representative of practices and models of teacher training that were being developed within specific institutions for teacher training. Therefore, with a focus on the history of education, the objective of this text is to make known aspects that are little known about an institution and its spaces destined to prepare future teachers, in an attempt to rescue something that was lost and forgotten, to capture the memories and stories that made certain subjects – actors in the process of building teaching professionalization, between 1973 and 2023. Students and teachers who, through the evidence left, the reports or records, made the history of teacher training happen.

With the aim of understanding aspects of teacher training in Brazil, from the perspective of cultural history and the history of educational institutions, this text seeks to focus on the contribution of the Adventist Education University, founded in 1973, belonging to the Adventist Teaching Institute – located in the state of São Paulo – Brazil, which creation took place in 1915. The trajectory of teacher training in this institution began through the Free Adventist Normal School in 1920, only in the 1970s did FAED become the first institution linked to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Brazil to promote teacher training at a higher level and it operated until 1999, when the institution became the Centro Universitário Adventista de São Paulo (UNASP) and FAED was renamed a pedagogy course.

This historiographical and documentary study was based on the assumptions of cultural and oral history through the analysis of sources and documents, with which we sought to highlight aspects of the history of teacher education in the Brazilian context. FAED has brought significant contributions to the training of teachers in the context of the Adventist ecclesiastical community, as well as outside it, and continues to contribute through the Pedagogy Course that subsists and continues to train teachers to the present day, with an important increase in the offer of vacancies in its three campuses and also in the Distance Learning Course.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A história da formação de professores no Brasil nos instiga a promover uma investigação atenta e criteriosa para compreender aspectos da constituição de um campo bastante significativo para a história da educação no país. Perpassa por pesquisas sobre circulação de saberes pedagógicos, cultura escolar e pedagógica, ensino público e privado, confessional e laico. Dessa forma, estudos dessa natureza podem ser representativos de práticas e modelos de formação docente que foram sendo desenvolvidos no interior das instituições específicas para formação dos professores. Portanto, com o olhar direcionado para a história da educação, o objetivo deste texto é dar a conhecer aspectos pouco conhecidos a respeito de



uma instituição e de seus espaços destinados ao preparo do futuro docente na tentativa de resgatar algo que ficou ali perdido e esquecido, para captar um pouco das memórias e das histórias que fizeram os determinados sujeitos – atores no processo de construção da profissionalização docente, entre 1973 e 2023. Alunos (as) e professores (as) que, por meio dos indícios deixados, dos relatos ou registros, fizeram a história da formação de professores acontecer. Com o objetivo de compreender aspectos da formação docente no Brasil, numa perspectiva da história cultural e história das instituições educacionais, este texto busca enfocar a contribuição da Faculdade Adventista de Educação (FAED), fundada em 1973, pertencente ao Instituto Adventista de Ensino (IAE) - localizado no estado de São Paulo - Brasil, cuja criação se deu em 1915 com a criação do Curso Teológico. A trajetória de formação docente nessa instituição se iniciou por meio da Escola Normal Adventista Livre em 1920, somente na década de 1970, a FAED se tornou a primeira instituição ligada à Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia do Brasil a promover a formação de professores em nível superior e funcionou até 1999, quando a instituição transformou-se em Centro Universitário Adventista de São Paulo (UNASP) e a FAED passou a ser denominada Curso de Pedagogia. Este estudo de caráter historiográfico e documental, fundamentou-se nos pressupostos de análise da história cultural e história oral por meio da análise de fontes e documentos, com os quais buscou-se evidenciar aspectos de uma história da formação de professores no contexto brasileiro. Concluiu-se ao final que após 50 anos de sua criação, a FAED trouxe contribuições significativas para a formação de professores no contexto da comunidade eclesial adventista, assim como fora dela, e continua contribuindo por meio do Curso de Pedagogia que subsiste e continua formando docentes até os dias atuais, com uma ampliação importante da oferta do número de vagas em seus três campi e também do Curso a distância.

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Keywords: história da educação, história da formação de professores, educação adventista, faculdade adventista de educação.



A History of the Pedagogy Course at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences, UNESP Marília-São Paulo-Brazil (2006–2011): Discussions and Reforms
Uma História do Curso de Pedagogia da Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências, UNESP de Marília-São Paulo-Brazil (2006–2011): Discussões e Reformas

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This paper presents the results of the integrated research project “A história da Didática nas instituições formadoras de professores no Brasil – 1827–2011” (Castro, 2012), conducted with the general aim of systematising, by means of “a new cultural distribution” (De Certeau, 1979), documentary material for a History Pedagogy course at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences – FFC, State University Paulista – UNESP/Marília-São Paulo-Brazil, from 2006 to 2011. According to De Certeau (1979), everything in history begins with the act of selecting and gathering. In this way, certain otherwise distributed objects are transformed into documents, with the elaboration of “a new cultural distribution”.

The investigations emerged from the following question: after 2006, with the new Curriculum Guidelines for the Pedagogy Course in Brazil (Brazil, 2006), what official knowledge and prescriptions guided the discussions and implementation of the reforms proposed for the Pedagogy course? This course began in 1959 with the aim of training technicians in education. From 1976 to 1980, the course was dedicated to teacher training at university level, for education and higher education (Silva, 1999). The investigations were guided by the hypothesis that seeking to answer the above mentioned questions and would contribute to the history of the development of this course, offering contributions to face the theoretical, methodological, political, social and cultural challenges of our Brazilian pedagogy courses, which historically remain open. Investigations into the history of educational institutions were based on Gatti Jr. (2002), who believes that this perspective makes it possible to analyse social singularities that are caused by hasty analyses. The first documents systematized in “a new cultural division”, indicated reforms and discussions on the direction of the Pedagogy course at UNESP in Marília-São Paulo-Brazil: the Resolution of the National Education Council, of 2006, on the first National Curriculum Guidelines, on the Extinction of qualifications and guidelines for the restructuring of the Pedagogical Project, prioritising, in line with Tezza’s (2018) statements, teaching performance for Early Childhood Education and Early Years of Elementary School. Also in 2006, documents from the XI Jornada Pedagógica were systematised, organised by coordinators of Pedagogy courses, for discussions and referrals on Pedagogy courses in Brazil, by representatives of courses from other public universities in the state of São Paulo, references in the training of Brazilian teachers.

In conclusion, the results of these discussions were considered for the articulation of the curricula of the Pedagogy course at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences – UNESP of Marília-São Paulo-Brazil, contributing to expanding spaces for debates and studies on the reforms proposed for the course. This means that, between 2006 and 2011, the Pedagogy course tried to meet the legal requirements. However, this took place after discussions between



representatives of the various courses on the proposed reforms, which develop their activities in favor of the quality of teacher training and socio-educational demands of Brazil.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Apresentam-se resultados de investigações decorrentes do projeto integrado de pesquisa "A história da Didática em instituições de formação de professores no Brasil – 1827-2011" (Castro, 2012), realizadas com o objetivo geral de sistematizar, mediante em "uma nova repartição cultural" (De Certeau, 1979), material documental para uma história do curso de Pedagogia da Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências, da Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio Mesquita Filho" – UNESP, de Marília-São Paulo-Brasil, de 2006 à 2011. Segundo De Certeau (1979), em história, tudo começa com o gesto de selecionar, de reunir e, dessa forma, transformar em documentos determinados objetos distribuídos de outra forma, com a elaboração de "uma nova repartição cultural". As investigações surgiram com o seguinte questionamento: após 2006, com as novas Diretrizes Curriculares para o Curso de Pedagogia no Brasil (Brasil, 2006), quais saberes e prescrições oficiais foram norteando as discussões e a implantação das reformas propostas para curso de Pedagogia? Esse curso teve início em 1959, com a função de formar técnicos em Educação. De 1976 a 1980, o curso passou a se dedicar à Formação dos Professores em nível superior, para o Ensino Médio e para o Magistério (Silva, 1999). As investigações foram norteadas pela hipótese de que buscar responder aos questionamentos mencionados contribuirá para uma história sobre o desenvolvimento desse curso, capaz de ofertar contribuições para o enfrentamento dos desafios teóricos, metodológicos, políticos, sociais e culturais dos nossos cursos de Pedagogia no Brasil, os quais, historicamente, permanecem em aberto. As investigações sobre história das instituições educativas pautaram-se em Gatti Jr. (2002), para quem tal perspectiva possibilita a realização de análises de singularidades sociais, em detrimento das precipitadas análises de conjunto. Os primeiros documentos sistematizados em "uma nova repartição cultural", indicaram reformas e discussões nos rumos do curso de Pedagogia da UNESP de Marília-São Paulo-Brasil: a Resolução do Conselho Nacional de Educação, de 2006, sobre as primeiras Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais, sobre a Extinção das habilitações e diretrizes para a reestruturação do Projeto Pedagógico, priorizando-se, ao encontro das afirmações de Tezza (2018) a atuação docente para a Educação Infantil e Séries Iniciais do Ensino Fundamental. Ainda, do ano de 2006, foram sistematizados documentos da XI Jornada Pedagógica, organizada pelos coordenadores do curso de Pedagogia em foco, para discussões e encaminhamentos sobre os cursos de Pedagogia no Brasil, por representantes de cursos das demais universidades públicas do Estado de São Paulo, referências na formação de professores brasileiros. Como conclusões tem-se que os resultados dessas discussões foram considerados para a articulação dos currículos do curso de Pedagogia da Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências – UNESP de Marília-São Paulo-Brasil, contribuindo para ampliar espaços de debates e estudos sobre as reformas propostas para o curso. Isso significa que o curso de Pedagogia buscou, entre 2006 e 2011, responder às prescrições legais. Porém, isso ocorreu após discussões entre representantes dos vários cursos sobre as reformas propostas, os quais desenvolvem suas atividades em favor da qualidade da formação de professores e das demandas sócio-educacionais brasileiras



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Keywords: history of education, educational reforms, actors' discussions, curricula of pedagogy courses



Teacher Training in Portugal Within the Framework of The European Space of Education and Training (2007–2023)

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In a context in which the nation-state has lost centrality, regional economic and political entities of a supranational nature have emerged, on the initiative of the states, with the aim of expanding their influence in the dynamics of globalization. They translate new forms of state action in certain areas of social life whose control often escapes national sovereignty. The European Union is an example of this and has assumed, since the last decade of the 20th century, a growing role in the area of social policies, namely education and education policies, a matter that is increasingly less exclusive to the nation-state.

The process of Europeanization of education and educational policies gained momentum with the Lisbon strategy and the assumption of a political agenda that aimed to transform the Union into the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world. The Education and Training programs included initiatives within the context of the Bologna Process intergovernmental platform, encouraging the creation of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA). The development of the process embodied a set of lines of action for the creation and development of an attractive, cohesive, and competitive EHEA as a response to contemporary societal transformations. Higher education moved away from the Humboldtian model, structuring itself in close connection with the market economy, the basis for competitiveness, like the North American model.

The adequacy of Portuguese higher education to the commitments assumed within the scope of the Bologna Process produced a change in the training paradigm, now centred on the activity as a whole and on the skills to be acquired, throughout the different stages of adult life, articulating with the evolution of knowledge and interests of an individual or collective nature. The model of organization of higher education in three cycles was adopted. The transition from an education system based on the idea of transmitting knowledge to a system based on the development of competencies was established, and the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) was established, based on the work of students. Within the scope of quality regulation, the Agency for the Assessment and Accreditation of Higher Education (A3ES) was set up, whose purposes are the assessment and accreditation of higher education institutions and their study cycles, as well as the performance of functions inherent to the insertion of Portugal in the European system of quality assurance in higher education.

Our purpose is to discuss teacher training in Portugal, from pre-school education to the 2nd cycle of basic education, and its evolution since the beginning of the new millennium, considering the processes of Europeanization and its impact on action of the nation-state and in educational policies. In this perspective, we carried out a documentary analysis of a diverse set of sources to make intelligible options for educational policy on initial teacher training, namely in terms of recruitment, professional profile, organization of study plans and educational offer.



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Keywords: teacher training, Bologna process, european higher education area, ECTS, A3ES



The Formation of Finnish Vocational Education in the Early 20th Century

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The requirements of industrialisation and the growth of the manufacturing industry have both affected the development of European vocational education systems since the 19th century. As a young and small country that industrialised and urbanised rather late, Finland adopted a lot of influence from abroad, and vocational education was no exception. International comparisons offered an exemplary framework for developing vocational education systems and helped experts to analyse the social situation and the needs of the society, and based on that, defined socio-political tasks such as educational policy.

International influence impacted the development of the Finnish vocational education system, however, it gradually became rather different compared to other European vocational education systems. In the early 20th century, the development of vocational education in Finland was strongly connected to societal change and the increasing need for a skilled labour force as a resource for the development of the young state and for the changing needs of industrial life. In this presentation, I look closer at which phenomena and interests guided the development of Finnish vocational education and education policies from the 1920s to the 1940s. For instance, I focus on how separateness from the rest of the educational system and World War II. influenced the shaping of vocational education in Finland.

I study these points of view through the archival material of vocational education planning, committee reports, and parliamentary documents and use policy analysis as a method to identify the various potential options presented to achieve vocational education policy that emerged from this data. Policy analysis enables me to take a closer look behind the argumentation of the actors and focus on the policy processes of Finnish vocational education policy. I argue that by studying the ways of planning and implementing vocational education and its policies, offers a more nuanced view and new important insight into the history of the Finnish vocational education system. This allows to generate new questions concerning the role of vocational education in the history of education and to compare it internationally.

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Keywords: vocational education, educational policy, Finland, education systems, 20th century.



An Endless Transition? University Reforms in Italy Since 1980

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In my communication, I will deal with the legislative interventions Italian governments elaborated since 1980 to reshape the administration, aims and scope of the national system of higher education.

The reform of 1980 took place after a long period of substantial continuity in Italian university legislation, which began with the national unification in 1861 and the extension all over the country of the Casati Law on Public Education. During over a century, several attempts at adjustment and improvement failed, especially an attempted general reform in the 1960's, which would have provided the major elements for modern governance, teaching and research organization, and enrolment (departments, doctoral programs, and multiple levels of tenured professorships, cultural and financial autonomy). In 1980, some of these elements were rapidly introduced, and almost all the untenured teaching personnel received tenure, in order to adjust faculties to the needs of a growing student population.

However, such attempts to catch up with the most updated Western higher education system have been largely unsatisfactory. Other wide-range legislative interventions followed, especially the definition of cultural autonomy of single universities in 1989–90; the introduction of BA and MA levels of degree and the full financial autonomies of higher education institutions in the late 1990's; the reduction (and future abolition) of tenured researchers in 2003–05; the general reform for quality-based governance to adapt to the heavy budget cuts of the previous years in 2010.

The presentation will offer a general interpretation of the evolution of policies in these years by focusing on three major topics:

First of all, the attempts to face the legacy of past unsolved problems, such as the status of teaching personnel and the promotion of academic freedom after the establishment of democracy in 1946.

Secondly, the change of major stakeholders in reform processes, from the central role of the academic community to the growing importance of the national and local business world, according to a peculiar interpretation of the recent trends of neoliberal new public management.

Lastly, the importance of major international models, both as points of reference for modernization and, later, as regulatory frameworks in view of the making of European Research and Higher Education Area through the implementation of the Bologna Process.

My conclusions will highlight how the repeated reforming interventions fell short in solving two systemic problems: chronic underfunding and the weakness of a divided academic community, whose members in general receive individual positions of power from external institutional sources, which still condition choices in higher education and research policies.

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Keywords: higher education policy, Italy, university, Bologna process



Reforms and Regulations. Regulatory Regimes in Post-war School Building Programs

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In the post-war era, educational systems entered a state of flux. Socialist countries and Western states reformed and expanded their educational systems. In addition to setting up legislation frameworks, defining curricula and provision of teachers, educational reforms entail “the problem of school buildings”. Guy Oddie, a technical consultant to OECD in the 1960s and 1970s, attributes an unexpected role to school facilities in these processes. School buildings, the tangible elements in educational expansion, have, according to Oddie, the role of a pacemaker. *“The expansion cannot take place if the schools are not ready in time and the schools will not be ready unless fundamental decisions about them are taken early enough”* (Oddie, 1966, p. 68). School building programs linked to school reforms entail the question of financing, distributing educational facilities in rural and urban areas and defining design briefs for different types of school buildings.

School reforms during the post-war boom years of demographic and economic growth generated a number of school building regulations: from ordinances containing design briefs over technical norms on specific facilities and building components to non-binding recommendations with general principles on the design of schools and urban planning. Unlike seemingly unbinding recommendations, laws on schooling contain legal provisions on establishing and maintaining schools, including rules for the territorial distribution of schools. Retrospectively, these legal and normative frameworks can be read in reverse. Regulatory regimes reveal how the transnational flow of ideas on education was modified to suit national and regional traditions of schooling and planning and how they continue to shape educational practice as they are embodied in existing school buildings.

Based on archival documents and primary sources, this paper will explore the role of school building norms linked to educational reforms and the influence of transnational organisations such as the UIA School Building Commission, UNESCO and the OECD on national school building programs. The study focuses on school reforms in Yugoslavia (1953–1970) and Austria (1962–1974). Sources include publications and reports by international organisations, Yugoslav school building recommendations from the 1950s and 1960s, Austrian ordinances and recommendations, and archival documents containing discussions about the normative frameworks. Next to detecting an increased influence of international organisations, my analysis shows that building regulations issued from the late 1950s until the mid-1960s are intentionally vague and open for constant revision. However, by the end of the 1960s, economic criteria and construction costs start to supersede humanistic ideals. In the early norms, regulations determining floor space per pupil and other spatial units are defined as provisionally limited due to the lack of resources yet deemed to be expanded in the future. Later norms no longer recommend minimal spatial requirements. Instead, these late 1970s standards clearly define maxima of floor space for pupils, circulation and common areas and open spaces. Maximal limits for school spaces ensure that every school within the administrative body is allocated similar resources, but can also result in rigid limitations and inflexible design briefs.



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Keywords: school building program, school building regulations, Yugoslavia, Austria, OECD, UNESCO, UIA



Social Studies and/or Citizenship Education? The History of Education for Democracy and Comparative Analysis of English and Hungarian National Curricula

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The effect of the information revolution and globalization was changed the necessary knowledge for achieving success in our modern society. The permanent and fast changes pose a challenge to the educational institutions and the teachers too. The teachers are not already the only sources of knowledge, this means they have queried their earlier prestige, and they become more the main organiser of the learning. The experience of the social environment (multicultural, plural) was changed in the school, the institution has to meet the claim of children with a different family background, preparedness and motivation.

Nowadays people need to have the kind of knowledge that prepares them for lifelong learning, and they become an active part of society. The key competencies such as civic competence serve this purpose. This competence is part of all national curricula in the European Union, which means, that education for democracy is an important component in all countries' educational aims, but the implements are different. In most countries, democratic skills development is helped also in integrated or separated lessons. For example, in Austria citizenship education is integrated into history education, but in England separated it like "citizenship" education.

In Hungary, the name and content of citizenship education often changed in the 2000s. It was separated as a module lesson and integrated into history education, but nowadays it is again an autonomous subject.

This presentation would like to give a short insight into the history of citizenship education in Hungary from end of the communism to nowadays. For example, what kind of differences are in content behind the various titles of subjects? The research analysed and compared the actual national curriculums (Hungary, England), what is the differences and similarities in the meaning of citizenship education. The research focused on the main categories of the curriculum, the connected sciences and the meaning of democracy.

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Keywords: history education, education for democracy, social studies, citizenship education



Travelling Reforms: The Strange Case of “Consumer-Citizenship” in Austrian School Policy

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The notion of movement can be ascribed to a variety of social phenomena. This movement is most apparent in large migrations of people, but it is not just people who are on the move. Imaginations, concepts and, above all, the very ideas upon which they are built can also traverse different places and change along the way (Cowen, 2009). While mobility exists amongst ideas, the paths and trajectories in which their movements proceed are often determined by the formal and institutional contexts they are embedded in.

In regard to education systems, the “mobility of ideas” (Cowen, 2009, p. 315) can also be observed. This movement may be initiated through a top-down process or by grassroots organisations. Often, foreign ideas are initially found in the form of reforms introduced to counter a preceding failure. Thus, ideas seem to be particularly mobile when one hopes to solve a social problem by means of education. Various historical examples show how educational reforms were used to solve social problems by turning them into educational ones, thus educationalising them (e.g., Tröhler, 2017) so that the underlying ideas often have a longer history than the actual reform.

The case that I want to investigate in regard to this phenomenon is the idea of *consumer-citizenship* in Austrian school policy. In 2015, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Women declared that “consumer-citizenship” (Bundesministerium für Frauen und Bildung, 2015) should be the aim of successful economic and consumer education. This concept – as the only English term in an otherwise entirely German text – does not only concern a specific type of knowledge that is to be imparted in this context, but also a moral-ethical component that, according to the policy document, is always to be taken into account. As the language already suggests, the roots of this concept can be detected outside of Austrian and even European borders. Thus, the question arises as to how the idea made its way into Austrian school policy and what changes happened along the way

I will try to answer this question in four steps. First, I will outline my research approach before sketching the main stages that the idea of consumer-citizenship went through on its journey. Subsequently, I will analyze two contrasting policy documents in which the idea of consumer-citizenship is used as a tool for the educationalization of diverging social issues as examples of this process, and in a final step, I will show how the results of this analysis can be retheorized.

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Keywords: consumer-citizenship, educationalization, policy, globalization



The Introduction of Intuitive Teaching in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico

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In the late 19th century, a set of pedagogical and administrative reforms were conducted in the Mexican education system: among others, the replacement of unitary or two-classroom schools by 6-grade schools, the simultaneous teaching of reading and writing, and the introduction of “intuitive teaching”. This paper will focus on the last of these reforms.

Intuitive teaching pre-supposed a dramatic transformation in how teaching was to be conducted – it advocated a way of learning that started by the observation and description of objects by the children instead of the memorization of concepts (an education by “things” instead of “words”), gradually advancing from concrete things to abstract ideas (Munakata, 2017). This reform was introduced by means of specific school subjects (intuitive lessons, object lessons), with or without the aid of textbooks, or as a method meant to conduct many different subjects in the classroom.

The aim of this paper is to analyse how this ambitious reform (which – it has been argued – left some isolated yet long-lasting marks in the Mexican school culture) was advocated and legitimated by pedagogues and policymakers at the time of its introduction. For this, it will be considered whether Jürgen Schriewer’s externalization theory is a useful tool (Schriewer, 1988; Steiner-Khamsi, 2000). This theory provides a way to examine how self-referential (national, in this case) education systems at some point tend to look “outward” – to their own past or to international references – to advocate certain reforms; in my presentation it will be discussed whether this was the case. I will also draw on the history of educational concepts (Roldán Vera, 2014) to discuss how a particular language of education was constructed with the exclusion of others. With these tools, the arguments will be examined that were put forward in education legislation, pedagogical conferences and selected manuals for teachers to advance the reform, as well as how those arguments were contested or transformed by actors in positions of educational decision making. That is three kinds of arguments: first, in relation to the Mexican past education forms, values, and traditions. Second, in relation to an international realm (especially developments in France, Germany, and the USA). Third, in relation to the expectations that education was to bring in the future.

Far from assessing whether the reform in intuitive teaching “succeeded” in changing school practices, the paper will show how the language of education mobilized and constructed in the discussion turned an educational form into something appealing over other forms of education, compelling, and, eventually, inevitable.

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Keywords: educational reform, intuitive teaching, object lessons, externalization, Mexico



Latin American Educationalists On The Move: Study Trips, Networks, And Educational Reforms (The 1920s-1930s)

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Latin American education underwent several reforms between the 1920s and 1930s, largely influenced by the new school movement. Keeping in mind the differences of these countries, it is possible to identify the circulation of foreign ideas, objects and models, mainly from Europe and the United States. When looking abroad, Latin American educationalists sought what, in their understanding, was the most modern in terms of pedagogical experiences. Study trips were also common, sending Latin American educationalists abroad and receiving foreign experts. Study missions fulfilled the purpose of learning about experiences implemented in other countries as a basis for comparison with the experiences of the traveller's country of origin and as a model that could be adapted to other realities.

Based on the idea that circulation and appropriation processes are diverse and therefore occur in different ways, in the following article, I intend to explore how study trips and the creation of networks were articulated and translated into educational reforms in various Latin American countries. I start from the hypothesis that there was a shared repertoire between these educators based on the appropriation of international models in circulation. Besides, they were also part of the same networks, sometimes getting to know each other's work. The discussion develops from case studies of Latin American educationalists abroad, mainly those who have been to Europe and the United States.

Lists of Latin American students who attended Teachers College, Columbia University in New York between the 1920s and 1940s and references to Latin American educationalists in the New Education Fellowship's documents are a starting point for this discussion. I also draw on existing studies on the backgrounds of some subjects named on these lists. First, I outline a panorama that shows the increase in the exchange of Latin American educationalists in the United States and Europe in the first decades of the 20th century. Next, I explore some individual trajectories – specifically from Brazil, Chile and Mexico – and how they incorporate new knowledge into local reforms. Finally, I seek to establish connections between the educational reforms in the different Latin American countries analyzed. Assuming that Latin American educationalists were not mere reproducers of foreign models, I developed the discussion from a transnational perspective. Textbooks, newspapers, correspondence, and other sources help to trace the connections between the trips and the reforms and possible interlocutions among the subjects.

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Keywords: transnational History, Latin America, educational reforms, study trips, circulation



Teaching and Learning about Other Children in the Panama Canal Zone (1920–1946): Susan Core and the Representation of Tropical Infants

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This presentation explores how children learn about “other children” and how this affects their “emotional socialisation” (Eitler, Olsen & Jens, 2014, p. 3). To so, the work of Sue Core have been selected, an American writer of children’s literature who lived in Panama between 1920 and 1946, because its analysis provides information about the “kinds of of emotions offered to children” (Eitler, Olsen & Jens, 2014, p. 3).

As a way to provide context, in 1903, the recently created Republic of Panama and the United States signed the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty, which set the stipulations for the construction of the Panama Canal. The Panamanians ceded a piece of their country’s territory, 8 kilometers to each side of the canal’s routes, where United States could govern as if they were ‘sovereign’. The territory was called the Panama Canal Zone (PCZ). The U.S. authorities established a segregated system that provided differentiated social services including education for “white” and for “coloured” students.

Within this context, Susan “Sue” Core arrived in Panama. She was born in Indiana. Her life in the United States was of constant moving and certain tragedy. She worked as a telegrapher and studied to become a teacher. In the 1920s, she decided to take a job as a teacher in the PCZ. In 1926, she published a book for American and Zonian (sons and daughters of United States citizens born in the PCZ) called *Trails of Progress* aiming at teaching about how the Panama Canal showed that the U.S. had civilised the tropics. After she married, she abandoned teaching and worked as a journalist for a newspaper called the Panama American. She wrote “humorous” articles and short stories in verse about daily life in Panama. These were mainly illustrated by her friend Ann Cordts. Shortly after, Core and Cordts began to publish books. Since 1935, they began to write books for both children and their parents (to read to their sons and daughters).

The main aim of the books was to teach about “other children”. Their content reflected “double gestures” and “process of abjection” (Popkewitz, 2008, p. 6), because the books contained colonial views mixed with a maternal tone to teach “understanding” and “tolerance” of cultural differences between Isthmian and American children. Adding an “infantile humour” element made the narrative appear unharmed. Core attempted to teach about what she deemed as “good feelings” towards other children by implying that all of them are innocent, but, at the same time, her stories presented the habits, lives, and expectations of white children as more civilised than those of children from the topics. The underlying message was that tropical children could be either tolerated or taught to be civilised. The writing of children's books allowed women, who were excluded from power to reclaim some agency within colonial societies (Goodman & Martin, 2002, p. 5). This, I argue, has a lasting effect on how people perceive others when they are adults, because “children’s literature and its evolution provide a useful conduit for accessing the change expectations of youth over time and place” (Eitler, Olsen & Jensen, 2014, p. 9).

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Keywords: children’s literature, Panama Canal Zone, tropical children, colonialism, race and ethnicity



Comprehensive School *Á La Créole*? The Case of Secondary School Reforms in Argentina by Mid-Twentieth Century

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The Western World witnessed a shift towards mass secondary education during the post-World War II. period. In terms of education systems' reforms, this shift involved two overlapping structural changes: integration into unified structures and the adoption of comprehensive institutional models – an institutional reform based on the North American high school of the early decades of the 20th century, which combined an academic education oriented towards higher education with a broad curriculum tailored to the interests and occupational aspirations of an increasingly diverse school population (Franklin & McCulloch, 2007; Weiler, 1998; Wiborg 2009). Since then, and probably until the neoliberal era by the end of the 20th century, secondary education reforms expanded worldwide under the guise of the so-called comprehensive reforms (Campbell & Sherrington, 2006).

This presentation aims to analyse this process in a particular setting: secondary education reform in Argentina. In this country, the creation of free and compulsory elementary education was preceded by the development of secondary schools, which took the Prussian and French forms of organization together with a propaedeutic function. These schools, in the figure of the national schools (*colegio nacional*), were created during the second half of the 19th century together with the formation of the nation-state. For most of the 20th century, there were four dominant modalities for post-elementary schooling: national schools, normal schools, technical schools and commercial schools; national schools concentrated the most important part of enrolment, normal schools trained for the teaching profession, but they were soon used as a path to the university by middle classes (Tedesco, 1986) and particularly by women and, as the century went by, all modalities allowed access to the university, but national schools were the “preparatory” par excellence.

We argue that the Argentinian education system and most Latin American systems did not participate in the comprehensive reform process. Yet, similar trends towards institutional integration can be found when looking at the changes implemented in secondary schools even before World War II. Indeed, in 1942, Minister of Education Guillermo Rothe introduced a common cycle of three years for national and normal schools, an idea under discussion as early as the 1930s (Acosta, 2020). Later, during the 1950s, this cycle was extended to commercial and industrial schools. Moreover, Minister Rothe's action extended to the institutional model beyond curricular change reordering all modalities under a common general regulation for secondary, normal and special education establishments in 1957.

The paper analyses the comprehensive reforms based on secondary sources and traces the origins of the common cycle notion that accompanied the extension of secondary education from the 1930s onwards in Argentina. By comparing the comprehensive reforms and the Argentinean case, the paper seeks to provide further density and variety to studying reforms in secondary education. Both primary sources, i.e. official decrees and regulations, and secondary sources on this subject are quoted.

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Keywords: comprehensive reforms, secondary education, national schools



Turning Visible the Social Aim of Secondary Education: School Buildings in Nineteenth Century France

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The secondary education system can be considered as the core of French public education during the 19th century: as the name of the SWG recalls, it was the main object of political concern regarding educational policy. Indeed, under Napoléon, the state administration decided that its effort towards education should mainly be directed to this type of schools, arguing that their importance was justified by the fact they were meant to train the future administrative elite. This political choice explains why secondary schools benefited from various forms of public funding and how they gained their reputation as prestigious schools.¹ To assert the position of public secondary schools, the state also gradually developed requirements specifications regarding their premises. The idea behind the specification was that the school buildings should mirror the importance of their mission. This communication aims at studying the way those instructions were taken into consideration to address the following question: how does the study of the space allotted to secondary schools' buildings reflect the intermediate position of this form of teaching? I will argue that the analysis of school buildings, their funding, and the projects that shaped their organization, is a relevant indicator of the mission assigned to secondary education.

The research resorts to a case study of three secondary schools, Lyon, Saint-Etienne and Bourgen-Bresse. The funding, layout, building and location of each school are analysed. The sources available emanate mainly from public administration, at different levels (local, regional and national). The methodological choice of combining different levels of analysis offers the possibility of considering the national instructions by linking them to what has been effectively realised. The case studies enable a comparison between the ambitions of the central administration and the means available in reality. The analysis confirms the discrepancy between the two but, most importantly, it shows that the negotiations between administrations always include a manifestation of what secondary education must be.

By opting for an approach of secondary education through its material structure, the aim is to assess the criteria used to define a secondary school, considering that its location and layout are revealers of the role played by secondary education in 19th-century French society.

¹ Although secondary schools have also had to deal with the reputation of being irreligious or enforcing a discipline resembling the one applied to inmates.

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Keywords: school buildings, secondary education, goal of secondary education



De-Segmentation: The Organic Integration of Lower Secondary Education before Comprehensiveness. Italy, France and Spain.

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The aim of this paper is to explore the reversal of the process of segmentation, characterised by Ringer, and later adopted by Simon and Müller in their classical analysis of secondary education. Ringer understood segmentation as the process, distinctive of the 19th century, whereby parallel branches of secondary education of different curricula, prestige and social profile emerged. The results of this process were suppressed in most European countries by the advent of comprehensiveness in the second half of the 20th century.

However, in some countries, there was an intermediate phase, prior to comprehensiveness, which was characterised by the reversal of this segmentation process through the integration of the different branches of lower secondary education into a common school. Obviously, this was not the *school for all*, but only a common school for lower secondary pupils. Even so, this common lower secondary school was an important step forward towards the organic integration of secondary education. It also posed a major challenge to the conception of secondary education as solely aimed at training for university, since this common school constituted a cycle in itself with plural and different objectives from the traditional one. It thus responded to the demand of broad new sectors for an intermediate secondary degree and, as such, was a significant incentive for the popularisation of lower secondary education. It is not surprising, therefore, that it earned the hostility of the defenders of the traditional baccalaureate, such as Gentile, who denigrated it as a hybrid school.

This paper aims to study this process of integration on the basis of the Italian *Scuola Media* of 1939, the Spanish *Bachillerato Elemental* of 1926 and 1953 and the Carcopino reform of the *Collège* of 1941 in Vichy France. The aim is to study the extent to which these schools constituted the embryo of the later comprehensive secondary school. In addition, the possibilism of this way of reform will be contrasted with more ambitious projects in favour of comprehensiveness such as those of Germany or Austria, which had hardly any real impact.

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Keywords: segmentation, lower secondary school, organic integration, comprehensive school



An Era of Reforms or the End of an Era? An International Glance at Secondary Education in the 1930s

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The 1935 issue of the *Annuaire* of the International Bureau of Education (IBE, Geneva) stated that it was in progress “an era of reforms” with the argument that “after a revolution or a war people, winners or losers, make an examination of conscience, looking for their weak points and undertake a reform of their educational system” (IBE, 1935, 7).

Isaac Léon Kandel, editor-in-chief of the Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of the Teachers College, University of Columbia (New York), gave the title “The end of an era” to the journal’s 1941 issue. Quoting Kandel: “The last decade has witnessed the development of an interest in education that is almost unparalleled in history. [...] In education the post-War movement for reconstruction or for the organization of new systems has virtually come to a close. [...] The period was brought to an end by the National Socialist Revolution in 1933. There were many who were inclined to look upon this Revolution as another interesting experiment comparable to the Fascist Revolution in Italy and the Communist Revolution in Russia” (1941, pp. xi–xii).

This paper sought to map, from an international perspective, the problems concerned to secondary education in different countries in the 1930s. It is drawn upon the publications of the two abovementioned organizations (Educational Yearbook, 1924–1944; IBE, 1933–1939, 1934–1939, 1934b, 1934c, 1935, 1937, 1938, and 1939) which provide a worldwide perspective on the problematics of secondary education at stake during this period, namely: the extension of compulsory schooling; the conglomeration of different types and tracks (classical/liberal, modern, trade, industrial, commercial, rural, higher primary) of education; social demand and pressure upon secondary schooling; the admission to secondary schooling; the structure of secondary education and its coordination with primary and higher levels; the reform of curricula, programs, and teaching methods; the teaching of living and ancient languages; the design, use, and choice of textbooks; the professional education and remuneration of teaching staff; the budget constraints in education in times of socio-economic crisis; the intellectual unemployment, both of secondary and university graduates; the tangible counter-cycle between education and economy; the political and administrative centralisation of educational decisions, among other issues.

Given its intermediate position, “secondary education always seems to be the nerve center of school reorganization” (IBE, 1937, p. 8), on the one hand. On the other, it is still seen socially as the “survival of a conception of culture formulated when education was the right and possession of a few people” (Kandel, 1925, p. x). The paper will provide enough evidence and thought to respond to the question inscribed in the title.

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Keywords: secondary education reforms, International Bureau of Education, educational yearbook of the teachers college, international perspective, 1930s



Analysing Local, Regional and Trans-national Sources of Early Female Education in East Asia

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This research, unlike previous studies, aims to articulate formative struggles and successes of female education in East Asia modelled on Europeans systems. Hayarpi Papikyan (2022) details how girls' schools in colonial settings start from (1800 to 1950), Girls' schools played important colonial power politics. Karen M. Teoh (2017) presents the history of English and Chinese girls' schools that overseas Chinese founded between the 1850s and 1960s in British Malaya and Singapore.

This research examines diverse original primary sources from SOAS and other archives – personal letters (Aldersey, 1854; 1857) official reports (BFSS, 1815) and meeting notes (Davies & Beighton, 1839; SPFEE, 1836–1838) – in addition to published accounts. The first step in analysis was to prepare a transcript of documents relating to female education, some of which required digital enhancements to discern passages that were severely damaged. These transcripts of 19th century handwritten documents (more than 600 letters) were selected on the basis of subject relevance and developmental context and is of general value for other researchers in the field. Charts and tables were compiled from archived meeting minutes to support thesis arguments with financial data.

There are two approaches in this historical analysis: influence origins and developmental phases that demonstrate how female schooling arose in East Asia earlier than previously appreciate. Three phases in the development of female education in East Asia are identified: experimental phase, professionalizing phase and institutionalizing phase. Each of these phases had its own origin and developmental trajectory, building upon foundational influences and several pedagogical approaches – the British system (Angell & Brown, 2018, pp. 131–134; Wall, 1966, pp. 2–9) and the Infant School system (Brown, 1986, pp. 5–7) – European protestant missionaries fostered an interest in female education in Indonesia, Malaysia and China. Most notable is the influence of Lancaster's "British system" and Pestalozzi's "Infant school system", which were introduced into East Asian female education at an early date (1814–1850).

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Keywords: East Asia, female education, Pestalozzi, Lancaster



Unchanged Reform: The Decline of Confucian Educational System in Korea from 1895 to 1910

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The main purpose of this study is to examine the effect of *Mungwanjeongoso* test, a new testing system in Korea after the *Gabo Reform of 1894*. This reform was established to change the traditional educational system into the westernized one. In addition, this study also attempts to highlight the changes in conventional schools and the perceptions of students toward the educational reform.

In 1894, the first modern reform, called *the Gabo Reform of 1894*, was also established to change the traditional educational system. Specifically, the Civil Service Examination (CSE) of Korea was terminated and new national schools were launched to introduce western studies. The abolition of CSE was the most drastic change in educational history in Korea. This system governed who would join the high-rank officials between 958 and 1894, making it one of the world's longest-lasting testing systems run by the government. The CSE was a system for selecting public officials based on the knowledge of the Chinese Classics and writing abilities of literary style and it became the main route to apply to government officials (Deuchler, 1992; Duncan, 2015).

After the reform, Korean policymakers designed a new testing system for selecting public officials. In 1905, *Mungwanjeongoso* test was created to replace the CSE. For this test, all applicants were required to have proficiency in foreign studies to be high-ranking officials for the new government (Lee, 2009).

However, the entire reform of Korea did not operate as policymakers expected because not all students agreed with the need for western studies. In the personal record of applicants of *Mungwanjeongoso* test, most applicants still mentioned that they still believed that studying the Confucian Classics is the most important for the public officials, not new western studies such as arithmetic, law, and economics.

It represents the continuity of the traditional education system of Korea. Despite of the comprehensive education reform of 1894, the traditional schooling of Korea was maintained in both urban and rural areas. The abolition of the CSE in Korea did not change the entire education system and students' perspectives about schooling. The effect of education reform was not revealed yet.

In this study, the official publications of the Joseon Dynasty, such as *Guhangukwanbo* [The official gazette of Korean Dynasty] and *Mungwanjeongosoraegeomun* [Documents of Mungwanjeongoso] are investigated. These records were compiled and published by the Joseon Dynasty to maintain the detailed information of successful applicants of *Mungwanjeongoso* tests from 1905 to 1910. Through these records, it is expected to highlight the details of a new testing system and its effect of the first modern educational reform in Korea.

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Keywords: Mungwanjeongoso, Gabo Reform of 1894, Civil Service Examination, Western studies, Confucian Classics



A Historical Study on Support for School Maladjusted Students in Korea ***Eine historische Studie zur Unterstützung von Schulabsentismus in Korea***

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School maladjustment students have existed in the past and still exist today. Looking back on personal school experiences, efforts to adapt school maladjusted students to school have been in the past and are still ongoing. Efforts to support school maladjusted students have been made not only at the level of individual teachers but also at the institutional level. Unless schools become student-friendly places where every individual student is satisfied and eager to visit, school maladjustment must be a perpetual theme of pedagogy.

The purpose of this study is to examine how efforts to support school maladjusted students have been historically developed in Korean school education, and how such efforts have changed Korean schools.

The specific research questions for this purpose are as follows: first of all, how has the understanding of school maladjustment changed? Secondly, what efforts have been made historically to overcome the problem of school maladjustment? Lastly, how did these efforts change school education?

The following can be expected from this study:

This study will show how the view of students in Korean schools has historically changed. It will also show how the understanding of school maladjustment differs from the past and the present. And it will show how that understanding has changed schooling and what problems still need to be addressed. A historical review of support for school maladjusted students in Korea will provide an opportunity to compare and discuss with those of other countries.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Noch heute gibt es Schüler, die ohne ausreichende Berechtigung der Schule fernbleiben. Rückblickend auf persönliche Schulerfahrungen gab und gibt es Bemühungen, solche SchülerInnen an die Schule anzupassen. Bemühungen, solche SchülerInnen zu unterstützen, fanden sowohl auf institutioneller Ebene als auch auf individueller Lehrerebene statt. Solange die Schule ein unfreundlicher Ort fuer die Schuelerinnen und Schuler bleibt, muss der Schulabsentismus (Schulversagen) ein ständiges Thema der Pädagogik sein.

Die Absicht dieser Arbeit liegt darin es zu untersuchen, wie sich Bemühungen zur Unterstützung schulisch unangepasster SchülerInnen in der koreanischen Schulbildung entwickelt haben und wie solche Bemühungen die koreanischen Schulen verändert haben.

Die Forschungsfragen für diese Absicht lauten wie folgt.

1. Wie hat sich das Verständnis von Schulabsentismus (Schulversagen) historisch verändert?
2. Welche Versuchen wurden in der Vergangenheit unternommen, um das Problem des Schulabsentismus (Schulversagens) zu überwinden?
3. Wie haben diese Bemühungen die Schulbildung verändert?

Folgendes kann von dieser Studie erwartet werden:

Diese Studie wird zeigen, wie sich die Rolle der Lehrerinnen und Lehrer in koreanischen Schulen historisch verändert hat. Es wird auch zeigen, wie sich das Verständnis vom Schulabsentismus in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart unterscheidet. Und es wird zeigen, wie dieses Verständnis die koreanische Schulbildung verändert hat und welche Probleme noch gelöst werden sollten.



Ein historischer Rückblick auf die Unterstützungsmassnahmen fuer Schulabsentismus in Korea kann die Möglichkeit bieten, diese mit denen anderer Länder zu vergleichen und zu diskutieren.

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Keywords: School Maladjustment, Korean School, school reform, Unterstuetzungsmassnahmen fuer Schulversagen



A Critical Study on the History of Modern Korean School Trips

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Since ancient times, travel has been recognized as having some educational meanings for humans. For this reason, most countries now include travel as part of their curricula. This study aims to examine the history of 'school trips' ('suhag-yeohaeng' in Korean) introduced as part of education in modern Korean schools by means of literature research. To this end, the researcher first confirms the origin of this word, which was first found in a newspaper in 1901, and then examines what school trips were like during the Japanese colonial period that followed. And looks back on how the contents related to travel in the Korean curriculum have changed in relation to the situation of the times from liberation to the present. Travel itself not only has educational meaning for humans, but can also be a good educational means to supplement the limitations of school education, which is formal education.

The results of this study show that the reality of school trips confirmed in history is different from these educational ideals. By recognizing and discussing these situations, this study suggests some educational implications that can help future school trips achieve their intended educational goals.

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Keywords: history of Korean school trip, educational meaning of travel, field trip



Reforming catechesis: Towards an Appraisal of the Contribution of the English Catholic Priest and Educator, Canon Francis Drinkwater (1886–1982)

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Lamenting the parlous state of the understanding of the faith amongst Catholic servicemen from his time as chaplain in the trenches of the First World War, Fr. Francis Drinkwater (1886–1982) felt motivated to create the catechetical journal, *The Sower*, in 1919. In doing so, his intention was to campaign for the reform of catechesis which, along with religious education in Catholic schools, he saw as key to strengthening Catholic faith amongst the rising generations. It was Drinkwater's observation that existing catechetical practice, which principally relied upon rote learning of the basics of the Catholic catechism, served to stifle children's curiosity, caging them like birds as he put, leading to a disenfranchisement with the faith and a lack of depth in their spirituality. Drinkwater's subsequent ministry, and the published organ for his views which he established, were influential for more than 50 years afterwards (*The Sower* continued in publication until 2015; and is now published as the journal *Catechetical Formation*). *The Sower* and his other publications led to Drinkwater being dubbed the 'patriarch of the catechetical movement', by a conference of Catholic religious educators in Antwerp in 1936.

This paper focuses upon the genesis of Drinkwater's pedagogy of religious education amongst children and youth in sodalities and schools, tracing the origins and influences upon his approach, as well as highlighting some of the prevalent themes of his work, later published in various volumes as well as in the local Birmingham, UK, press. As well as analysing the shape and character of his recommendations for reform of the curriculum and teaching style, this paper seeks to contextualise Drinkwater's efforts amidst debates going on around him, within and outwith the Roman Catholic Church, particularly concerns about the decline of child and youth church attendance, which efforts to renew catechetical teaching of the interwar period sought to mitigate. Additionally, it will examine Drinkwater's attempts at reform against the background of the lived religious experiences of Catholic children in the pre-Vatican II period. The paper concludes by assessing whether Drinkwater's work has a lasting legacy, and, if so, what this might be. How widely felt were Drinkwater's reforms and were they ultimately widespread or efficacious? What are the longer-term trends Drinkwater's reform were a part and what are the implications of it in the present day?

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Keywords: Roman Catholic Church, catechesis, pedagogical reform



Reform Efforts in the Institutional Framework of Girls' Education and Teacher Training

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In the second half of the 19th century in Hungary, women's social position, education and upbringing underwent constant change. With the establishment of girls' schools, the possibilities and institutional framework for the education and upbringing of women were a constant issue in educational laws and programme proposals. Traditional societal roles called for teaching subjects appropriate to the female gender and then for employment in jobs appropriate to the female role. Many reform thinkers of the period, including András Fáy and Teréz Brunszvik, urged discussion of the theoretical and practical issues of girls' education. As the focus of my research, I would like to present a girls' school founded in 1873 as the State Teachers' Training Institute for Elementary and Civil School Teachers, which was renamed the Elisabeth Women's School in 1898 in honour of Queen Elisabeth Wittelsbach of Hungary. According to school notices, the first person to take up the idea of founding the institution was Baron József Eötvös, who believed that students should be encouraged to study and further education should be provided for the best students. The school was also unique in its outstanding teaching staff and methodology making it a kind of experimental, model school among the women's education institutions founded in the period.

In the early years, several changes were necessary because of the general institutional underdevelopment and disorganisation. In order to improve economic conditions, specialised courses were set up according to the 'domestic school' curriculum, which continued until 1895. According to a ministerial decree of 1882, the institute trained its students as 'housewives' and 'civil school teachers'. The greatest glory of the Institute is that it taught its outgoing students to educate and teach, to be enthusiastic about ideals. For the Elizabeth School for Women, patriotic education is one of the most important objectives. Their educational programme was constantly adapted to the changing economic, social and industrial conditions of the time, and everyday life was organised accordingly. The school has served as a model throughout the country, and during the school years, many guests have visited to observe the work of the school. Teaching became more practical and their methods followed changes in social and economic conditions. The main aim of the school was to develop in the minds of its pupils a worldview, in which the framework of a religious moral spirit would create the image of an educated Hungarian woman, sober and independent in her judgement and action, who could help her immediate environment and the life of her community and nation by her own activities, at all times, with the means of progress. One of the main means of achieving this aim is the "self-work" of the pupils, as the school bulletin puts it. Its development is reflected in the school's teaching methods and education. The aim of my research is to shed light on the institutional manifestations of the educational reform efforts of the period.

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Keywords: girls' education, reform movement, model school, literacy, tradition



The Construction of Gender Within Changing Educational Spaces, 1970–1990. Exemplified on Residential Child and Youth Care in Zurich, Switzerland

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Current research about residential child and youth care in Switzerland focusses mostly on earlier periods of the 20th century. The studies show how educational spaces and practices were shaped by the construction of gender. Boys and girls, for example, were housed in separate rooms or houses and had gender specific chores (Bombach et al., 2017). However, with the modernization of society through social movements in the 1960s and 70s the construction of gender changed. Therefore, the following questions arise: How did this transformation alter the spaces of residential child and youth care? Did it affect the gender constructions within these spaces, and if so, how? This presentation offers an insight into a dissertation project, which is following these questions by studying the spaces of residential child and youth care in Zurich considering similar organizations in Germany and Austria from 1970–1990.

The dissertation is part of the DACH research project "Negotiating Educational Spaces"¹ which asks comparatively about change and transformation of three welfare regions (Vorarlberg/Tyrol, Hesse, Zurich). The subproject in Switzerland examines residential child and youth care institutions overseen by the city of Zurich from 1970–1990. During that time the city ran over 20 such organizations, which were constantly reconstructed, reopened, reduced, expanded, or closed. Employing the methodology of Grounded Theory, the research project examines textual primary sources as well as qualitative expert and oral history interviews with contemporary actors within the residential care system of Zurich. The transformation of this landscape, influenced among other things by social change internationally, is analysed with a theoretical perspective that recognizes space as a relational social product (Lefebvre, 1991; Löw, 2005; Belina, 2013). Furthermore, space in the context described above is institutionalized and specifically constructed for the purpose of educating children and adolescents, hence, can be identified as an educational space per se (Groppe, 2013).

The focus of the dissertation, however, is to uncover the construction of gender as a social product (Butler, 2008; Wetterer, 2002) within these educational spaces. One example is the developing consensus at the time for coeducation within the care system, except for adolescents. Residential care for the latter appeared often as a highly gendered space with corresponding unequal prospects for job trainings and apprenticeship opportunities among other things. While it is to be expected that alongside the transformation of society both on a local and a transnational level, the construction of gender in relation to other categories (intersectionality with e.g. class, sexuality, origin) in the described historical context were changing, the question to what extent and how remains.

¹ Ralser, Michaela, Bereswill, Mechthild, Hauss, Gisela: "Negotiating Educational Spaces in residential Childcare 1970–1990. An Interdisciplinary Comparison of Transformation Processes in Austria, Germany and Switzerland." Founded by FWF, DFG, SNF (2021–2024), URL: <https://www.uibk.ac.at/projects/erziehungsraeume/projekt.html> [02.02.2023].



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Keywords: gender, (educational) spaces, change, residential child and youth care



Mediating Educational Reforms: The Role of Journals in the 19th and 20th Centuries

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Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, education can be characterised as an object of constant demands for and practices of reform. It is especially striking that educational reforms appear never to be completed once and for all, they rather keep returning in seemingly endless recurring waves. Back in 1990, Larry Cuban started from this diagnosis to offer a number of explanations, two of which are taken up here. First, he addresses the enduring optimism and faith in education as a solution for almost all challenges facing societies at different times. Therefore, discourses about educational reform “become, indirectly, discourses about the future of society” (Cuban, 1990, p. 8). Associated with this, second, Cuban stresses that changing economic, political and social conditions and their perception repeatedly require adaptations in the field of education. In this process, media play a crucial role by translating concerns and proposed solutions, thus making educational reform available for national and transnational circulation and transformation (Cf. Anderson, 2007).

The preformed panel seeks to explore this function of media in the context of educational reform. It focuses on journals as one of the most widespread and important media to deal with pedagogical subjects from the middle of the 19th to the late 20th centuries and applies the approach of (cultural) translation (Cf. Lässig, 2012). As Grek et al. (2022) recently noticed, translations “occur when specific forms of knowledge in education move and change as they travel between actors, practices, organisations, and institutions”. With regard to educational reform, the following questions arise: What is defined as the problem that has to be tackled? How was the critique framed? Which reforms were demanded by whom? Who were the intended recipients? What justifications were given? Which role did the journal play in the circulation and transformation of specific knowledge in national and transnational contexts?

To answer these questions, four case studies are examined. With the 1860s and 1870s, the early 1900s and the 1960s and 1970s cover time periods, or “waves”, when educational reform was particularly prominent in Europe. First, the early women’s journals, *Neue Bahnen* and *Der Frauen-Anwalt*, organs of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein* [General German Women’s Association] and the *Verband Deutscher Frauenbildungs- und Erwerbvereine* [Federation of German Women’s Education and Employment Associations], were the most important communication forums in the debate on improving educational and employment opportunities for women in Germany. The educational reforms discussed in the journals are examined in terms of their circulation and transformation during the short but virulent period from 1865 to 1881.

Second, the *Osmanischer Lloyd* was a German-French daily newspaper published in Constantinople (Istanbul) with the support of the German Foreign Office and the German Embassy between 1908 and 1918. It became an important foreign policy organ of the Wilhelmine Empire to exert influence in the region. We examine the cultural-political and educational-reform comments of the transnational medium at a point of contact between German and Ottoman society in the early 20th century.

Third, with regard to the import and translation of stereotypes and prejudices against Islam and the Arab world between 1890 and 1936, pedagogical journals, such as *El Magisterio Espanol* (1867–1934), the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (1877–1936), and *El Boletín de la Escuela Moderna* (1902–1909), are analysed.



Fourth, the analysis of the influence of educational reform ideas in the 1960s to the 1970s on West German authors' opinions about comics as educational media will be based on articles from the *Jugendschriften-Warte*, an influential German educational literature journal which was established in 1893 and published by the United Youth Literature Committees of the Working Group of German Teachers' Association.

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Keywords: educational reform, journal, translation, circulation



Circulation and Transformation of Educational Reforms in Early German Women's Journals (1865–1881)

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The profound social, political and economic structural change in the second half of the 19th century changed the living conditions of the middle classes and also had social effects on the living conditions of middle-class daughters in Germany. This became visible, among other things, in the fact that a growing number of unmarried and widowed women were faced with very limited employment opportunities. In addition to socially liberal-minded circles, it was women themselves who took the initiative and introduced measures and reforms to improve the general and vocational educational opportunities of female youth and to open up or develop new fields of employment for women.

In 1865, the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein [General German Women's Association] was founded in Leipzig, followed by numerous associations in other cities. One of their central objectives was "to free female labour from the shackles of prejudice [...]" (Neue Bahnen, 1866, p. 2). Following the example of the London Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, similar associations were founded in Germany from 1866, as in other countries. Under the leadership of the Berlin association, the Lette-Verein, they merged in 1869 to form the nationwide Verband Deutscher Frauenbildungs- und Erwerbvereine (Federation of German Women's Education and Employment Associations), whose main aim was to promote the education and training of young women through school institutions. Although both organisations differed in their self-conceptions, they pursued similar goals, which they communicated through the associations' own media. The journal Neue Bahnen (New Tracks, 1866–1911), organ of the Allgemeine Deutsche Frauenverein and Der Frauen-Anwalt [The Women's Advocate, 1870–1881], organ of the Verband Deutscher Frauenbildungs- und Erwerbvereine form the source basis of the contribution.

In recent years, women's journals have increasingly become the focus of historiographical research. For example, Magdalena Gehring (2020) presented a very detailed study on the reception of America in the Neue Bahnen, and Barbara Krautwald (2021) used the journal of fashion, women and family Der Bazar (1854–1900) to examine the female self-image negotiated there. The focus of the contribution here is the national as well as transnational circulation and transformation of pedagogical reforms in women's magazines. Starting points are approaches of cultural transfer research and the more recent History of Knowledge, according to which knowledge does not spread freely, but requires a medium for communication and circulation between persons, groups and institutions and also changes constantly in this process of movement. In this context, knowledge is understood as a "broad, societal phenomenon" (Östling, 2020, p. 120), and journals are not only seen as "sites of knowledge" (Östling et al., 2018, p. 26), but also as sites where knowledge is changed or reconstituted through the selection of content, commentaries and translation.

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Keywords: educational reform, journal, translation, circulation



Educational Reform and Nation-Building: Co-Editor Friedrich Schrader's Cultural Policy Comments in the Daily Newspaper *Osmanischer Lloyd*, Constantinople 1908–14

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One of the German Empire's world power plans in the Wilhelmine era was to build a common cultural and economic area "from Berlin to Baghdad". In 1908, the year of the Young Turk revolution, which brought about the overthrow of Sultan Abdulhamid and the re-establishment of parliament, the German and French-language daily newspaper "*Osmanischer Lloyd*" was founded under the aegis of the Foreign Office and the German Embassy in Constantinople. With this paper – which was as important then as it is unresearched today – German institutions aimed at supporting those plans on-site and creating a German-friendly political climate, especially among the new rulers of the late Ottoman Empire.

The German orientalist Friedrich Schrader (1865–1922), since 1891 a lecturer at various higher educational institutions near Istanbul among others, became co-founder and deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper. Especially in the years before World War I. he propagated in numerous articles the importance of the nationwide development of an elementary school system in the future nation-state of "new Turkey". In doing so, he consistently prioritised cultural policy over military policy and strove to discreetly emphasise the importance of educational reform measures, not least vis-a-vis the new Ottoman government, which for its part – like the German side – tended to concentrate on economic and military policy and regarded school and educational policy as secondary. Schrader was also firmly convinced that a modern education system in order to be useful for the entire nation had to be built from the bottom up. The Young Turks' favoured top down-plan of reshaping the university first would strengthen the ruling elites, but would not reach the rest of the population or the remote rural regions, he argued.

From a postcolonial perspective, we examine how educational and cultural policy problems were negotiated in the "*Osmanischer Lloyd*" as a medium of transnational circulation of knowledge. What were the points of criticism of the government's policy, and how were the reform proposals at this interface between German and late Ottoman society translated in a way that was hoped to be appropriate for the target audience?

To answer these questions, we analyse selected articles on cultural and educational policy by Friedrich Schrader and ask how he pursued his line of argument in those years of frequently changing political actors on the Turkish side – and quite contrary priorities on the German side – and insisted on the necessity of a fundamental educational reform regardless of the rapidly changing daily politics.

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Keywords: educational reform, journal, translation, circulation



The Image of Islam and the Arab World in Spanish Pedagogy, ca. 1890–1936

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Despite the fact that the integration of the migrant population in the Member States of the European Union is recognised as one of the most important and urgent political and social objectives (Agenda 2030), it is clear that immigrant groups continue to lag behind the native population in many respects. This phenomenon is due, among other factors, to the existence of stereotypes and prejudices among the native population with regard to immigration, especially towards certain groups such as immigrants from the Arab world. Considering that the underestimation of these groups by education professionals has a particularly negative impact on their prospects for successful schooling and social integration, research into historical Spanish pedagogical discourse on Islam and the Arab world is considered necessary in order to contribute to a better understanding of the development of prejudices and stereotypes in previous periods.

The aim of the contribution is to identify the translation of prejudices from the reform pedagogical movement in other countries, especially in Germany, into Spain around 1900. The sources that will be examined in regard to the import and translation of stereotypes and prejudices 1890–1936 are pedagogical journals, such as *El Magisterio Español* (1867–1934), the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (1877–1936), and *El Boletín de la Escuela Moderna* (1902–1909). The results of this research shall form a basis for a broader study comparing the results of similar historical-educational research carried out in other European countries in order to identify patterns of the circulation and translation of prejudices and stereotypes.

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Keywords: educational reform, journal, translation, circulation



Educational Reform Ideas and the Discussion on Comics as Educational Media in the Journal *Jugendschriften-Warte* (1960s to 1970s)

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In the post-war Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) a new medium flooded the newsstands and won the hearts of thousands of children: comic books. The cheap, mass-produced media allowed children to dive into a new colourful and exciting world. While children enjoyed the new medium, parents and teachers grew scared of the “opium of the nursery” (Greiner, 1972, p. 1). The unknown form of comic books plus the variety of topics caused fear of increased juvenile crime rates or illiteracy. Right from the beginning of the 1950s, the debate about comic books was dominated by pedagogues, educators and teachers. Only in the early 1970s public opinion about comic books started to change, co-relating with education reform movements in the FRG. A new generation of educators voiced the wish to democratise the school system by making it more accessible and to reform teaching through a more pupil-centered approach.

The new reform ideas emerging in the 1960s and the 1970s and the following debate gave renewed importance to an old medium: educational journals. Amongst those, one journal stood out for its particularly articulate anti-comics voice: the *Jugendschriften-Warte* (Youth Literature Warden). The journal was initiated in 1893 and quickly became a grandeur of educational literature. Right from the beginning, it had the goal to evaluate newly published children’s and youth literature and to offer alternatives to trivial mass literature. During its existence until today, it had a huge impact on professional opinions about what was well worth reading and what was seen as suitable literature for children and young adults. Additionally, it also gave specific instructions for the use of literature in educational settings. In the course of the 1960s, the journal suddenly saw itself confronted with new reform ideas, which as a part of the pupil centered approach also included the use of mass media in educational settings. Even though this approach was something the journal so far had strongly objected to, gradually the voiced opinions about comics as educational media started to change towards a more favorable viewpoint.

This phenomenon was not unique to the *Jugendschriften-Warte*, yet the journal seems suitable for an exemplary analysis since it was the publication that underwent the most remarkable change in opinion and it also offers a rare insight into the discussion between educational experts of the time. While this shift in opinion is clearly visible in the journals published articles, the reasons why and its connection to the educational reform movement have so far not been examined. The *Jugendschriften-Warte* has been subject to studies before (E.g. Weinkauff, 2018; Azegami, 1996), but none of these preliminary works concentrated explicitly on the comic book debate. Comic books in general have long been overlooked by researchers in history of education, with a few exceptions (E.g. Kesper-Biermann, 2022). The proposed contribution therefore wants to close this gap by focusing on the described shift in opinion about comic books as educational media and its connection to the educational reform movement in the FRG and inner-political changes of the journal itself.

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Keywords: educational reform, journal, translation, circulation



Supervision of School Reforms and the Reform of School Inspectorates – The Relation Between Supervision Structures and School Reforms

Part 3

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Discussant(s): Tomáš Kasper

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The time after 1900 is known as the heyday of New Education, a reforming educational program (Röhrs, 1998, p. 11; Seyfarth-Stubenrauch & Skiera, 1996; Tenorth & Heide Kallert, 2022). Yet this time was not only remarkable due to the circulation of new ideas about education, schools, and teaching. It was also the time, in which reform discourses reached a position of power and influence in the established school systems of that time. School administrators such as Georg Kerschensteiner in Munich, Anna Siemsen in Hamburg, Anton Sickinger in Mannheim, and Otto Glöckel in Vienna are examples from the German-speaking countries. Yet this was a major trend in the first decades of the 20th century, well beyond Europe or the United States.

The ascendance of new and reformist educators to positions of power suggests looking more attentively to one part of educational administration that not only may have been heavily involved in educational reforms, but whose very existence may be seen as a reform itself: School inspection. The symposium of three panels intends to discuss the relationship between schools and school inspectorates from the perspective of reforms. This includes both the role of inspection in reforming schools and the reforming of inspection itself as a way of reforming schools. The links between the incorporation of reform projects into administrative ways of institutionalisation and the establishment and change of school supervision as reforms themselves are in focus. Following these links, the symposium intends to shed new light on two major problems for educational historiography. First, school inspectorates may be seen not only as a controlling, but also as a reformist institution, giving the historical study of educational administration a more flexible turn. Second, school reforms may be seen beyond their innovative moment focused on the new ideas, but also from their more institutionalised side, stressing the slow and patient institutionalisation of the new.

The papers position educational administration and its bureaucracy, being school inspectorates a centrepiece, not only as obstructing actors, but also as enabling ones. Beyond viewing school administration and school inspection as monolithic entities repeating the same kind of controlling operations, newer scholarship looks into the inner workings of school inspectorates (Kasper et al., 2022; Geiss & De Vincenti, 2014; Geiss, 2012). In this sense, the panels and papers of this symposium address the following questions: Did school inspectors initiate reforms, prepare them, or recruit specific personal to enact them? What kind of knowledge did reformist actors gather, produce, and deal with when facing administrators and inspectors? Which reforms were developed from within the school administration and how were reform projects promoted? What routines and activities and what forms of knowledge elicitation were activated in school administration in contexts of reform?

These broader questions were discussed in cases studies from different contexts, mostly focused on Europe, but also including a case of European colonial educational policy: India. The case studies cover the critical time of the formation of mass educational systems from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. Beyond simple chronology or geography, panels follow three



main perspectives of dealing with the links between school reforms and the reform of school inspection: bureaucratic, politic, and pedagogic. These main perspectives display both different motivations for reform as well as different logics of processing them. By doing this, we do not characterise the respective reforms as only bureaucratic, pedagogic, or political. All reforms combined the three aspects to different degrees. Through the contributions of the symposium, we aim at gaining a deeper understanding of the dynamics of school inspection well beyond the sole focus on "system maintenance function".

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



The Dutch School Inspection and the Classroom System: The Building of an (outdated) Educational Reform (1801–1900)

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In this paper we want to look at how differences between pupils in the Dutch educational system have been dealt with by the State, especially by the School Inspection as a bureaucratic and pedagogical power. This is our first research question. We will focus on the classroom system, the monitorial system, and individual teaching approaches as the main differentiation models in Dutch education over the past centuries (Braster, 2011).

The history of one of these models, the classroom system, is closely linked to that of the School Inspection. The founding of this institution in 1801 coincided with the effort of the national government to replace individual education with a new educational model. It was the body of school inspectors who had to manage and control this transition (Dodde, 2001). The classroom system was specifically chosen as the solution to a social problem, i.e., the ignorance and the immorality of large sections of the population. The monitorial system, despite its popularity in other countries like England and Belgium, was discarded as a relevant option in the Netherlands (Eidhof et al., 2016). It is an irony of history that in 1900, the year the capstone of the classroom system was set with the Compulsory Education Act, the Century of the Child was heralded (Mangan, 1994). This raises a second question, that is the role that the School Inspection has played in introducing the classroom system as an educational reform that, at the moment of its completion, was considering to be outdated by the representatives of a new pedagogical power, the progressive education movement.

To answer the above two questions, we will use as a source the Education Reports written by school inspectors from the moment the Dutch Inspectorate was founded. They provide information about legalities and educational policies and contain evaluations about classroom processes and school cultures as well, often illustrated with quotes from educational practice. I will reconstruct how Dutch inspectors introduced an educational reform and its accompanying material objects like blackboards, slates, weights, and rulers in an educational world that spatially had to be redesigned, and that culturally had to be reconstructed. It took a century to complete this mission, and although the end of the road was the beginning of a new educational path, school inspectors have always operated successfully as both the builders and the expert readers of the grammar of schooling (Tyack et al., 1995).

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Elementary School Inspectors in Northern Italy before Unification (1780–1860): The Establishment of a Key Figure

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The origin of school inspectors as state officials is closely connected with the birth of a state school system, which was first fully enforced in Italy in Habsburg Lombardy, when Felbiger's pedagogy and the Allgemeine Schulordnung were introduced by Joseph II. The task of supervising elementary school teachers was given to a chief school director, normally a priest. The Napoleonic governments backed the Normalmethode and the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy introduced the position of three state chief inspectors (secular university professors), although everyday local control remained in the hands of city school directors, who were priests. During the Restoration, the Politische Schulverfassung was applied by decree in 1818 throughout the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, creating the role of two chief inspectors of elementary schools for Lombardy and the Venetian region. These had to be clergymen.

We can reconstruct the work of these inspectors and trace the gradual affirmation of their role through the imposition of the Normalmethode but also through confrontations with the city council or government authorities, in which they defended the need to open new schools, pay teachers better, and protect poor children. During the Restoration, the process of secularising inspectorates carried out by the Napoleonic governments (necessary to supervise and provide a comparison with church educational institutions) was not completely lost, since the chief inspector of Lombardy, the cultivated priest Carpani, succeeded in appointing a lay person to the key role of director of the Scuola Elementare Maggiore Normale in Milan and in 1853 backed the nomination of the lay Sacchi as his successor as chief inspector on account of his competence and in spite of his patriotic feelings. Sacchi was a friend of Aporti, the priest who had introduced the Kindergarten in Italy. In 1844, Aporti introduced the Normalmethode in Piedmont through some university lessons. In 1848, the constitutional Savoy government issued the Boncompagni school law, which started moderate secularisation of the Piedmont school system. The Venetian Fava, a highly cultured man who had played a prominent part in the battle of Milan against Austria in 1848 and who was in exile in Turin, was appointed chief inspector of the elementary schools of the Kingdom of Sardinia. He contributed to the writing of the Casati school law of 1859 and worked assiduously towards improving teachers' education and expanding schools. He adopted a moderate position towards the church, avoiding confrontation in inspections and warning provincial inspectors against prejudicial positions against Catholic schools. However, he refused to grant the freedom of teaching that liberals advocated and supported uniformity in teaching, not only to impose the Normalmethode, but also to generate national feeling. He strongly supported the teaching of the Italian language through Aporti's method and a teaching of Italian history that was centred on the Savoy monarchy.

Hence, in Lombardy and Piedmont the institutionalisation of inspectors was linked to the gradual state control of schools, and to the secularisation of the teaching body and an ideology of nation-building. Chief inspectors held a broad knowledge of both culture and pedagogy.



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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Hired to Reform? – Prussian City School Councils as Re-Organisators and Communicators

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Student Contribution

Not only round 1900 but already in the first half of the 19th century some of the most visible and relevant pedagogical actors were administrators. This paper approaches the role of administrative staff within reform processes on the regional level (Fuchs et al., 2011). In the 19th century in Prussia, there were relevant city school councils like Reichhelm, Natorp, von Türk and – when one understands the emerging teacher education institutions as part of the broader administrative approach towards re-organising the school system – as well Adolph Diesterweg (Tenorth, 2003), who were in their time influential in the area of school reforms. Yet the total number of school councils and pedagogic thinkers remained comparably small in contrast to the period of the German empire after 1870, when the school was more or less “occupied” by the state (Berg, 1973). This new state control first and foremost meant that more school council and administrative staff was recruited. For their recruitment the background of some major state lead modernisation reforms was relevant. As due to broader national transformations political, geographical as well as administrative and educational reforms were started (Leschinsky & Roeder, 1983). The whole school system was in motion and the slogan of “re-organisation” became popular.

This mattered as well for the pedagogic administrative personal, as I will discuss for the province of Pommern. I will concretely analyse the organisation of schooling in the Prussian provincial town of Stralsund and their hiring of a new city school council and how in this process of selection, the ability to re-organise was relevant. I will sketch the administrative tradition of school administration of the province and city (Mellies, 2012), highlight the emergence of new school councils for the whole city, describe their employment and the criteria in place to decide for the position to be filled. I then describe how the appointed council Samuel Herman Wagner, re-organised the city’s school system, how he wrote about the re-organisation and how he positioned himself towards other possible reforms. For this I deploy archival documents from the city’s archive. While being hired due to his re-organisation experience, Wagner comes into view here as a skilful communicator, who manages to partake in public, administrative and pedagogic discourses of his time.

I will contrast the Stralsund example with the cases of the city school council recruitment of Berlin – as central example and often referenced case – as well as with Greifswald as local comparable city. Hereby, I discuss how re-organisation and reform resemble but as well differ. I will also discuss what qualification might be commonly expected for the position of (city) school council during the 19th century, adding to the understanding of the only seldomly separately discussed administrative position. In this sense the paper adds to the broader theme of the conference, by discussing the specifics of the term “reform” in contrast to connected terms and in contact with questions of administrative recruitment.

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Keywords: school supervision, school reform, inspectorate, 19th century, 20th century



Tensions and Transitions in the Greek Education System (1910–1932). The Turn from the Tradition to Liberalism

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In Greece, the early 20th century was associated with an attempted transition to liberalism, which was called upon to oppose a deeply rooted traditional understanding of state-citizen relations. Eleftherios Venizelos, a prominent political leader of the Greek liberal movement, represented a liberalism that sought to combine the rights of the individual with the collective interest of the public. His political ideology emphasized the importance of individual rights and freedoms, while also recognizing the need for the well-being of society as a whole. In such a vein, the concept of meritocracy was linked to the concepts of social justice and social mobility. During his prime ministerial terms, in the period from 1910 to 1932, Venizelos focused his educational policy on widening educational access, defining the context and limits of educational modernization in Greece. Through a series of major legislative interventions, aiming at increasing educational opportunities, Venizelos' governments attempted to reform school knowledge and pedagogical practices, establish vocational and practical schools as a structural part of the educational system, expand tertiary education, enhance women's education, establish a network of private schools for the social elite, and to reduce illiteracy among adults. Those educational reforms met with serious opposition and were intercepted every time that changes in the political landscape provided traditional circles the opportunity to implement their reactionary policies and rules.

Our study investigates critically the values and ideological foundations of the educational reforms of the period from 1910 to 1932 in Greece. It initially reports the main reform axes in the field of education and pedagogy and the reactions from the trenches of traditional circles. Following this, it discusses the reformist tension of that period in the context of ideological and political liberalism of the early 20th century. It finally, investigates the perspectives and limits of education modernization, as these were reflected in the first educational reform attempted in Greece in the spirit of liberalism.

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Keywords: education in Greece, educational reform, liberal educational thought, educational inequalities, educational expenses



Italian Catholic students in post-1968 years

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In a peculiar way, students riots in 1968 were begun in Italy by catholics. The first University to be occupied was, on the 17th of November 1967, the Sacred Heart Catholic University in Milan, with the public subscription by about 150 young member of the Christian democratic party (DC), the catholic trade union (CISL) and other associations. During the year 1968 some young people stopped the Eastern mass in the cathedral of Trento (26th March) and symbolically occupied the cathedral of Parma (14th September). The protests were characterized by twist of political and social issues and ecclesial ones, due to the recent celebration of Vatican Council II., and often held referring to Church documents.

I analyse this period particularly through the house press organs of the Catholic Action Students Movement (MSAC) and of the Italian Catholic University Federation (FUCI), considering that the Catholic Action, that in 1969 celebrated its first 100 years, underwent in 1969–70 a process of deep inner reform, that consented i.e., for the first time, the co-education of boys and girls.

Another topic will be represented by the intense debate about the possibility of a school reform in the 1970s, which remained largely unexpressed. But in 1974 the government recognised to students and their families the right to be represented in school organs, calling democratic elections in schools. Also, catholic students organised themselves in order to presenting lists, not rarely in alliance with left parties students.

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Keywords: 1968, catholic, students, school reform



“We Want Nurseries”: Female Workers and the Social Strife for Early Childhood Education and Care in Turkey (1975–1980)

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Early childhood education and care in Turkey started developing from the 1960s onwards. The number of institutions in charge of children who have not reached the age of compulsory schooling (i.e. 7 years until 1980, then 6 years) rose from 146 in 1963, 413 in 1970 to 2007 in 1980 (Bekman & Gürlesel, 2005, p. 80). Existing studies have highlighted the role of state reforms in this development (Bekman, 2005). The study of sources produced by non-state actors sheds light on the role of civil society, in particular of the leftist *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği* (İKD) [Progressive Women’s Organization]. This proposal aims to show that the İKD and more generally the female workers have been important actors in the reform of preschool education and childcare services in Turkey. The study of this grassroots movement constitutes an important element in the history of a developing country whose historical tradition tends to present the Turkish state as the key player in the country’s modernization (Aymes, Gourisse & Massicard, 2014).

Founded in 1975, İKD aimed to defend the rights of women and more particularly of working women. With its 15,000 members, it was the largest women’s organization at the time. Between 1976 and 1979 this organization set up a campaign which had a strong impact throughout the country: “A nursery for each neighborhood, for each workplace”. Denouncing the non-application of the 1973 regulation, which required companies employing more than 300 women to open a nursery, İKD published the name of the companies at fault in its monthly magazine, *Kadınların Sesi* [The Voice of Women], and encouraged female workers to file a complaint against those employers.

The demands of this campaign went even further. In the 1978 petition “We want nurseries”, İKD members called for preschool education for all children at a time when very few children had access to it (Taner Derman & Başal, 2010). It was only after the military coup of the 12th September 1980, which led to the closure of İKD, that a real institutionalisation of preschool education took place, as a tool of the regime’s propaganda. The second wave of feminism, originated during the military regime, was built largely in opposition to the women’s organizations of the 1970s and moved away from the subject of early childhood education.

While the historiography has focused on the history of public policies of the Turkish state, this presentation, drawing on İKD’s archives and publications, will explore the role of civil society and more specifically of a leftist women’s organization supporting early childhood education and care, in the late 1970s, at the intersection of social history, gender history and history of education.

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Keywords: Turkey, history of early childhood education and care, gender history, grassroots movement, social history



Education 'Conservatives' and The Little Red Schoolbook in 1970s Australia

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This paper examines an array of 'conservative' responses to the 1972 publication in Australia of *The Little Red Schoolbook*, a version lightly adapted from the internationally famous and provocative Danish 1969 original by Jesper Jansen and Søren Hansen. Subject of a widely-reported obscenity trial in Britain, *The Little Red Schoolbook* inspired an intense mix of support and condemnation in a number of countries including Australia, which is the national context for this paper (E.g. see Heywood & Strandgaard Jensen, 2018; Barrett Meyering 2022). It was banned in one Australian state, debated at the highest levels of national government and offered free to many school students in a kind of guerrilla distribution campaign (E.g. see Bruce, 2017). Amongst 'progressive' reactions was the production of the book, *Young Gay and Proud* (E.g. see Campbell 2014, Angelides, 2019). Counter publications from those who were hostile to *The Little Red Schoolbook* included *The Little White School Book* written by an Australian Methodist church minister, and a local version of the *Black and White Book* which had originally been produced under the auspices of the British Moral Re-armament movement. In this paper, we focus closely on these and other public reactions to the book from its opponents.

In focusing on reactions that we characterise as 'conservative', we aim to also open up the term and concept for discussion and analysis. The paper is based on a large empirical study of community organising for education reform in the 1970s and 1980s. The data for the paper comprises a large archive of publications we have collected for the larger project including newsletters, books and pamphlets produced during the 1970s by a variety of individuals and community organisations whose politics could be described as either wholly or partly 'conservative'. Such individuals and groups include religious conservatives, morals crusaders, censorship advocates, opponents of 'progressive' education and anti-feminist groups, as well as others who described themselves as occupying a simply neutral middle ground, and some who held a mix of positions on different issues or at different times. Critics of *The Little Red Schoolbook* invoked the book in different and similar ways in their takes on hot topics such as sex education, school 'discipline', children's rights, educational 'standards' and social justice. In this paper (and elsewhere), we argue that the 1970s–1980s is a key period for understanding the history of present-day conservatism in Australia and internationally – and that the education of school-aged children and young people constituted a crucial battleground for the ideological contests that animated and shaped the (internationally-interconnected) political and cultural 'right' from the late 20th to the early 21st centuries (E.g. see Gerrard & Proctor, 2021).

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Keywords: Conservative politics, 'community' activism, censorship, culture wars, media discourse



From Bid to Brother: Five Periods of New Member Hazing for U.S. Men's College Social Fraternities (1900 – present)

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Hazing in men's U.S. college social fraternities has been an ongoing concern as long as they have existed (Schwartz & Brian, 1982, p. 132). This historical paper presentation will address hazing, during five distinct periods of time, through evidence gathered from primary and secondary sources. An overview of the findings of this study will illuminate critical events that in some cases have resulted in life-changing experiences for all affiliated. In many cases, this has involved conduct that endangers individuals, is abusive, degrading, and humiliating (DeDantis, 2007, p. 6). In the worst cases, it has led to serious injury and even death. The presenter will share research findings supplemented with images and photos discovered through the research process.

Thirty-two college, university and organizational archives were as part of data collection for the study. Efforts were made to visit institutions from all regions of the United States, as well as a variety of institutional types. Institutions included large public research universities to small private liberal arts colleges and many types in between. No more than two institutions were reviewed in any particular state, with the exception of the authors institution and home state of Texas. Additionally, efforts were made in examine both public and private institutions as evenly as possible. Archives were selected based on their locations and ease of access for the researcher. Data sources included correspondence, documents and manuscripts, reports, forms, guides, photos and images, newspapers, yearbooks, and fraternity manuals.

The present study is important for developing historical context surrounding an enduring problem related to student development of males at colleges and universities in America. College men, particularly those belonging to social fraternities, have engaged in prohibited drinking and hazing since the founding the earliest colonial colleges (Syrett, 2009, p. 202). Hazing in fraternities, while prohibited by most colleges and universities, has been said to have become normalized by many, at a time when these behaviours have become more dangerous for all involved (Malinda et al., 2013). Knowing the dangers of hazing and given its effects on college males, some have stated that there is no excuse for hazing infractions, particularly given their legal liability (Zerman, n. d., p. 11).

This paper provides a well-researched account on the history of hazing on American college and university campuses. Efforts were made to include primary and secondary sources, from private and public institutions from all regions of the U.S. for a balanced and representative study. It offers much to scholarship in the field as few works have used archival sources and none have been found that used fraternity education manuals. Most published books on the topic have been authored by journalists (with particular bias) or through a particular lens (i.e., masculinity). This study provides a factual and more complete account of the topic of hazing in college fraternities.

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Keywords: college fraternities, hazing, college student development



Between Educational Benefits and Social Welfare: The Kaiser Child Service Centers' Wartime Nursery Experiment in the United States

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During World War II., in response to the massive demand for “womanpower” in the industrial workforce, the United States saw a short period of growth in publicly-funded childcare centers to accommodate women’s work outside the home. This paper focuses on the Kaiser Child Service Centers in Oregon, an on-site child care service for workers at the Kaiser Shipbuilding Company from 1943 to 1945. At a time when day nurseries and public preschool services bore the stigma of poor relief and low quality, the Kaiser Centers stood as a model program in the U. S. during and after World War II. The Centers enlisted an exceptional group of staff with early childhood education background, many of whom were trained in interwar child development programs, notably the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, Merrill-Palmer School, and Teachers College, Columbia University. Lois Meek Stolz, a leading expert of early childhood education, served as their Consulting Director. Partly owing to this professional crew, the Kaiser Centers provided state-of-the-art childcare services that emphasized free play, nutrition, and healthy growth for young children between 18 months and 6 years old. While the Centers were soon closed after World War II., they remained a favorite point of reference in various campaigns for national and state child care policies well into the 1970s.

This paper examines the operation and implications of the Kaiser Centers by bringing together the history of preschool education and the history of working women and childcare policies. Previous historical literature regarding the Kaiser Centers has concentrated on women’s struggle between home and workplace, as well as the maternalistic politics of child care policies. The lens of gender politics will still be an important aspect of the paper. Meanwhile, this paper situates the Kaiser Centers in the history of child development theories and practices from the 1920s to the Head Start era. I argue that early childhood educators at the Centers had a unique opportunity to stitch together two gradually divergent preschool experiences during the interwar years – elite nursery schools offering educational/developmental benefits vs. working-class childcare services as meagre welfare provisions. While the Kaiser Centers seemed to be a wartime expedient, educators were able to rejoin child developmental concerns and social service needs in their work with young children and their families. During the process, educators also embraced a slightly more flexible conception of mothers’ role in child development that stressed mothers’ personalities more than their constant presence at home. However, neither the tensions between educational and welfare functions in preschool programs nor mothers’ role in child development got fully resolved, as they remained hot-debated questions in postwar Head Start programs and general childcare policies in the U.S. In order to reconstruct the Kaiser Center’s experience, the paper uses archival sources from the Lois Meek Stolz Papers, and material concerning the interwar child development field from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund Records. In addition, contemporary news and magazine articles, professional educational journals, monographs, and conference proceedings will supplement those documents.



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Keywords: early childhood educators, Lois Meek Stolz, nursery school, U.S. child care policies, social welfare



New York City High School Reforms for Enhancing Vocational Education (1930s–1950s): The Inclusion of Children with Mild Intellectual Disabilities

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Children with mild intellectual disabilities (ID) were accepted into vocational high schools during the New York City high school reforms for enhancing vocational education from the 1930s to the 1950s. This study elucidates the background, the educational practices employed, and the issues that arose.

In the 1930s, New York City public high schools were overcrowded with an increasing number of students who could not find jobs and therefore remained in school. They were called 'non-academic children'. The Board of Education, believing that curriculum concepts and learning procedures should be developed to meet the needs of all children, including those who show signs of maladjustment, aimed to provide vocational education for these non-academic children rather than simply have them study academic subjects, as had previously been the case at high schools (New York City Board of Education, 1949) The number of students at industrial high schools increased from 5,337 in 1929–1930 to 35,583 in 1936–1937, when these schools began to be referred to as vocational high schools, and then rose to 44,750 in 1949–1950 (The New York State Education Department with the cooperation of the staff of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1951a)

'Non-academic children' included children who had average or above-average intelligence but could not receive appropriate education because of poverty or social problems; children who had poor grades because of delinquency caused by environmental or emotional disturbances; children who did not have ID but had difficulty learning academic content because of letters reversing themselves or other problems; and children with ID, referred to as 'the mentally deficient' and 'retarded'(Hungerford, 1947).

Vocational high schools were one of the primary places for the high school education of children with mild ID in the 1940s classes for "Children with Retarded Mental Development (CRMD) classes": classes for children with ID were also established within regular high schools in 1946, but vocational high schools accepted more children with mild ID. Out of the 1106 students who entered high school in the 1949–1950 school year, 60 went on to CRMD classes, and 1046 were enrolled in vocational high schools.

Vocational high schools not only taught practical technical skills tailored to industries but also provided citizenship education and personal/social content necessary for work. This process – learning through experiential educational activities for students' future daily lives – was similar to CRMD classes' education. On the other hand, issues in the education of children with mild ID were also identified at vocational high schools. The first was the issue of dropouts: students who did not properly graduate from junior high school and students with low IQs tended to drop out (The New York State Education Department with the cooperation of the staff of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1951a). Second, teachers were not trained in teaching methods appropriate for 'slow learners', and teaching materials were not prepared for them (The New York State Education Department with the cooperation of the staff of the Board of Education of the City of New York (1951b).



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Keywords: high school education reform, vocational education, children with mild intellectual disabilities



The Role of European and American Models Within the Structural Reform of the Israeli School System: 1965–1977

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The Structural Reform in the Israeli school system, launched in 1969, was the most extensive Reform in the Israeli history of education. It changed the school system's structure and transformed the selective nature of secondary education towards a more comprehensive system. The Reform was achieved through a political decision designed to deal with the severe problem of the educational achievement gap during the 1960s between Jewish students of European origin (Ashkenazim) and Jewish students of African-Asian origin (Mizrahim). The achievement gap coincided with social inequality, which threatened the existing order in young Israel and challenged the decision-makers who belonged to Social-Democratic parties.

Although the problem was local and stemmed from the unique conditions of an immigration society in the stages of Nation-Building, the architects of education, headed by the dominant Minister of Education from the ruling party, Zalman Aran, adopted a series of solutions based on existing models of comprehensive education from around the world. These models were mediated to the decision-makers by academic experts, who relied on private study and created different images regarding a field beyond their expertise.

Thus, the idea of School-Integration between blacks and whites was adopted from the American education system, precisely as the model of the Junior-High school; From the French education system, they drew the idea of differentiation between subjects of study in secondary education. The difference in the image of comprehensive education in Sweden, compared to the comprehensive education in Britain, was used by different parties among the supporters of the Reform in their debate about whether the Reform should abolish selection in public education or give it a place. The supporters of the Swedish model wanted to apply comprehensive education over the elitist schools. In contrast, the supporters of the British model believed that comprehensive education should be established only in the enclaves of the working class and the lower middle class.

In my lecture, I will seek to provide a comprehensive but concise picture of the world of images among the architects of Israeli education in the 1960s and 1970s regarding methods and models of comprehensive and secondary education across the globe. I will explain how this knowledge was built in Israel, and I will argue that the importation of ideas and models from comprehensive education systems in Europe and America was done first and foremost to legitimize a political decision on a reform that sparked intense educational controversy. I will present how the decision-makers made an instrumental use of European and American models to meet local needs, and I will explain the contradictions and educational tensions that resulted from that.

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Keywords: structural reforms, political history of education, inequality in education, entangled history, education and nation-building



Centre and Periphery in the Implementation of Reforms and School Policies in Italy: the Case of Birori (Sardinia) 1861–1914

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The beginning of compulsory primary schooling in Italy was accompanied by the birth of the unitary state in what has been described as the national Risorgimento. The years between 1861 and World War I. saw a succession of various school reforms: the Casati framework Law of 1859 that created the system of public education from university to primary school; the Coppino Law of 1877 that regulated compulsory schooling between 6 to 9 years of age; the curriculum reforms of the 1880s; the Nasi Law on the recruitment of teachers; the Orlando Law on the extension of primary education up to 12 years of age; and the Daneo Credaro Law that passed control of primary schooling from the municipalities to the state.

The purpose of my presentation is to evaluate how the extreme periphery of the Kingdom of Italy transposed the great national reforms through the study of a particularly “isolated” single case.

According to the historiographic tradition of micro-history, I will analyse the fifty years of elementary education since 1861 in a tiny village in the periphery of southern Italy, Sardinia. The completely unpublished sources are taken from the municipal historical archive of Birori, a village with just over 500 inhabitants. They provide an account of the condition of the teachers, the pupils, the school building, and much more in an environment that is completely different from the extensively researched primary schools in the large conurbations of continental Italy.

It is therefore a case study that can help us to understand how the distance between the centre and the periphery in the implementation of school policies in a young nation can be assessed from the bottom up.

This qualitative presentation forms part of a large three-year research project that is analysing statistically the relationship between education and development in over two thousand municipalities in southern Italy.

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Keywords: primary education, 19th–20th century, Southern Italy, literacy, teacher status



The Review of Life, a Method in (Re)construction Whithin the Transformation of the Social Pastoral and Popular Education

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The life review is an instrument for the pastoral care of young workers and cadre formation of the union-association Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne (1925), both designed and founded by Pater Cardijn. Considered by Cardin as a method of active education and a reformulation of earlier social pastoral methods such as the study circle and Saigner's Sillon, it is clearly reminiscent of the ideas and methods of progressive education, in particular Dewey's critical inquiry, transformed by American neighborhood development Social Work. Despite being constituted as a method by an interwoven set of instruments, the literature has focused on one of its parts, the "Seeing-judging-acting" (zien, oordelen, handelen; voir, juger, agir). It was made official in other specialized movements of Catholic Action which reformulated it (Cyclical Method, the Systematic Inquiry, the Jocist Campaigns...) and for the whole Church in the letter Mater et Magistra of 1961 (n. 235). Because of the participatory character of the method, its relative horizontality, and its capacity for mobilization it extended, and transformed, beyond the social pastoral to social and popular action and education in the late 20th century.

Although designed to stop the "apostasy of the masses" and to conquer or missionise young workers who were becoming socialists or communists, the life review, or rather, its use by various Catholic grassroots movements, paradoxically and very significantly contributed to political awareness (leftism), the establishment and participation of associations and trade unions, in particular the strengthening of neighbourhood associations (urbanization), or to economic modernization. Much more, at the end of the 20th century, the method was taken out of the religious institutions and became, more or less modified, a democratising, rationalising and community-building instrument, joining other new instruments of education and popular participation and social action, (E.g. associated with the initial stage of the Logical Framework). Despite these effects and its extension beyond Catholic pastoral care, it has received little attention outside Church history and left-wing Catholicism. Moreover, the studies so far have focused on institutional and socio-political aspects of the movements that used it and have not dealt as much with educational aspects. There is a lack of a global description and analysis of the method, beyond the famous see-judge-act method, and of its creation and evolution from the 1920s to the end of the 20th century. There is also a lack of comparative studies of its implementation and use in different contexts (mainly Catholic/non-Catholic cultures or dictatorships and democracies). The literature has associated a good part of the above mentioned effects to its curriculum, as the method provides participants with knowledge of the social sciences and left-wing ideologies, but one could also consider the effects of the method itself as a fairly horizontal, quasi-self-managed training instrument and also its links to associations or groups with practical participatory activities in many social areas. This paper analyses the creation, shaping and evolution of the method in Western Europe from the 1920s to the 1990s.

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Keywords: social education, review of life, social pastoral, progressive education, active education methods



The Unknown Israeli Education Reform: the First Program to Integrate Pupils with Disabilities in Elementary Schools (1951–1959)

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During the 1950s, a debate emerged in Israel over the education of children with disabilities. On one hand, there was the German-Austrian segregation model of “special schools”. This model had taken root in the Israeli education system from the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand, there was the American model of inclusion in education. This model presented a socio-educational discourse that claimed that the special institutions excluded children with disabilities from their families and their social environment. In 1956, the head of the special education section in the Ministry of Education, Helen Burt, published an essay titled “Integration or Separation,” which presented these two approaches and expressed the education system’s opinion against the integration of children with disabilities.

Despite this official stance, an experimental pilot program called “*Keren-Or*” was developed and implemented by the Ministry of Education. The program integrated blind children, who had previously been sent to a separate institution, into a general school alongside sighted children. Initiated by the American-Jewish association “*Migdal-Or*,” the program was launched in 1958 and approved in 1959.

The aim of this study is to identify the events and processes that led to the establishment and approval of the *Keren-Or* program. The research focuses on the 1950s in Israel and is divided into four periods. The first period (1951–1952) focuses on two significant events that led to the initiative: a serious crisis that developed in the institution for the blind in Jerusalem in the summer of 1951 when the management was unable to evacuate a 26-year-old graduate who had been found guilty of sexually assaulting a 6-year-old pupil, and a reorganization decision made by representatives of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Welfare to exclude “*Migdal-Or*” from the executive committee of the institution. The second period (1952–1955) deals with economic and social moves that strengthened *Migdal-Or*’s influence and helped promote its inclusive education program. The third period (1956–1958) focuses on the development and establishment of a pedagogical basis for the educational system and a stable administrative structure. The fourth period (October 1958–August 1959) follows the challenges and opportunities facing the educational experiment that included pupils with disabilities in elementary education and presents the factors that led to its approval at the end of the first year.

This historical study focuses on the establishment of the first inclusive classroom in Israel. A pioneering and unknown act that led to an essential educational reform in Israel. As such, the research sheds light not only on the history of education but also on the history of Israeli society and the impact of an international civil movement on the policy that has been formed in the State of Israel. The research is based on archival documents and the written press, as well as articles by the integration teachers who described the establishment of the class and their professional activities in later years. It draws from various fields, including the history of education, welfare, disability studies, and philanthropy.

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Keywords: blind education, reform, inclusive education



Schools Held Hostage by Political Groups in Mexico City, 1920–1923.
Las Escuelas Como Rehenes De Grupos Políticos En La Ciudad De México, 1921–1923

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After the revolution that began in 1910, the primary schools in Mexico City were left in a deplorable state. The war had rendered the schools practically useless; the children did not go to the classrooms, the teachers lost their jobs and the buildings received no maintenance at all. When pacification was finally achieved, it was the municipality of the city that was in charge of putting the vestiges of the school network back into operation. With few resources and a host of urban issues to resolve, municipal educational management was one more task that aimed to restore dynamism to the capital.

This situation, however, would not last for long. The victorious political group that came to power had other plans and would seek, by all means, the creation of an office that would take charge of education throughout the country. For the municipality, handing over the management of the schools meant accepting submission to the opposing political group, and losing legitimacy and decision-making capacity in the capital city. The schools then became hostages of the confrontation between parties. This paper analyses the means used by both political groups to gain control of them. It gives an account of the educational model that the federal government promoted, the campaign in the press that discredited those involved and how both students and teachers found themselves in the middle of the conflict.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Después de la revolución que inició en 1910, las escuelas en la ciudad de México quedaron en un estado deplorable. La guerra había dejado prácticamente inservibles los planteles, los niños se ausentaron, los maestros se quedaron sin trabajo y los edificios no recibieron mantenimiento alguno. Cuando finalmente se logró la pacificación, quien se ocupó de echar a andar nuevamente los vestigios de la red escolar fue el municipio de la ciudad. Con pocos recursos y un cúmulo de asuntos urbanos que resolver, la gestión educativa municipal se desarrolló como una tarea más que tenía por objeto devolver el dinamismo a la capital.

Esta situación, sin embargo, no permanecería por largo tiempo. El grupo político vencedor que accedió al poder tenía otros planes y buscaría, por todos los medios, la creación de un despacho que se hiciera cargo de la educación en todo el país. Para el municipio entregar el manejo de las escuelas significaba aceptar la sumisión al grupo político contrario, perder legitimidad y capacidad de decisión en la ciudad capital. Los planteles se convirtieron entonces en rehenes del enfrentamiento entre partidos. Esta ponencia analiza los medios de los que se valieron ambos grupos políticos para tener el control de las escuelas. Da cuenta del modelo educativo que se buscaba impulsar desde el gobierno federal, así como de la campaña en la prensa que desprestigiaba a los involucrados. Se enfoca sobre cómo los alumnos y los maestros se encontraron en medio del conflicto.

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Keywords: war, political crisis, school reform.



Coup d'état or Educational Cut *Golpe de Estado/Golpe na Educação*

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On 28 May 1926, a Coup d'état in Portugal with leadership of low patent officials, lieutenants, started a dictatorial process that lasted 48 years, that after two months leads to closing of Coimbra Institute Industrial and Commercial and other schools, a fact hidden by censorship and political repression.

However, this was not an isolated fact because was accompanied of more technical industrial and commercial schools' closings and restrictions at lyceum teaching matters, and some faculties was also closed as Oporto Letters Faculty or downsizing scientific levels of schools like Oporto Commerce Superior Institute, that was reclassified as Oporto Commercial Institute, delaying the creation of an Economic School at Oporto University.

This was what we detect and verified consulting 1926 second semester of Official Government Newspaper. So, it was clear that this coup wants with surgical manner to attain republican projects that want to prestige Republic after 1919, developing local economies through pedagogic innovations at elementary industrial and commercial technical education, attaining posteriorly intermediate education at Coimbra Institute Industrial and Commercial (Amado Mendes and others, 2022).

We complete posteriorly this research clarifying what happened and what resistance was done to these restrictions consulting Brotero School Archives, but, unfortunately, Archives of other schools was now lost. This was checked consulting Municipal Archives and Newspapers, and books and magazines, that through years escaped to censorship, giving us notice about this hidden reality, that we now reveal. Now, we can do a scheme how this provoked damages affect Portugal excluded regions, because with this policy can't develop industries of seed and linen, explaining because these territories can't create competitive advantages, so accelerating emigratory processes that leads to its abandonment during the last century.

So, Martins Afonso (1969), that framed political minds of many generations of secondary students through a textbook about *Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação*, a fundamental subject at terminal cycle of secondary teaching, tells us at 1970 with irony what happen, showing a clear knowledge about this period:

"At immediate days after Revolution we can see, naturally, a certain ideological indecisiveness because of spontaneous and heterogeneous rebellion character."(p. 422)

We can now inquire about destination of money switched from schools and another's sites (Madureira, 1982).

We found the solution at Diniz (2005, pp. 156-168), that show us how this money was accrued to monopoly wealth chosen by 28 May 1926 lieutenants.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Em 28 de Maio de 1926 deu-se um golpe de Estado em Portugal, liderado por oficiais de baixo posto, chamados tenentes, que foram os iniciadores de um processo ditatorial que durou cerca de 48 anos, que logo, passados pouco mais de dois meses levou ao encerramento do Instituto Industrial e Comercial de Coimbra, algo que se manteve oculto por força da censura e repressão política.

Contudo, não foi facto isolado pois foi acompanhado de mais encerramentos de escolas técnicas industriais e comerciais, bem como de restrições nas matérias constantes do ensino



liceal, acompanhado do encerramento de Escolas Universitárias como a Faculdade de Letras do Porto ou abaixamento do nível científico de escolas com o Instituto Superior de Comércio do Porto, que foi reclassificado com o Instituto Comercial do Porto, impedindo a criação de uma Escola de Economia.

É o que detetámos e verificámos inicialmente através de consulta do Diário do Governo relativo ao segundo semestre de 1926.

Foi assim claro que o golpe queria atingir cirurgicamente as diversas iniciativas dos republicanos com que queriam prestigiar a República a partir de 1919, desenvolvendo localmente a economia através de inovações pedagógicas na área do ensino técnico industrial e comercial ao nível elementar, atingindo posteriormente o nível médio no Instituto Industrial e Comercial de Coimbra.

Completámos posteriormente esta pesquisa esclarecendo o que ocorreu e, até, como se foi resistindo a estas restrições através da consulta do Arquivo da Escola Brotero, mas infelizmente perderam-se os arquivos das escolas extintas no planalto mirandês. Foi o que conferimos pela consulta de Arquivos Municipais, jornais regionais de Coimbra e de outras localidades, bem como de livros e revistas escolares que, ao longo dos anos, escaparam à censura e nos dão notícia desta realidade ocultada, que agora revelamos.

Podemos assim esquematizar como os prejuízos provocados em regiões marginalizadas de Portugal as afetaram, pois aí podiam ter sido desenvolvidas indústrias têxteis como as da seda e do linho, explicando porque estas localidades não conseguiram criar vantagens competitivas, acelerando-se aí processos emigratórios, que levaram ao seu esvaziamento durante este último século.

Por isso, Martins Afonso (1969), que moldou o pensamento político de gerações de estudantes liceais com a sua *Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação*, uma disciplina fundamental do terceiro ciclo liceal, conta com ironia em 1970 o que se passou, mostrando assim um conhecimento esclarecido sobre o que se passou:

“Nos tempos imediatos à Revolução notou-se, como era natural, uma certa indecisão doutrinária motivada pelo carácter espontâneo e heterogéneo da revolta.”(p. 422).

Podemos agora inquirir sobre o destino dos dinheiros assim desviados das escolas e de outros destinos (Madureira, 1982).

Encontrámos a solução em Diniz (2005, pp. 156-168), que nos mostra como isso foi acrescentado à riqueza dos monopolistas escolhidos pelos Tenentes do 28 de Maio de 1926.

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Keywords: Coup d'état, education cuts, educational innovations; financial restrictions, educative advantages



The Normative Acts of the Ministry of Public Instruction in Portugal as a Source for the Historiography of Education

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The normative acts of the Portuguese authoritarian regime designated as Estado Novo (1933–1974), published in *Diário do Governo*, represent an important source for the history of education in Portugal. Following the ruptures with the republican paradigms present in the Education Reform of 1911, initiated still during the National Dictatorship (1926–1933), these acts regulated and guided the national educational policies according to the ideology of the New State.

This article aims to analyse the Normative Acts published by the regime and verify what advances and setbacks were observed concerning the Education Reform of 1911. A document analysis was carried out of the Normative Acts published in the *Diário do Governo* by the Ministry of Public Instruction between 1933 and 1936 when the Ministry designation was changed to the Ministry of Educational Education.

The research revealed that in 1933, 244 Normative Acts were published. Among other types of acts, 121 Decrees and 65 Decree-Laws were published. Their contents focus predominantly on the organization of schools and teaching programmes. In addition, they also establish the guidelines for the training of teachers, their evaluations and professional placement in schools. Reflecting the national socio-political context, the Normative Acts during the regime also regulated aspects related to the marriages of teachers, the individual political behaviour of teachers and students and the youth organization “Portuguese Mocity” activities in the educational activities. Amongst the measures regulated by the Normative Acts that distance themselves from the paradigms of the Reform of 1911, the alliance between the State and the Catholic Church stands out with the inclusion of religious education based on social Catholicism and a solid political, social and ideological matrix inserted in the school textbooks. The regime uses the school as part of the strategy to instil in teachers and students the values and ideals of the Estado Novo, preparing them to be loyal citizens committed to the regime.

The Normative Acts reflect the national political and social contexts but also allow an understanding of the tensions and transitions in national educational policies, contributing to the historiography of education in Portugal. The normative acts allow a unique and detailed view of the policies and guidelines of education during this period, allowing us to observe what remains and what is reformulated in the elements of the Reform of Education of 1911. On the other hand, in the sequence of events culminating with the end of the regime (1974), some elements of these regulations pave the way for the outlines of Veiga Simão’s Reform (1970).

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Keywords: teaching reform, education, education policies, normative acts, Estado Novo



Image Taking and Religiously-based, Semiotic Transitions in Colonial and Postcolonial India

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This paper concerns the projection of the image as it portrayed the flawed business of bringing traditional Indian children into Western colonial educational and medical spaces. In the hands of Roman Catholic religious orders in particular, the image was placed at the centre of this transition. However its projections of dual meaning – relieved of text which could convey only one message – reveal the complex nature of this personal travelling by Indians while, at the same time, also offering a more orthodox semblance of order and hygiene in these children to satisfy government and the church hierarchies.

The dynamic was most apparent concerning Roman Catholic missions. This was because these missions were internal to the colonial project, yet they also decoupled from it as the 20th century progressed. At one level they were more intimately connected to tribal Indians (as with the work of the Jesuits). They were also separate from the Protestant empire making the raj.

Two images are concentrated upon: first, a very rare colonial image of traditional Indian learning in the village that focusses on Indian boys and second, an Indian Roman Catholic religious Order which concerned Indian girls instead – inverting gender relations but also showing mission cognisance of some of the complex epistemological and semiotic pathways that needed to be traversed by Indian children before they could be brought into mainstream mission schools and dispensaries.

As context for these liminalities, the paper also briefly delves back into the 19th century. It indicates the false equivalences made by missions at that time. For example, they saw Hinduism as a relatable yet pagan 'religion' – rather than as a category of devotional practice, philosophy and social organisation (S. N. Balagangadhara, 1993). Furthermore, European constructions around individualism (requiring an unconditional embrace of a package of moral values) were actually rejected by Hindus as impoverishing the character and content of their collective lives (Sudipta Kaviraj, 2010). Yet, despite these disabling blind-spots, transactional missionaries, when connecting with Indian children and their parents, maintained a strong strand of continuity from the early colonial period onwards. From very early on, embedded in their unconscious language and visual representations, were contiguous and long-standing semiotic and spatial dimensions in their discourse that related to the Indian body and its placement in the colonial frame.

These visual and spatial cues of missionary cognisance and dissonance persisted, travelling over the rough terrain created by the British raj – eventually allowing Roman Catholic Orders to disentangle themselves from the colonial project itself. When Indian independence came in 1947, the longstanding acuity of Roman Catholic Orders to control the image, built upon this semiotic intimacy with Indians, was crucial in the successful quest of Roman Catholic Orders to 'stay on' when the empire to which they had once belonged had long past.

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Keywords: empire, image, religion, semiotics, space, education



Ideals of Educated Womanhood in Women's Magazines of the Late Ottoman Empire (1908–1923)

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The late Ottoman Empire, in response to the “shifting realities” of the 19th century, initiated rapid reformation attempts leading to a proliferation of modern-style educational institutions (Fortna, 2018, p. 44), with the aim of bringing the “New Order” (*Nizam-ı Cedid*) (Berkes, 2002, pp. 53–54). Meanwhile, women became more visible in the public sphere and educational reforms stretched to the public schooling for girls (Akşit, 2012, pp. 21–56). Ottoman women, later on, initiated Ottoman women's movement with establishing associations and contributing to women's magazines (Çakır, 2013, pp. 405–407). The introduction of women's magazine publishing in the late 19th century provided Ottoman women with a medium to participate in the debates on their education and in shaping the new modern Ottoman woman through their writings. The limited publishing opportunities for women increased with the atmosphere of freedom brought by the promulgation of constitutional monarchy in 1908 (İner, 2015). Thus, in this paper, I investigate the changing ideals of womanhood within the educational discourse of Ottoman women's magazines in the period starting with promulgation of constitutional monarchy in 1908 until the promulgation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

In this study, I make use of articles and illustrations/visual elements (pictures and drawings) from three different women's magazines published in this period: *Kadın* (Woman, 1908–1909), *Musavver Kadın* (Pictorial Woman, 1911), and *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World, 1913–1921). I explore how writers discuss and describe how the newly educated woman should or should not be in these texts and visuals. As George Mosse argues, stereotypes are created against several countertypes (Mosse, 1996), and David Tjeder suggests that the countertypes inform normative ideals (Tjeder, 2003, p. 22). Thus, I investigate how the countertypes informed the normative ideals and how they are represented through texts and visuals in the magazines. As analytical tools, I employ concepts from discursive psychology: *interpretive repertoires*, *subject positions* and *ideological dilemmas*. Following the moves of the writers between interpretive repertoires and ideological dilemmas, I come across a constant movement from troubled to untroubled subject positions. I argue that untroubled subject positions constitute the ideals of educated womanhood, and the troubled ones are the countertypes. Yet, it is not possible to reach neat categories of ideals and countertypes as they are almost always intertwined and in the making in the texts. Instead, general categories emerged: Western, Eastern, Patriotic/Turkish/Muslim and Ignorant/Anatolian women. I argue that while the boundaries between these stereotypes are ambiguous, there is a clear-cut boundary between the ideal *patriotic Turkish women* and the countertype *ignorant Anatolian women*.

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Keywords: women’s magazines, education of women, Ottoman Empire, stereotypes, ideals of womanhood



The Internal Exile of Female Teachers During Franco's Regime. Marking, Banishment and Truncated Trajectories

El Exilio Interior de Las Maestras en el Franquismo. Señalamiento, Destierro y Trayectorias Truncadas

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With the coup d'état of 1936, a punitive process began that thoroughly examined the professional work of the Spanish teaching profession. This process has been extensively dealt with in the historiography of education, although in recent years new horizons of study have opened up that point in various directions: how many teachers were shot, how many disappeared, how many ended up in prison and how many were exiled? Questions that seek to piece together the complex puzzle of the purge of the teaching profession and, above all, its consequences. However, the information available to address these questions is very limited, with significant absences and gaps in the related primary sources.

Therefore, the magnitude of this repressive and punitive process is still difficult to estimate today, especially when we refer to the professionals who were banished and whose careers were condemned to silence and oblivion. Here the silences are more evident, as these vicissitudes speak to us of a dramatic reality: that of those people dedicated to teaching who were subjected to a process of redefinition and/or loss of identity. People who either had to develop their profession under public accusation in other destinations or who suffered traumatic emotional processes. Situations that find a common denominator in internal exile. This paper is based on this reality and aims to address this phenomenon within the national context and apply it to female teachers, who have been considered doubly punished for their professional and moral conduct. Specifically, the aim of this proposal is to broaden our knowledge of this reality in the case of female teachers in Avila and Segovia, two provinces which quickly became part of the rebel cause and in which, therefore, the punitive mechanisms were applied with haste. And two provinces which, due to their geographical position, maintained important professional contact with the province of Madrid, one of the most hotly contested places in the war. We therefore set out to find out what this process meant for them, what exile they suffered and what its effects were.

To this end, we have analysed multiple primary sources such as personal and purge files, the provisions of the official gazettes of both provinces and other administrative documentation related to the professional careers of the teachers in both territories. For this purpose, the General Administration Archive (AGA), the historical-provincial archives of Ávila and Segovia and the university archives were consulted.

The results obtained allow us to conclude that forced transfer – within or outside the province – was one of the main sanctions applied against female teachers in the context analysed. This punishment meant that many women were condemned to exile, compromising their family and life realities and, in some cases, truncating their destinies. Therefore, we cannot only speak of a physical transfer to other geographical points of the State, but also of an emotional recruitment, the consequences of which are still a priority in historical-educational research.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)



Con el golpe de Estado de 1936 comenzó un proceso sancionador que examinó minuciosamente el quehacer profesional del magisterio español. Este proceso ha sido ampliamente abordado desde la historiografía de la educación, si bien en los últimos años se han abierto nuevos horizontes de estudio que apuntan a varias direcciones: ¿cuántos maestros fueron fusilados? ¿cuántos desaparecieron? ¿cuántos acabaron en prisión? ¿cuántos fueron desterrados? Interrogantes que pretenden recomponer el complejo rompecabezas de la depuración del magisterio y, sobre todo, sus consecuencias. Sin embargo, la información disponible para atender a estas cuestiones es muy limitada, con ausencias y lagunas significativas en las fuentes primarias relacionadas.

Por tanto, la magnitud de este proceso represivo y punitivo es todavía hoy difícil de estimar, especialmente cuando nos referimos a los profesionales que fueron desterrados y que vieron sus trayectorias condenadas al silencio y al olvido. Aquí los silencios son más evidentes, pues estas vicisitudes nos hablan de una realidad dramática: la de aquellas personas dedicadas a la enseñanza que fueron sometidas a un proceso de redefinición y/o pérdida identitaria. Personas que o bien tuvieron que desarrollar su profesión bajo el señalamiento público en otros destinos o que padecieron procesos emocionales traumáticos. Situaciones que encuentran en el exilio interior un denominador común.

La presente comunicación parte de esta realidad y pretende abordar este fenómeno dentro del contexto nacional y aplicado al magisterio femenino, el cual se ha considerado como doblemente castigado por su conducta profesional y moral. Concretamente, esta propuesta tiene como objetivo ampliar el conocimiento sobre esta realidad en el caso de las maestras abulenses y segovianas, dos provincias rápidamente adscritas a la causa sublevada y en las que, por tanto, los mecanismos sancionadores se aplicaron con premura. Y dos provincias que, por su posición geográfica, mantuvieron un importante contacto profesional con la provincia de Madrid, una de las plazas más disputadas del conflicto bélico. Por ello nos planteamos conocer lo que supuso este proceso para ellas, cuáles fueron los exilios que sufrieron y cuáles fueron sus efectos.

Para ello, se han analizado múltiples fuentes primarias como los expedientes personales y de depuración, las disposiciones de los boletines oficiales de ambas provincias y otra documentación administrativa relacionada con las trayectorias profesionales de las maestras de ambos territorios. Para ello, se ha acudido al Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), los archivos histórico-provinciales de Ávila y Segovia y universitarios.

Los resultados obtenidos nos permiten concluir que el traslado forzoso – dentro o fuera de la provincia – fue una de las principales sanciones aplicadas contra el magisterio femenino del contexto analizado. Este castigo supuso la condena al destierro de muchas mujeres, comprometiendo sus realidades familiares y vitales, truncando en algunos casos sus destinos. Por tanto, no podemos hablar únicamente de un traslado físico a otros puntos geográficos del Estado, sino también de un reclutamiento emocional cuyas consecuencias constituyen a día de hoy una prioridad en la investigación histórico-educativa.

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Keywords: Inner exile, purge, Francoism, women teachers, Spain



Numbers, Petitions, Persistence: Statistics In Women's Argumentation Strategies For Educational Reform In Sweden, 1904–1918

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Increased female access and opportunity was one of the main shifts in secondary and higher education during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Academically educated women in Sweden fought for many decades against the barriers which reserved their chosen career paths for men well into the 20th century (Florin, 2011). One of the contested professional fields was that of higher teaching and school management positions. This paper will examine one aspect of academically educated women's argumentation strategies in the strive for such posts, namely the use of statistics in the women's appeals and petitions to authorities. Statistics as a technique of persuasion and reasoning is worth examining in this context since the authority and information value of numbers it is often taken for granted. Here, the historical and gendered premises of statistics and its subsequent implications for the women's argumentation are examined (Spencer, 2010).

The use of statistics in this political debate is analysed as a gendered strategy to navigate a field of tension within the narrative of modernity. The modern ideal of equality promised participation based on qualification but upheld a constitutive divide between notions of masculinity and femininity (Richter, 2017). In this paper, the modern state is analytically viewed as organized in male circles (*Männerbünde*), in which a certain image of masculinity was idealized and reproduced. The result was a homosocial communitization which shunned supposedly feminine characteristics such as emotionality and softness, while asserting masculine values such as rationality and rigour became regarded as the legitimate basis to organise the state (Kreisky & Löffler, 2009). Statistics, the fundamental tool for state decision-making with its promise of objectivity and integrity (Porter, 1986), can be understood to exhibit and be attributed to such masculine-connoted core values. When academically educated women demanded access to the prestigious male circles of the Swedish higher school system, they needed to overcome their association with certain feminine attributes which were used as a rationale to exclude them from these careers despite being formally qualified. The claim of this paper is that statistics was used as a tool to discursively strengthen women's weak position through the *hardening of facts* with numbers (Labaree, 2010; Latour, 1987), appropriating a masculinist technique in the pursuit of breaking into male circles.

To explore this, writings by the Swedish Association of University-Trained Women (ABKF), by its members, and affiliates will be analysed for the prevalence of statistics and statistical reasoning in argumentation for the expansion of academically qualified women's career opportunities in the education sector. Whenever possible, the interplay between the activist women and the authorities will be traced and the reception of the respective statisticized arguments evaluated. The chosen time period spans the foundation of the ABKF in 1904 up to the parliamentary resolution of 1918 through which women were granted access to certain higher positions in the school sector.

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Keywords: higher education, statistics, educational reform, academic women, masculinity



Who Defines the Reform and Who Implements it. Teachers in the 1936 Secondary Education Reform in Uruguay.

Quién Define La Deforma Y Quién La Implementa. Los Profesores En La Reforma De Enseñanza Secundaria En Uruguay De 1936

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Uruguay is currently undergoing a reform process, promoted by the government as an “educational transformation” and strongly criticised by teachers, whose opinion was not considered when the proposal was drafted. At the same time, the authorities portray the teachers as those who “put a spoke in the wheel” of education change.

In their classic work, Tyack and Cuban (2001) characterise teachers mainly as a conservative element of school grammar. In their analysis of educational reforms as an object study, Gvirtz, Gonçalves Vidal and Biccás warn about the problem of identifying teachers with resistance to reforms (2011). In this sense, deconstructing the position of teachers in these processes and paying attention to their particular role in each case can contribute to the historicisation of educational reforms that, although recurring, adopt different forms and meanings.

In the paper, we study the participation of secondary school teachers in the 1936 reform in Uruguay. Antonio Romano (2018) has addressed the reform claims present since the 1920s when the issue was conceived as part of a broader higher education reform (in Uruguay, secondary education was dependent on the only university in the country until 1935). The author shows how the teachers’ association played an essential role in the construction of the signifier reform as a vindication, as well as in the negotiations that led to the creation of a Secondary Education Council in 1935, which included the participation of teachers’ representatives in the government of the entity. However, beyond that significant administrative reform, the projected “pedagogical reform”, which sought to modify the social role of secondary education and the representation of teachers as shapers of youth, ended up being fundamentally a curricular reform (Romano, 2018, p. 380). It could even be argued that it was a failed curricular reform, as it was only applied in the lower grades and was quickly overturned in 1941.

In the paper, we analyse how, in the attempts to carry out the reform, teachers were placed in a new position. Previous research has shown that, in the context of an authoritarian government, the years of implementation of the reform were marked by greater control of teachers’ work and even by the persecution of teachers for their ideas and political militancy (Maronna, 1994). However, at the same time, spaces for participation in the discussion of educational policies and the government of education were created. In this sense, the reform installed a new form of relationship between teachers and authorities.

We analyse the pedagogic press, teachers’ congresses, and official records to inquire about the participation of teachers in the reform. Focusing on the documents produced by teachers sheds light on their conceptions, strategies, and ways of participation, as opposed to the sole consideration of the authorities’ representation of teachers. The objective is to characterise the ways in which teachers participated in the implementation of the reform, but also how the reform changed the ways of being a teacher.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Actualmente Uruguay atraviesa un proceso de reforma, promocionada por el gobierno como “transformación educativa”, y duramente criticada por los docentes, que no fueron consultados en la elaboración de la propuesta. Al mismo tiempo, las autoridades acusan a los profesores de “poner palos en la rueda” del cambio en educación.

Tyack y Cuban (2001) caracterizaron en general a los docentes como elemento conservador de la gramática escolar. En su análisis de las reformas educativas como objeto de la historia de la educación, Gvirtz, Gonçalves y Biccás advierten sobre el problema de identificar a los docentes con la resistencia a las reformas (2011). Desencializar la posición de los docentes en estos procesos y atender a su rol particular en cada caso contribuiría a la historización de las reformas educativas que, si bien recurrentes, adoptan formas y sentidos diversos.

La ponencia analiza la participación de los profesores de enseñanza secundaria en la reforma de 1936 en Uruguay. Antonio Romano (2018) ha abordado los reclamos de reforma presentes desde la década de 1920, cuando se pensaba la cuestión como parte de una más amplia reforma universitaria (en Uruguay la enseñanza secundaria dependió de la única universidad del país hasta 1935). El autor muestra cómo la asociación de profesores jugó un rol importante en la construcción del significado reforma como reivindicación, y en las negociaciones que derivaron en la creación de un Consejo de Enseñanza Secundaria en 1935, que incluyó la participación de representantes docentes en el gobierno del ente. Pero más allá de esa importante reforma administrativa, la “reforma pedagógica” proyectada, que buscaba modificar el rol de la enseñanza secundaria en la sociedad y la representación del profesorado como formador de la juventud, terminó siendo fundamentalmente una reforma del plan de estudios (Romano, 2018, p. 380). Podría decirse incluso que ésta fracasó, en tanto no llegó a aplicarse más que en los grados inferiores y fue rápidamente revertida en 1941.

En la ponencia analizamos cómo en los intentos por llevar adelante la reforma, los profesores fueron colocados en un nuevo lugar. Se ha señalado que, en el contexto de un gobierno autoritario, los años de implementación de la reforma estuvieron marcados por un mayor control del trabajo docente, e incluso por la persecución de docentes por sus ideas y militancia política (Maronna, 1994). Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo se habilitaron espacios de participación en la discusión de políticas educativas y en el gobierno de la enseñanza. Planteamos entonces que logró instalar una nueva forma de relacionamiento entre docentes y autoridades.

Analizamos la prensa pedagógica, los congresos de profesores y los registros oficiales para preguntarnos sobre la participación docente en la reforma. Poner el foco en documentos producidos por los profesores permite pensar no solo en la representación de los mismos desde las autoridades, sino en las concepciones de los docentes, sus estrategias y modalidades de participación. El objetivo es caracterizar las formas en que los profesores participaron de la implementación de la reforma, pero también cómo la reforma cambió las formas de ser profesor.

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Keywords: teachers' participation, secondary education, reform



Cornerstones of Chilean Reconstruction: Traces of the Authoritarian Imaginary About Female Secondary Students in the Chilean Dictatorship (1973–1988)

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Half a century after the Coup d'état in Chile that overthrew the Popular Unity government headed by Salvador Allende (1970–1973), it makes sense to offer an analytical look at the changes experienced by Chilean secondary education under the authoritarian regime. As part of a process of a regional nature and in a framework in which the global phenomenon of the Cold War was still in force, Chilean secondary education experienced an accelerated increase in its enrollment during the 1970s and 1980s at the same time that it was part of a profound reform based on the transfer of public education from the State to the municipalities, a measure accompanied by an intense expansion of the private educational offer stimulated by the neoliberal model promoted by the dictatorship.

Against this backdrop, historiography has highlighted the authoritarian features manifested in secondary education as part of an organizational system and a curricular order, in addition to authoritarian teaching practices (Núñez, 1984; Pérez Navarro & Galioto, 2020). This paper aims to enrich this line of research and reflection by identifying and revealing the main characteristics of the authoritarian imagination regarding high school students in Chile. Achieving this purpose involves both identifying the diagnosis about the reality and evolution of the education system (in which female secondary education born and developed separately from male) as well as analysing the gender discourse that the military regime promoted towards female students deploying a discursively conservative perspective on the role of women.

Through the analysis of official documentation, press and bibliography, the theoretical approach of this paper underlines the categories of age and gender as types of subordination. At the same time, we highlight the discursive elements associated with the emotional realm (Frevert, 2021).

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Keywords: Chilean secondary education, authoritarianism, age, gender, emotion



Reform Attempts in Secondary Education During the Interwar Period: A Look From/At Proposals for Change in Schools in Argentina

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Savoir, Bruter and Frijoff point out (2004) the term *secondary education* first appeared at the turn of the 19th century, when some European states began to build public educational institutions. As schooling became more widespread thanks to the expansion of elementary schools, there was growing pressure from middle social sectors to further their education. Two processes took place at that juncture: state intervention that was able to position a specific type of educational institution as the model – the grammar school, the gymnasium, the lyceum school; and the binding of this type of institution to the ability to enter the university. In other words, once regulation had been imposed to expand mandatory elementary education, the dynamic entailed differentiating based on secondary education. Thus, the formation of educational systems implied a double process of systematisation and segmentation, that is, of internal coordination and vertical and horizontal differentiation (Mueller, Ringer & Simon, 1990).

This configuration affected a small part of the population, and it was in the spirit of the post-War period that laws were passed making secondary schooling mandatory and, in some cases, free of charge. In this context, secondary education took a mass scale. However, during the interwar period, the discussion towards a more integrated institutional model took place in different countries in the Western World, although the only successful reform was the comprehensive high school officially established in the United States in 1918 (Benavot, Resnik & Corrales, 2006).

This paper analyses these kinds of reform attempts in a particular setting: secondary education in Argentina. In this country, the creation of free and compulsory elementary education was preceded by the development of secondary schools, which took the Prussian and French forms of organisation together with a propaedeutic function. These schools, in the figure of the national schools (*colegio nacional*), were created during the second half of the 19th century together with the formation of the nation-state. For most of the 20th century, there were four dominant modalities for post-elementary schooling: national schools, normal schools, technical schools and commercial schools; national schools concentrated the most important part of enrolment while normal schools trained for the teaching profession, but they were soon used as a path to the university by middle classes (Tedesco, 1986).

In resonance with international trends, it is possible to trace attempts to modify this channelled secondary education structure to the interwar period. Through the analysis of primary – i.e. official decrees and regulations – and secondary sources, the paper focuses on two of them: the 1916 *Saavedra Lamas reform*, which proposed a reorganisation of the education system, creating an intermediate school between primary and secondary, and the introduction of the notion of a common cycle for national and normal schools during the 1930s. While none of these attempts was successful at the time, they indicate the circulation of the quest to change the initial configuration of secondary education. The paper seeks to contribute to the temporal and spatial amplification of studies on the historical changes at this educational level.



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Keywords: interwar period, secondary education, comprehensive school, national school



Ad-hocism or systematization? The reforms of secondary education in Sweden, 1905–1952

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In the early 20th century, various efforts were made in Europe to increase the average number of school years, by increasing the capacity of existing secondary school institutions, and by creating new kinds of schools at the post-primary or secondary level, including cours complémentaire in France, Aufbauklassen in Germany, and the English continuation school. In this paper, I aim to examine this process of expansion in the first decades of the 20th century, focusing on the educational reforms preceding the postwar comprehensive school reforms in Sweden. Utilising the framework of historical institutionalism, which highlights the role of historical sequences, and based mainly on the data provided by government reports and educational statistics, I argue that the resulting educational system was marked by an increasing complexity, which was the result of three trends all linked to an ambition to raise educational attainments.

First, an increasing number of school types implied that children could attend their 7th school year in 19 different kinds of schools. Partly because many of these school types were modelled on German, French or English schools, they were slightly overlapping as indicated by their names, such as continuation schools and completion schools, but also upper primary schools and upper departments of primary schools. Secondly, in order to enable children in smaller cities to attend post-primary or secondary schools, the complexity was increased by combining different kinds of schools, by adding a level to an existing school, or by integrating a school type into another kind of school. This included integrating a lower modern secondary school (realskola) in a primary school or attaching vocational schools to lower modern secondary schools. Thirdly, the complexity was the result of so-called dual connections between schools on different educational levels, intended to enable children with a slower development or a less privileged social background to attend secondary school. In the 1930s, six years of primary schooling was not necessarily followed by 4 years of lower secondary school. Instead, children could transfer both after four and six years of primary school, and transfer to upper secondary school after four or five years of lower secondary school.

By analysing these changes, this paper sheds further light on early 20th-century secondary education expansion and reforms, and the relation between different levels of schooling, and between different tracks of secondary education. On a more general conceptual level, this analysis poses critical questions regarding the use and precision of terms such as secondary education, educational system and systematisation for this time period, and whether adhocism is the most fitting term to describe the increasingly complex system of secondary education in early 20th century Sweden. By highlighting the challenges that these reforms created, a better understanding of the following comprehensive school reforms may also be achieved.

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Keywords: secondary education, educational reform, systematisation, Sweden



The Future as an Argument in Educational Reforms

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Discussant: Daniel Tröhler

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The alleged need for reforming organizational settings, teaching materials, learning practices, or educational laws is often substantiated by a perceived inadequate present that no longer suits the implementation of a desired and imagined future. This kind of justification becomes obvious for example in an encompassing school inquiry conducted in 1798 in Switzerland, the so-called Stapfer-Enquête. One of the main goals of this inquiry was to collect knowledge about the status quo of schooling in order to reorganise elementary schooling according to the requirements of the new republican government, e.g. to transform by schooling former subjects of the Ancien Régime to modern citizens or to the republic. Yet, this early example of statistical inquiry is by no means singular in the history of education, as similar endeavours in France (1833) or Scotland (1833) show (Horlacher et al., 2023). Behind this was the idea that school could make (a desired) future realisable. At the end of the 19th century, for instance, Jacob Caspar Jacusiel, a Berlin medical doctor, proposed thoughts and suggestions for a fundamental reorganisation of schooling in a book titled *The German school of the future* (Jacusiel, 1886). Since World War II, when empirical futurology has intervened in political decisions, research for longitudinal datasets was established to enable the prosperous future of an equal and just (American) society (Hutt, 2017; Hutt et al., 2017). In 1975, the Swiss Conference of Education Ministers outlined the teacher education of tomorrow (Müller, 1975), or the OECD drew up scenarios for schooling and education under the title *Back to the future* (OECD, 2021), after having argued, in the 1960's, with "development" or "planning".

Against this background, the panel deals with the idea of the future and future imaginaries in the context of different educational reform processes. The future or the future imaginaries are understood as "means of world-making and world-ordering" (Andersson et al., 2021, p. 4), i.e. as prescribing, normative ideas of the outcomes of reforms. The three case studies gathered in this panel deal with different times and places and ask how ideas of the future were used to substantiate reforms. The first case deals with vocational education in Switzerland and asks how future knowledge and thus future imaginaries concerning various Vocational Education and Training laws were generated. The second case focuses on Mid-Twentieth Century America and explores the relationship between reformers and their data through two cases, the work of the Office of Education's Operations Analysis program and the attempts to deal with a racially segregated system and to achieve desegregated schools after *Brown v. Board* (1954). The third case discusses the first digitalisation reform in Latvia during the 1980s and asks about the role of the promised better future, which should be realised through the reform of media education. In sum, the three case studies discuss the question, if and if yes how, the notion of the future can be a fruitful perspective to research processes of reform.

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Keywords: future knowledge, vocational education, longitudinal data, digitalization, media education



Shaping Imaginaries to Govern the Future. The Case of Swiss Vocational Legislation

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Student Contribution

To inform and legitimate decisions, states employ several predictive technologies to gain knowledge on the future. These methods attempt to approach the future by a combination of probable, preferred, possible, prospective and/or integral futures, that pursue different goals. Though these processes by which competing, coproduced imaginaries are shaped can be perceived as one, in which forms of knowledge are mobilised to “govern territory not only in space, but also in time” and prediction, therefore, becomes a “suspect political technology in the modern world” (Andersson, 2017, p. 1; Andersson & Kemp, 2021, p. 8; Gidley, 2021; Jasanoff, 2004, p. 2f; Seefried, 2022, p. 12f).

This governance concerns, among other things, the law, and its revisions, which set the normative framework for the individual and society in a future-oriented manner. Governing with an eye to the future then applies doubly to the Swiss Federal Vocational Education and Training (VET) Act, as the mandate of VET is to prepare for the working world of tomorrow. Hence, this law is understood as an expression of thoughts and visions of the future, why it is crucial how the policymakers imagined the future, as these competing imaginaries (Andersson & Kemp, 2021, p. 6) served as a basis for decision-making.

Against this backdrop, it is of particular interest how politicians arrived at their visions of the future and made corresponding decisions, which is why the article focuses on the generation of knowledge about the future, its influence on the emergence of politicians’ visions of the future and the struggle of these visions for validity. The contribution thus analyses formulated ideas about the future and places them in the nexus of foresight and resulting decisions concerning the Swiss Federal VET law.

Since, according to Graf (2021, p. 96), the ideas of the future have become plural with the disintegration of the great political visions of a new society since the 1970s and the “modern incarnation” of the predictive technologies of the post-war state emerged from the 1970s onwards (Andersson, 2017, p. 2), this period is of particular interest. The sources to reconstructing the gaining of knowledge on the future and the resulting imaginaries and decisions are therefore the commission reports (Kommissionsprotokolle) on the VET law introduced in 1930, resp. its revision of 1963 and 1978 (the 2002 revision is not taken into account) (Osterwalder & Bauder, 2008). The reports show the votes of the participants within the commissions, which provided proposals on the VET law to the parliament. These documents are of importance, as crucial preliminary discussions and decisions took place in these commissions, which are recorded here.

In sum, the contribution shows how knowledge on the future was generated, how it shaped imaginaries and which ideas were in- or excluded. It discusses thereby the political function of competing imagined futures within the political state- and world-making.

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Keywords: future knowledge, vocational education, longitudinal data, digitalization, media education



Detecting “Perturbations” in the System: American Education Analysts and Longitudinal Data in the Mid-Twentieth Century

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The 1950s marked a watershed in the production and use of statistics in American government (Heyck, 2015). While the practice of disseminating quantitative information on the character of American schools goes to the decision by Horace Mann to publish his annual report in two volumes (Philbrick, 1886) – one narrative, one statistical – the character of the data and the intent of the analysts changed fundamentally in this period (Hutt, 2017). Specifically, analysts began to believe they had sufficiently detailed data and sophisticated methods to help them finally gain a hold of the most vexing conundrum in education: the future. Though education is always fundamentally about the future – the creation of future citizens and workers – the belief that the future could be predicted, managed, and even prescribed through the careful analysis of available data was new. As Alexander Mood, a former RAND analyst now working in the Office of Education's Operations Analysis program, explained it, the development of “macromodels intended to show gross structure” of the school system was central to the newly imagined Office of Education. These models – and the data they relied on – would provide “enough detail that perturbations resulting from programs of the U.S. Office will be measurable” (Mood, 1966, p. 2). Though the ability to detect “perturbations” created by new policies was always more science fiction than reality, the efforts reveal the shifting ambitions and anxieties – domestic and international – of educational reformers as well as the changing relationship between these reformers and their new data.

This paper explores these relationships by examining them in two very different contexts. First, as alluded to above, this paper examines the work of the Office of Education's Operations Analysis program. Despite being key to the federal government's efforts to mitigate the precarities of the Soviet, the office has received limited attention from scholars. Beset by competing views about the nature of the Cold War threat and ultimately the limits of their methods, analysts ultimately filled in the gaps not with technical analyses but projections of their ideological commitments to rule by experts. The second case shifts from federal to state concerns and from international anxieties to domestic ones. As federal officials fought the Cold War, state officials sought to come to grips with the coming racial reckoning of achieving equal expenditures in a racially segregated system or, after *Brown v. Board* (1954), achieving desegregated schools through busing and redrawn district boundaries. These required projections of a different type (E.g. projections of tax revenues, expenditures, and population growth) but were no less tenuous and no less imbued with the anxieties of an uncertain and-despite the new “avalanche” of data projections-opaque future. Together these cases provide important insights into the ways that quantitative analysis and new education research tools informed reformers' ideas of the future but also reified the anxieties of the then-present into data systems that would endure long after the future had become the past.

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Keywords: future knowledge, vocational education, longitudinal data, digitalization, media education



Computer as “the Strictest and Most Knowledgeable Teacher” or a Mere Dream? The Case of Soviet Latvia

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Student Contribution

Through the years of perestroika since 1985, the discourse in Soviet media changed, focusing on ending the era of Brezhnev’s stagnation and bringing forward modernisation (Hof, 2018). The inspiration for the educational reforms in the Soviet Union was taken from their rival – the United States of America – trying to show Soviet superiority and strength. The study addresses the first digitalisation reform in the Soviet Union in the 1980s and will view it from the perspective of the educationalisation of social problems promising a brighter future ahead. The notion of existing backwardness in education and the idea that progress will save the economy and society serves as a basis for society to accept the change (Labaree, 2012). The choice between progress or regress obscures and later illuminates the need for reform (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). As in the Soviet countries, the collective future is placed at the forefront the educational reform served as a premise of a better future for the whole society. In a short period, the Soviet Union managed to develop their personal computer and start their production line (Flury, 2023), as well as provide computers in schools and some governmental institutions (Veziš, 2005). The media was overflowing with claims that computers would replace teachers as machines are more knowledgeable, precise, and fun. Nevertheless, the education system remained resilient to the change – both teachers were confused about why the change was needed, and students could not see the meaning and use of these supposedly innovative devices.

The study focuses on the time between 1985 and 1991, namely, the last years of the Soviet Union – between Gorbachev’s perestroika and the restoration of Latvia’s independence. The research questions are: first, how the future was depicted in the Soviet media to justify the implementation of the subject Informatics, and second, what were the consequences of the rapid implementation of technology in schools? The sources for the study are 179 articles in Soviet Latvia periodicals devoted to the computerisation of education, six interviews with the first Informatics teachers, and ten interviews with students who first learned Informatics at school.

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Keywords: future knowledge, vocational education, longitudinal data, digitalization, media education



Reform and the Education of Latvians in São Paulo in the 1920s
Reforma de Ensino e Educação de Letões em São Paulo na Década de 1920

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In post-First Great War times and the crisis of the oligarchic regime in the First Republic in Brazil, education reforms were implemented in several states of the nation in the 1920s, a period in which education gained relevance, above all, the fight against illiteracy. The reform movement implied the extension of instruction to the “excluded strata” of the population, particularly immigrants. If until then they were considered a “solution” to replace slave labour, abolished in the country in 1888 and a factor in the whitening of the Brazilian population with labour movements in 1917 and 1918 in São Paulo, largely organized and led by immigrants and their descendants, immigration became a major concern on the part of São Paulo leaders, with primary education being one of the main mechanisms for controlling this part of the São Paulo population.

The purpose this investigation was to analyse instruction in the Latvian colony of Varpa, in the 1920s, in view of the São Paulo policies promoted at that time, seeking to verify differences and similarities between the teaching provided locally and the legislation in force at the time, which sought to discipline schooling of immigrants. For this research, we intersected sources related to legislation on immigration and colonization in the State of São Paulo; the Educational Reform promoted in that State in 1920, known as the *Reforma Sampaio Dória*, and documents about the history of the Latvian colony of Varpa. In the movement of immigration to Brazil, between 1922 and 1923, more than 2.000 Latvians organized, travelled, and founded, in the western region of the State of São Paulo, a colony called Varpa. The reasons for this immigration were related to the social, economic, and political instability after the First Great War in Latvia. However, an important factor that brought this population together was the condition of followers of the Baptist church and its revival that took place at the time. In Brazil, as a community, they acquired 2.000 bushels in the middle of a native forest, located 668 km from the capital, São Paulo. One aspect that set them apart from other immigrants was literacy. One of the first measures for the organization of the colony was directed towards the education of children: the existence of an open-air school in the first camp, structured by teachers who were part of the group of immigrants and three other schools, which for approximately ten years operated without support from the public authorities. From the study carried out, it was possible to consider that despite the control mechanisms established by the São Paulo government, when creating laws to regulate teaching and immigration, evidence indicates that the schools organized in Varpa, possibly, existed in a relatively independent way, due to its conditions as a colony created by “spontaneous immigrants”, land belonging to its members, production initially aimed at the subsistence of the community, geographic isolation and distance from urban centres and the scarce presence of non-Latvians in the colony.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Em tempos de pós Primeira Guerra e de crise do regime oligárquico na Primeira República no Brasil, reformas de ensino foram implementadas em diversos Estados da nação na década de 1920, período no qual a educação ganhou relevância, sobretudo, o combate ao analfabetismo. O movimento reformador implicou em extensão da instrução às “camadas excluídas” da população, particularmente imigrantes. Se até então eram considerados como “solução” para



substituição de mão de obra escrava, abolida no país em 1888 e fator de embranquecimento da população brasileira, com os movimentos operários em 1917 e 1918 em São Paulo, em grande parte organizados e conduzidos por imigrantes e seus descendentes, a imigração passou a ser motivo de maior preocupação pelos dirigentes paulistas, sendo a educação primária um dos principais mecanismos para controle dessa parte da população paulista. A investigação realizada teve por objetivo analisar a instrução na colônia letã de Varpa, na década de 1920, frente às políticas paulistas promovidas nesse tempo, buscando verificar distanciamentos e aproximações entre o ensino ministrado localmente e a legislação vigente no período, que procurava disciplinar a escolarização de imigrantes. Para essa pesquisa entrecruzamos fontes relativas à legislação sobre imigração e colonização do Estado de São Paulo; a Reforma Educacional promovida nesse Estado em 1920, conhecida por *Reforma Sampaio Dória* e a documentação pertinente à história da Colônia Letã de Varpa. No movimento de imigração para o Brasil, entre 1922 e 1923, mais de 2.000 letões se organizaram, viajaram e fundaram, na região oeste do Estado de São Paulo, uma colônia denominada Varpa. Os motivos dessa imigração relacionavam-se à instabilidade social, econômica e política do pós Primeira Grande Guerra na Letônia. Porém, um fator importante que agregava essa população consistia na condição de seguidores da igreja batista e o seu avivamento ocorrido na época. No Brasil, de forma comunitária, eles adquiriram 2.000 alqueires em meio à mata nativa, situada a 668 km da capital, São Paulo. Um aspecto que os destacava de outros imigrantes, era a alfabetização. Uma das primeiras medidas para organização da colônia foi direcionada à instrução das crianças: a existência de uma escola ao ar livre no primeiro acampamento, estruturada por professores integrantes do grupo de imigrantes e outras três escolas, que durante, aproximadamente, dez anos funcionaram sem apoio do poder público. A partir do estudo realizado foi possível considerar que apesar dos mecanismos de controle estabelecidos pelo governo paulista, ao criar leis para regulamentar o ensino e a imigração, indícios apontam que as escolas organizadas em Varpa, possivelmente, existiram de forma relativamente independente, em função de suas condições de colônia criada por “imigrantes espontâneos”, terras pertencentes aos seus integrantes, produção voltada inicialmente para a subsistência da comunidade, isolamento geográfico e distanciamento de centros urbanos e a escassa presença de não-letões na colônia.

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Keywords: Immigration and colonization; Sampaio Dória Reform; Latvia; São Paulo Brazil



Innovation at the Curitiba Teacher Education School (1938–1946)
A Inovação Na Escola de Formação de Professores de Curitiba (1938–1946)

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In the early 20th century, educational renewal ideas from different strands brought together under the mantle of the New School Movement, began to spread in Brazilian education. In the 1920s and 1930s, several events provided the diffusion of the New School aspects resulting in teacher education course reforms in some Brazilian states. It should be noted, however, that since 1930, when Getulio Vargas took power, clashes arose between the New School reformers and the defenders of the government proposals, nationalist and conservative in nature.

Nonetheless, in this context, the New Education Pioneers Manifest was also published, which marked the position of the reform movement towards the government. Still, in 1937, with the establishment of the regime known as *Estado Novo* (New State), education became a propagation instrument of the dictatorial regime ideology, cooling the impetus of the reform movement. However, in 1938, the *Escola Normal Secundária do Paraná* was transformed into the *Escola de Professores de Curitiba* and had a new regulation approved by Decree no. 6,597 of 1938, which established new purposes for the institution, which were rooted in the renovation movement.

This study aims to provide an analysis of how the pedagogical proposal was organized and consolidated in the Teacher Education School of Curitiba, state of Paraná, according to the principles of the New School. To this end, documentary and bibliographic sources were mobilized, such as: Laws, Decrees, Messages, Government Reports and Teaching Codes, books authored by the proposal proponents, theses, dissertations and related articles. The data already obtained allow us to see that the *Teacher Education School of Curitiba*, in the period from 1938 to 1946, comprised a 4-year Junior High course, which offered a general culture and a 2-year specific teacher education course. The pedagogical proposal elaborated and put into practice by the Director of the Institution, Erasmo Pilotto, was permeated by the conception of Pedagogy as a science with its own statute, aiming at offering specific knowledge in the educational area and promoting the philosophical and experimental investigation of the education problems. In order to meet the pedagogical proposal, the institution created “centers” for further studies and educational experimentation, among which are the *Application School*, the *Paranaense School of Pedagogy*, the *Higher Center of Pedagogy*; the *Educational Guidance*, the *Pestalozzi Institute*, in which students and teachers actively participated. Despite the political situation from 1938 to 1946, the Curitiba Teacher Education School became a true “laboratory of pedagogical experimentation”, based on the principles and practices of the New School. As the main Teacher Education School in Paraná, the pedagogical proposal adopted there had a marked influence on other schools of its kind in the state of Paraná.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

No início do século XX, ideias de renovação educacional de diferentes vertentes, reunidas sob o manto de Movimento da Escola Nova, começaram a se expandir na educação brasileira. Nas décadas de 1920 e 1930, diversos eventos propiciaram a difusão de aspectos da Escola Nova resultando em reformas dos cursos de formação de professores em alguns Estados brasileiros. Destaque-se, porém, que desde 1930, com a tomada do poder por Getúlio Vargas, surgiram embates entre os reformadores da Escola Nova e os defensores das propostas do governo, de



cunho nacionalista e conservador. Todavia, neste contexto, também foi publicado o Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova que marcou a posição do movimento reformador junto ao governo. No entanto, em 1937, com a afirmação do regime designado de Estado Novo, a educação passou a ser um instrumento de propagação da ideologia do regime ditatorial, arrefecendo o ímpeto do movimento reformador. Contudo, em 1938, a *Escola Normal Secundária do Paraná* foi transformada em *Escola de Professores de Curitiba* e teve um novo Regulamento aprovado pelo Decreto n. 6.597 de 1938, que estabeleceu novas finalidades para a instituição, que tinham raízes no movimento renovador. Este estudo tem por objetivo dar conta da análise sobre como se organizou e consolidou a proposta pedagógica na Escola de Formação de Professores de Curitiba, estado do Paraná, segundo os princípios da Escola Nova. Para tanto, foram mobilizadas fontes documentais e bibliográficas tais como: Leis, Decretos, Mensagens, Relatórios do Governo e Códigos de Ensino, livros de autoria dos propositores da proposta, teses, dissertações e artigos relacionados. Os dados já obtidos permitem constatar que a *Escola de Formação de Professores de Curitiba*, no período de 1938 a 1946, compreendia o curso Ginásial de 4 anos de duração, que ofertava uma cultura geral e um curso específico de formação de professores de 2 anos de duração. A proposta pedagógica elaborada e colocada em prática pelo Diretor da Instituição, Erasmo Pilotto, era permeada pela concepção da Pedagogia como ciência com estatuto próprio, visando a oferta de conhecimentos específicos da área educacional e a promoção da investigação filosófica e experimental dos problemas da educação. Para atender à proposta pedagógica, a instituição criou “centros” de aprofundamentos de estudos e experimentação educacional, entre os quais figuram a *Escola de Aplicação*, a *Escola Paranaense de Pedagogia*, o *Centro Superior de Pedagogia*; a *Orientação Educacional*, o *Instituto Pestalozzi*, dos quais alunas e professores participavam ativamente. A despeito da situação política do período de 1938 a 1946, a Escola de Formação de Professores de Curitiba, tornou-se um verdadeiro “laboratório de experimentação pedagógica”, calcado em princípios e práticas da Escola Nova. Sendo a principal Escola de Formação de Professores do Paraná, a proposta pedagógica ali adotada influenciou, de forma marcante as demais escolas do gênero no Estado do Paraná.

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Keywords: Educational Reform, Teacher Education, Pedagogical Innovations, New School, Twentieth Ce



Politics and Education in Anísio Teixeira. The Reformist Proposals between 1927 and 1935

Política e Educação em Anísio Teixeira. As propostas reformistas entre 1927 e 1935

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This text has two articulated objectives: one is to examine the ideas and pedagogical-political proposals of Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971) between 1927 and 1935; another aims to highlight the tension resulting from the attempt to make the transition from theory to practice.

The first date – 1927 – marks Anísio Teixeira’s first trip to the United States, when he was still Inspector General of Education in Bahia. The second – 1935 – registers his resignation as Director of Public Instruction of the Federal District. During this period, Anísio Teixeira became aware of the educational thinking of the philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952). More precisely, this knowledge took place during his stay in the United States in 1927 and in the years 1928 to 1929. Anísio Teixeira adopted Dewey’s pedagogical ideas, disseminated them in Brazil and committed himself to putting them into practice when he was the head of the administration of education in Rio de Janeiro, then the Federal District.

During this period, in addition to interviews given to newspapers and articles published in periodicals, Anísio Teixeira published books in which he defended the pragmatist principles applied to education, namely the notion of experience in a democratic environment. Although he was not the editor of the 1932 Manifesto da Nova Escola, also known as the Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova, the Brazilian pedagogue was certainly one of its mentors. In this text, pragmatist principles are evident, which reveals Dewey’s influence on education reform in Brazil.

Anísio Teixeira’s passage through the United States allowed him to witness the reformist process in which democracy and education ran parallel, self-stimulating. However, in Brazil, reactions to educational democratization led renovators to resort to conscious action. The New School Manifesto demonstrates precisely this intention. The document clearly expresses the proposal of social reconstruction through educational reconstruction, aiming at the constitution of a social democracy through a single school with the same program for all. The defence of the right to education, without exclusion of a social or economic nature, was accompanied by the defence of mandatory, free and secular schooling, as well as co-education. All these measures represented an effort of conviction in the face of conservative resistance. The text is divided into an introduction, two points of analysis and a conclusion. The introduction presents contextual data on the political and political relationship in Brazil in the thirties; the first point of analysis exposes John Dewey’s pedagogical ideas, focusing on his reforming engine: democracy; the second point of analysis examines the texts that Anísio Teixeira published in the 1930s, when he was at the head of the Education Department of the Federal District, looking for the reformist influences of the North American philosopher; the conclusion focuses on the relationship between the influence of Dewey’s thought on Anísio Teixeira and the effort to apply this thought in Brazilian territory.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O texto tem dois objetivos articulados: um é examinar as ideias e as propostas pedagógico-políticas de Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971) entre os anos de 1927 e 1935; outro, visa destacar a tensão decorrente da tentativa em fazer transitar a teoria para a prática.

A primeira data – 1927 – assinala a primeira ida de Anísio Teixeira aos Estados Unidos quando era Inspetor Geral de Ensino da Bahia. A segunda – 1935 – registra o seu pedido de demissão de Diretor da Instrução Pública do Distrito Federal. Nos primeiros anos desse período o autor tomou conhecimento do pensamento educativo do filósofo John Dewey (1859–1952). Mais precisamente, esse conhecimento deu-se por ocasião da sua estadia nos Estados Unidos em 1927 e nos anos de 1928 a 1929. Teixeira adotou as ideias pedagógicas de Dewey e empenhou-se em as colocar em prática, no Brasil, quando esteve à frente da administração da educação do Rio de Janeiro, então Distrito Federal.

Na época, além de entrevistas concedidas a jornais e artigos divulgados, Teixeira publicou livros nos quais defendia os princípios pragmatistas aplicados à educação, nomeadamente a noção de experiência em ambiente democrático. Ainda que não tenha sido o redator do *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova Escola*, de 1932, o pedagogo brasileiro foi um dos seus mentores. Seus escritos revelam a influência de Dewey na reforma do ensino no Brasil.

A passagem de Anísio Teixeira pelos Estados Unidos permitiu-lhe assistir ao processo reformista em que corriam paralelamente, autoestimulando-se, a democracia e a educação. É preciso considerar, que a reforma defendida por Anísio Teixeira está comprometida com uma proposta clara de mudança na sociedade, como um todo. Em razão disso, a proposta de democratização educativa levou os ‘renovadores’ a recorrer a uma ação consciente. Sob este aspecto, a ideia de reforma de Teixeira se distancia de propostas de reforma educacional de Popkewitz (1975), o qual indica projetos de alteração na educação com vistas a alterar a escola objetivando/com vistas a promover a inclusão. *O Manifesto da Nova Escola*, por seu turno, explicita uma mudança na sociedade como um todo e não somente à educação. O documento expressa, com clareza, a proposta de reconstrução social por meio da reconstrução educacional, visando a constituição de uma democracia social por meio de uma escola única com igual programa para todos.

O texto encontra-se dividido em uma introdução, dois pontos de análise e uma conclusão. Na introdução apresentam-se dados de contextualização sobre a política no Brasil na década de trinta; no primeiro ponto de análise expõem-se as ideias pedagógicas de John Dewey, incidindo no seu motor reformador: a democracia; no segundo ponto de análise examinam-se os textos que Anísio Teixeira publicou na década de 1930, quando esteve à frente da Secretaria da Educação do Distrito Federal, procurando neles as influências reformistas do filósofo norte-americano; na conclusão foca-se a relação entre a influência do pensamento de Dewey em Anísio Teixeira e o esforço de aplicação desse pensamento no Brasil.

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Keywords: Anísio Teixeira, John Dewey, reforma educativa, política educativa, democracia



No Gender Education At Brazilian Schools (1996–2018): Preliminary Investigations About the Curtailment of the Rights of Children and Adolescents

A Não Educação De Gênero Nas Escolas Brasileiras (1996–2018): Investigações Preliminares Sobre O Cerceamento Aos Direitos Das Crianças E Adolescentes

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The results of preliminary discussions about the historical trajectory of curtailment of the rights of children and adolescents, resulting from the non-education of gender-related issues in Brazilian schools are presented. Such formulation is resulting from the also historical trajectory of prevarication, about the access to information necessary for the exercise of rights and duties assured in the Federal Constitution, which instituted a Democratic Republic. The Federal Constitution of 1988 (Brazil, 1990a) guarantees the extension of human rights to children and adolescents. In 1990 the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (Brazil, 1990b) was sanctioned as a political guarantee that: "The child and the adolescent enjoy all the fundamental rights inherent to the human person, without prejudice to the integral protection addressed in this Law, assuring them, by law or by other means, all opportunities and facilities, in order to enable their physical, mental, moral, spiritual and social development, in conditions of freedom and dignity."

Regarding social issues, freedom and dignity, the dichotomy between genders and the various forms of violence that may arise from it, stands out. Thus, Education assumes more and more its importance in the source for equity between genders, in face of the curtailment of the mentioned rights, which should be guaranteed to children and adolescents (Bazilio & Kramer, 2003). There is a huge controversy around the theme, considering that conservatives fear an education capable of promoting the rupture of the innocence of children and adolescents, contrary to the idea that the appropriation of knowledge is the path to human development (Vygotski, 1995). In view of this, the need for discussions about the curtailment of the rights of children and adolescents in school curricula has arisen, through the non-mandatory approach to gender issues, which remains at the margin of scientifically produced knowledge and delivered to information from unreliable vehicles. It is up to the curricula for children and adolescents to propose that issues be approached, for example, about child abuse, the roles assigned to each gender, professions assigned to women, among so many other possibilities, being able to ensure that the child or adolescent him/herself denounces violence, source to demystify behaviours considered appropriate for boys and girls, and even leave fear and insecurity aside when it comes to fulfil professional dreams. The development of preliminary investigations had as *corpus* curricular bases the Basic Education in Brazil, between 1996, date of the promulgation of the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education n. 9394/96 (Brazil, 1996), in force, and 2018, date of the promulgation of the Common National Curricular Base - BNCC (Brazil, 2017), also in force. These are, therefore, documentary-based investigations, as to the sources, and historical as to the approach.

The conclusions are, despite the various laws and reforms, in Brazilian national education, the treatment of gender issues is neglected, indicating that it is necessary to guarantee the rights of children and adolescents, so the treatment of these issues has to be based on scientific knowledge, historically produced, and by specialized professionals – teachers.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Apresentam-se resultados de discussões preliminares sobre a histórica trajetória de cerceamento aos direitos das crianças e dos adolescentes, resultante da não educação das questões relacionadas ao gênero nas escolas brasileiras. Tal formulação é decorrente da também histórica trajetória da prevaricação, no que diz respeito ao acesso às informações necessárias ao exercício de direitos e deveres assegurados na Constituição Federal, que instituiu uma República Democrática. A Constituição Federal de 1988 (Brasil, 1990a) garante a extensão de direitos às crianças e aos adolescentes. Em 1990 foi sancionado o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente (Brasil, 1990b) como garantia política de que: “A criança e o adolescente gozam de todos os direitos fundamentais inerentes à pessoa humana, sem prejuízo da proteção integral de que trata esta Lei, assegurando-se lhes, por lei ou outros meios, todas as oportunidades e facilidades, a fim de lhes facultar o desenvolvimento físico, mental, moral, espiritual e social, em condições de liberdade e de dignidade.” No que tange as questões sociais, a liberdade e a dignidade, destaca-se a dicotomia entre gêneros e as diversas violências que podem surgir dela. Assim, Educação assume cada vez mais sua importância e na luta por equidade entre os gêneros, frente ao cerceamento aos direitos mencionados, que deveria estar sendo garantido as crianças e adolescentes (Bazilio & Kramer, 2003). Há grande polêmica em torno do tema abordado, tendo em vista que os conservadores temem um ensino capaz de promover a ruptura da inocência das crianças e dos adolescentes, contrariando a ideia de que a apropriação de conhecimento é o caminho ao desenvolvimento humano (Vygotski, 1995). Diante disso, surgiu a necessidade de discussões sobre o cerceamento aos direitos das crianças e adolescentes nos currículos escolares, mediante a não obrigatoriedade de se abordar questões de gênero, a qual fica à margem do conhecimento produzido cientificamente e entregue às informações de veículos não confiáveis. Cabe aos currículos para crianças e adolescentes, as propostas para que sejam abordadas questões, por exemplo, sobre o abuso infantil, os papéis direcionados a cada gênero, as profissões direcionadas as mulheres, entre tantas outras possibilidades, podendo assegurar que a própria criança ou adolescente denuncie uma violência, buscando desmistificar comportamentos tidos como adequados para meninos e meninas e até deixar o medo e a insegurança de lado no momento de realizar sonhos profissionais. O desenvolvimento de investigações preliminares teve como *corpus* bases curriculares para a Educação Básica no Brasil, entre 1996, data da promulgação da Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional n. 9394/96 (Brasil, 1996), em vigor, e 2018, data da promulgação da Base Nacional Comum Curricular – BNCC (Brasil, 2017), também em vigor. Trata-se, portanto, de investigações de base documental, quanto às fontes, e histórica quanto à abordagem. Como conclusões tem-se que, apesar das várias leis e reformas, na educação nacional brasileira são negligenciadas o tratamento às questões de gênero, indicando como necessário às garantias dos direitos das crianças e dos adolescentes, o tratamento desses temas com base em conhecimento científico, historicamente produzido, e por profissionais especializados – professores e professoras.

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Keywords: History of education, dichotomies between theories of educational reforms and pedagogical practices, Child, adolescent, gender education



Education Factory – An Example of the Functionalist Town of Zlín

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The presented text aims to mainly describe the construction of school buildings in the interwar Czechoslovak town of Zlín. The school of Zlín served as an example of an utopian corporate town controlled by a single manufacturing company (Doleshal, 2021). Zlín can be considered an example of an utopia of the 20th century, which was controlled by its commercial and manufacturing needs. The use of modern technology, the aestheticization of factory work, modern architecture shown on the outside especially by the creation of working-class residential districts, determined the everyday life of the residents of the municipality. In this paper, I focus on how the ideas about the construction of school buildings were translated into reality and how their construction was influenced by both functionalist architects and the needs of the Baťa company.

In this interwar period, functionalist architects agreed with reform teachers on the need to transform school buildings and their interiors. The new schools, with their minimalist design, became a place where students were raised and educated as representatives of a new qualitatively improved society. The construction of school buildings had to be quick, inexpensive, and simple. The schools were supposed to be centers of cleanliness, airiness, and light (Grosvenor & Van Gorp, 2018; Herman et al., 2011). This school design was also used in modernist Zlín, which became the center of pedagogical reform efforts during the interwar years (Kasper, 2015; Kasper & Kasperová, 2020). The brick and glass buildings copied the appearance of the already standing minimalist buildings in Zlín. The interiors of the schools were highly modern, which can be evidenced not only by the equipment of the classrooms and laboratories, but also by being equipped with central heating, which was connected to the Zlín factory network. The school buildings were built on Baťa company's property, which also commissioned the design and construction of the buildings. This demonstrates the interconnection of public schools and the private company, which has become the subject of criticism from some teachers. In addition, between 1923 and 1944, the representatives of the factory directly actively participated in the administration of the town itself.

The text is based on contemporary printed and visual materials stored in the State District Archives in Zlín. I used traditional methods of historical research (mainly direct and indirect method). I approached the historical sources with the microanalysis. It means that I followed the facts in historical materials (school chronicles and yearbooks, reports from local periodicals, records from meetings) that are often overlooked.

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Keywords: Baťa, Zlín, functionalism, school reform



A New Way of Understanding Pedagogical Systems

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New approaches are inherent in science, which not only seeks new knowledge, but also inspires the reinterpretation of existing knowledge and the emergence of new paradigms (Kuhn, 1986). The history of education has also been enriched by new approaches, for example, by works with a problem-historical starting point, an interdisciplinary focus, or even exploring networks of relationships (Pilz, 1993; Németh & Pukánszky, 2004; Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; Szabó, 2017). Many disciplines have been processed in dictionary form (E.g. psychology Colman, 2015; sociology Scott, 2014; economics Black, Hashimzade & Myles, 2012), but one author has been applied in literary studies/linguistics (e.g. Conner, 1998; Beke, 2017). What advantages can the dictionary form have in the field of educational history? Why is this treatment of Freinet's work interesting?

The French teacher implemented the innovations of reform pedagogy in mass education (Pukánszky & Németh, 1996). The Freinet dictionary (Czabaji, 2023) also gives a sense of the importance and educational impact of this movement, which has been active in more than 40 countries, by simultaneously asserting the aspects of historicity and the present, of everyday life, and by showing the adaptation of this pedagogical system to new phenomena. It demonstrates that Freinet's techniques are still innovative tools for learning today. The advantage of the dictionary format is that it is both concise and detailed: it condenses the explanation of the concepts of a given pedagogical system into word articles, while at the same time placing them in context by means of references and exploring the links between them. Unlike poetry dictionaries, it does not list all the words used but breaks the system down into basic units which, although they can be used in different directions, provide a clear indication of the path followed. It allows for the capture of relational dynamics, the drawing of conceptual networks, and visualization. These approaches are particularly supported by the digital versions of the dictionary in English and Hungarian.

A limitation of the work is that no content analysis of the entire Freinet oeuvre has been carried out. A dictionary has been prepared, based on the French teacher's most important works according to Larousse [*l'Éducation du travail* (1947), *Essai de psychologie sensible appliquée à l'éducation* (1950), *les Techniques Freinet dans l'école moderne* (1964)], supplemented by ideas of the book *The wisdom of Matthew* (1990) and the theses of *Les Invariants pédagogiques* (1964). On the other hand, it draws on material from the websites of the ICEM in France and the Freinet-Kooperative e. V. in Germany, as well as on my own 37 years of theoretical and practical experience in Freinet pedagogy. I have used a Hungarian and a German pedagogical lexicon to illustrate the link to the pedagogical changes of our time.

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Keywords: reform pedagogy, pedagogical systems, new approach, dictionary form, Freinet dictionary



Outlining the History of Primary Science Education in Luxembourg: from Normative Education Acts to Stakeholders' Voices

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Luxembourg is a state where several ethnolinguistic communities co-exist, and three administrative languages are used concomitantly. The migration history of the country led to the current foreign population scenario, which represents almost 50% of the residents (Statec, 2021). Luxembourgish, German and French compete on the different uses (Reisdoerfer, 2009; Horner & Weber, 2008), setting a multilingual context on the population daily life. This scenario is reflected in the education system, where these three languages permeate school instruction in different years and subjects. In addition, for many students, the language spoken at home can differ from the language(s) of instruction, leading this multilingual scenario to be confronted with the schooling dynamics, and then, impacting students' educational paths (Siry, 2017; Loureiro et al., 2019).

In Luxembourg, mandatory schooling starts at the age of 4 (ISCED 0), when students are in Cycle 1 (European Commission, 2022). While these children are exposed to Luxembourgish as the language of instruction, when they enter Cycle 2, they learn how to read and write in German, and then German becomes the *lingua franca* and the language of instruction for science. As French is also introduced, considering the remaining ISCED 1 year (Cycles 3 and 4), language instruction takes almost half of the overall number of allocated classes (MENFP, 2011). However, this is the current scenario.

Following the PISA results from early 2000's, a debate emerged on curricular reform, which led to the first law reform of the organisation of the primary school in 2009 (Loi du February 6, 2009) since 1912 (Loi du August 10, 1912). Even though one might find science contents and, later, guidelines throughout different schooling documents, the allocation number of classes for natural science only appears in the curriculum (Plan d'Études) from 2011 (MEN, 1964; MENJE, 1989; MENFP, 2011).

Using a qualitative research approach (Cohen et al., 2018), this contribution aims to present an outline on the history of (primary) science education in Luxembourg through the analysis of normative acts (using document analysis – Asdal & Reinertsen, 2022) layered with a European report on a new teaching approach to science (Rocard, 2007), and data from the project "Science Education, Innovation, and Policy in Modern Luxembourg – SciPol:Lux" (four individual interviews and one focus group, by using content analysis – Bardin, 1979). As data analysis is being conducted at this time, we expect to present the shifts in policies to show how science education was positioned within the curricular reforms and what key stakeholders from the last reform say about this positioning and forthcoming expectations of the inclusion of science in the curriculum.

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Keywords: Primary science education, Education policies, Teaching reforms



From Civil School to Primary School. The Impact of the Rise of Communist Ideology on Teacher Training After 1945

Von Bürgerschule bis zur Grundschule. Der Einfluss der Kommunistischen Ideologie an die Lehrerausbildung nach dem Jahre 1945

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On 18th August 1945, the national government established the eight-grade primary school in Hungary by ministerial decree, and at the same time abolished the civil school created in 1868. The eight-grade school was first thought of in the twenties, but the economic crisis prevented its implementation. The main objective of the public education program of the Hungarian Communist Party, which was made public in 1945, was that all children, regardless of their social background, should receive uniform knowledge and education. With the organization of the elementary school, it became necessary to transform the Hungarian public education as a whole. The school type, completely different from the previous ones, also required the reorganization of teacher training.

Since 1868, children aged 10–14 could study in three different types of schools (folk school, civil school and gymnasium), this task was taken over in August 1945 by a single type of school, the primary school. Of course, the completely different type of school required the reorganization of teacher training.

In Hungary, beginning in 1873, civil school teachers were trained by one female and one male training school in Budapest, and from 1928, the training took place in a co-ed form in Szeged until 1947. From 1947, primary school teachers were trained in two cities (Budapest and Szeged).

In the course of my presentation, I will present the demographic data of the students enrolled at the State Civil School Teacher Training College between 1928 and 1947 (N=1937) and the students enrolled at the Szeged Pedagogical College between 1947 and 1952 (N=1394). I obtained the data from the Student Registers.

In my presentation, I will answer the following questions: Has the social class that sent its children to the teacher training/pedagogical college changed? What prior education did the students come to the college with? What data was kept on the students before and after 1945? Can a conscious, externally controlled elite exchange be experienced during the examination of the social background of students admitted to the teacher training college?

The relevance of my research lies in the fact that, through the examination of the change in student composition, it is possible to lay the foundation for research concerning the first stage of the professionalization and institutionalization of elementary school teaching.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Am 18. August 1945 rief die Regierung in Ungarn die achtklassige Grundschule ins Leben, und hob gleichzeitig die 1868 geschaffene Bürgerschule auf. Die Idee der achtklassigen Schulen entstand erstmals in den 1920er Jahren, aber die Wirtschaftskrise verhinderte ihre Umsetzung. Das Hauptziel des öffentlichen Bildungswesenprogramms der Ungarischen Kommunistischen Partei (gegründet im Jahre 1945) war, dass alle Kinder unabhängig von ihrem sozialen Hintergrund eine einheitliche Bildung und Erziehung erhalten sollten. Mit der Gründung der Grundschule wurde es notwendig, das gesamte öffentliche Bildungssystem umzugestalten.



Seit 1868 konnten Kinder im Alter von 10–14 Jahren in drei verschiedenen Schularten (Volksschule, Bürgerschule, Gymnasium) lernen. Diese Aufgabe wurde im August 1945 von einer einzigen Schulart, der Grundschule, übernommen. Der ganz neue Schultyp erforderte natürlich auch eine Neuordnung der Lehrerbildung.

In Ungarn wurden von 1873 die Lehrer und die Lehrerinnen der Bürgerschule an einer weiblichen und einer männlichen Ausbildungsschule in Budapest gebildet. Von 1928 bis 1947 erfolgte die Ausbildung in koadukativer Form in Szeged. Ab 1947 die Lehrer der neuen Grundschulen wurden in Szeged und in Budapest ausgebildet.

In meinem Vortrag werde ich die demografischen Daten der Studenten der Hochschule für Lehrerbildung (zwischen 1928 und 1947) (N=1937) und die, der Studenten der Pädagogische Hochschule in Szeged (zwischen 1947–1952) (N=1394) vergleichen. Die Daten habe ich aus den Universitätsmatrikeln bezogen.

In meiner Vorlesung beantworte ich die folgenden Fragen: Kinder welcher Gesellschaftsschichten wurden an die Hochschule für Lehrerbildung/Pädagogische Hochschule geschickt. Mit welcher Vorbildung kamen die Studenten an die Hochschule? Welche Daten wurden über die Studenten vor und nach 1945 aufbewahrt? Gab es eigentlich einen bewussten, politisch kontrollierten Elitenaustausch an der Pädagogischen Hochschule in der neuen Ära?

Die Relevanz meiner Forschung liegt darin, dass es durch die Untersuchung der Veränderung der Schülerzusammensetzung möglich wird, die die erste Stufe der Professionalisierung und Institutionalisierung des Grundschulunterrichts betreffende Forschung zu etablieren.

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Keywords: civil school, primary school, teacher training, public education program, data analysis



The Role of the School and Teachers in the Democratic Transformation on the Basis of “Demokrácia és köznevelés”

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In 1944, when the front reached Hungary, a major political change was started, too. As a result, the Interim National Assembly was established at the end of 1944, during which a full-fledged, albeit Soviet-controlled, government was born. The Interim Assembly started to dismantling the political and ideological ground of the previous era. Education did not mean an exception. The interim Religious- and Public Education Minister, Géza Teleki introduced some practical reforms, seeking after the transformation of the ideological background of education, too. Thus, there was one of the most important measures the democratic reorganization of education, according to which democratic retraining courses had been organized in the spring of 1945 by the schools and the school districts. Although the local administrative bodies theoretically had the opportunity to influence these, they did not necessarily have a say in the activities taking place in the institutions. Therefore, the democratic retraining of the teachers could be started relatively freely, however, the specifically formulated expectation was also missing. All this created a difficult situation in an uncertain environment because the teachers were looked askance by the new leadership, accusing them of serving the previously functioning system branded as fascist.

In addition to the local retraining courses, in the summer of 1945, a national course for school district principals was also organized in Budapest with the aim of conveying to the schools very specific principles accepted on the basis of the central educational management regarding the democratic transformation of the institutions. This course will have a key role in the future in terms of the democratic organization of the institutions. Although the first elections were held in the autumn of 1945, the new Minister of Religion and Public Education, Dezső Keresztury, the process of democratic transformation continued in the previous direction. Based on the mentioned course, a volume titled “Demokrácia és köznevelés” [Democracy and Public Education] was published. The authors of the volume itself represented a wide palette. Starting in 1946, democratic retraining courses had to take place on the basis of this book.

The book *Demokrácia és köznevelés* consists of six major chapters, but from the point of view of this lecture, only the first unit is important. The first chapter wanted to find the place of schools and teachers in society and in the process of democratic transformation.

In my presentation, I am looking for an answer to the question of what role this volume intended for schools and teachers in a democratic society. I would like to investigate this by analyzing the documents of *Demokrácia és köznevelés*. In order to draw a more comprehensive picture, I also plan a comparative analysis of the document entitled *General Instructions (1938)*, which defines the principal content of secondary school education at the end of the Horthy era, and the mentioned volume. In this way, truly divergent reform efforts can be revealed, such as the new role of teachers or the effort to transform society, painting a more complex picture of democratic transition.

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Keywords: democratic transition, democratic retraining, reform, Géza Teleki



The Peculiar Reform in Matura Exams at Secondary Industrial Schools During 1954–1958 in Socialist Czechoslovakia

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The February 1948 coup of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia represented a fateful moment in the history of Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 20th century. For the following forty years, the Communist government influenced the course of events in all areas of Czechoslovak society without any opposition. The Soviet Union, especially in the early years of the new regime, became the model (McDermott, 2015; Zounek, Šimáně, & Knotová, 2017). It was also under its influence, for example, that the new orientation of the Czechoslovak industry was established. Traditional light industries were to be replaced by heavy industries. At the same time, strong industrialisation, even until then purely agrarian areas, was taking place (Olšáková & Janáč, 2018; Žídek, 2019). That, however, brought along a number of problems that also affected the structure of the entire education system. Based on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, the schools were not only supposed to serve the preparation of a new generation of “working people” and the intelligentsia (Lunacharsky, 1982). They were also supposed, in the shortest time possible, to help train new professional workers who the newly developing industry lacked or who would be directly involved in the performance of economic tasks (Šimáně, 2023). These requirements were also behind many of the changes in Czechoslovak education during the 1950s, which strongly affected especially vocational schools (ISCED 3).

This contribution aims to present one of the many educational reforms that influenced Czechoslovak vocational education during the 1950s. Specifically, it concerns the transformation, temporary cancellation and re-establishment of the matura exam at secondary industrial schools in the short period between 1954–1958. The paper tries to answer, among other things, the following questions: For what reasons did the communist regime proceed to individual changes in the questions of the matura exam (the exam entitling to continue studies at university) at secondary industrial schools in such a short period of time? In what way were these changes implemented in these schools? What results did these changes bring?

The contribution is primarily based on data obtained by studying contemporary pedagogical periodicals, contemporary legislation and archival sources obtained from the National Archives in Prague, the Moravian Land Archives in Brno and the Brno City Archives. The paper is a partial result of the project Secondary vocational school in socialist Czechoslovakia through the eyes of the history of everyday life. Oral history interviews with teachers (GACR, project no. 19-24776S).

The research results reveal that modifications of the matura exams at industrial schools in Czechoslovakia at the turn of the 1950s occurred in a non-systematic way. Without any broader discussions. It was merely a decision of the top leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which was mainly concerned with the implementation of economic plans. Also, for these reasons, the implementation of the changes in the area of the matura exam itself (especially its cancellation) brought many problems, which essentially led to the sudden abandonment of the original ideas and a return to an almost original form.



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Keywords: matura exam, secondary industrial schools, communism, reform, socialist Czechoslovakia



The Unique Interpretation of the 'Soviet Method' in the Documents Shaping the Early Childhood Education of the 1950s

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In the history of Hungarian early childhood education, reform pedagogy efforts were allowed to exist in the ever-present interaction of pedagogical pluralism and alternative pedagogy, a topic itself subject to numerous research, of the first half of the 20th century and later, starting at the end of the 1980s. In the period in between, starting in 1948, the so-called socialist kindergarten was shaped. Kindergarten pedagogy traditions of the previous era were broken, and compliance with the new principles resulted in the objective to homogenise all areas of life in an overcentralised way by copying the Soviet method (Kozma, 2012; Kövér, 1987). The analysis of the Hungarian kindergarten matters of the 1950s from a broader research perspective is only explored and discussed to a small extent by education history research. This research focuses on the role of kindergartens, as early childhood education institutions, in public education helping legitimise the socialist system under construction, from the official party leadership's perspective.

The research of the sources was shaped by the research dimensions (Molnár-Kovács, 2015, 2019). The research focused on the primary sources specified by the kindergarten politics dimension and, within those, on the manuals on kindergarten education. The first central content regulation manuals influencing the life of the Soviet Bloc's kindergartens were published in the middle of the 1950s. The research reveals the presence of different features in two socialist countries, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, despite the unification efforts. Targeted sampling was used to analyse the following three documents (N=3): a manual called "Nevelőmunka az óvodában" [Educational Work in Kindergartens], the "Módszertani utasítás" [Methodology Manual] issued for Hungarian kindergartens in Czechoslovakia and the "Tananyag az óvodák számára" [Schoolwork for Kindergartens] written in Slovakian.

The data corpus was processed using content structuring, case oriented qualitative content analysis (Kuckartz, 2012, 2019) and the software MAXQDA™. A combined category system of deductive (theory-driven) and inductive (data-driven) approaches was used for coding. The reliability of coding was ensured by double-coding which in this case means intracoding (Sántha, 2015, 2021, 2022). The last step of the research was a comparative analysis focusing on the manifest and latent content of the documents. The results confirmed that although the educational policy and political decisions of the day were influenced by the era's ideology and advertised the superior status of the Soviet method, unique features and different priorities were in fact present in the kindergarten education manuals of the different countries. The results of the research can help us further differentiate our knowledge of the socialist pedagogical past, the kindergartens of the 1950s.

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Keywords: kindergarten history, socialist kindergarten, 'unification', qualitative content analysis



The Dalton Plan in Modern China: Rising as a Spirit and Failing to Become a System

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In China, the Dalton Plan came into the view of educators in 1921 and shot to fame with its promise of remedying defects of whole-class teaching. On the eve of Helen Parkhurst's visit there in 1925, several vanguard schools organised scientific experiments and released detailed reports on outcomes, and many other schools carried out pedagogical innovations along the lines of the Dalton Plan. But this enthusiasm did not last long and was actually ebbing away before and during Parkhurst's two-month stay in China.

Over the next few years, the Dalton Plan went out of favour, suffering the same fate in other countries like Britain, Japan, and the United States. For all that, it constitutes a significant episode in the history of Chinese education and continues to serve as a source of inspiration and reflection in contemporary China. As the literature indicates, the causes of the rise and fall of the Dalton Plan in China were much the same as those elsewhere in the world, except for causes stemming from specific Chinese circumstances. Seldom do scholars notice that less progressive educators gave the main impetus to the rise and that both pedagogical and administrative progressives contributed much to the fall.

This article revisits the borrowing of the Dalton Plan when various ideas and models of American progressive education prevailed in China and sheds new light on the rise and fall by revealing the changing nature of the Chinese new education and unravelling the complex relationship between its advocates. It will be shown first that the Dalton Plan was introduced as a flexible spirit rather than a fixed system. Secondly, it was undermined by both rigorous tests organised by administrative progressives and poignant criticisms waged by pedagogical progressives. Lastly, its eclectic nature led to both its success and failure. As the first English work on Chinese Dalton education, it will bring to light how the Dalton Plan was received, adapted, and appropriated when various ideas and models of progressive education prevailed in China and by extension, constitute a fuller picture of the global dissemination and reception of the Dalton Plan.

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Keywords: Dalton Plan, individuality, efficiency, educational borrowing, modern China



Shaping Education Reform: The School of Education at the Hebrew University, 1935-1968

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This paper explores the history of the School of Education at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem over a span of more than three decades, from its inception in 1935 until the “Integration Reform” of 1968. The School was viewed by its faculty and administration as a premier global centre for developing Jewish and Zionist education, serving both the Israeli state and Jewish communities abroad. During this time, the majority of high school teachers in Israel were educated at the School of Education, and its faculty collaborated with the Ministry of Education to create study programs and exams.

Additionally, the university established advanced degree programs in education research, contributing to the establishment of the Israeli public education system and playing a role in shaping Israeli educational policy. With a focus on archival sources, contemporary press, and faculty publications, this paper examines the varying schools of thought among faculty, the accomplishments of key faculty members, the transfer of professional knowledge, and the connections established between the school, the state, and the development of the education system and reforms.

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Keywords: higher education, school reforms, transfer of knowledge, integration of immigrants



Between Agency and Vulnerability – Children’s Drawings as Sources for a History of Knowledge

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As a historian of childhood who is intrigued by the history of knowledge, I am interested in the question of how the history of childhood and children can be written as a history of knowledge. Taking this question as a starting point, in the proposed paper I will focus on a specific type of source and, in connection with this type of source, on a specific group of children. The type of source I am interested in is children’s drawings that are part of the *Nachlass* of a Swiss school physician and school psychiatrist by the name of Walter Deuchler (1898–1988). From 1930 to 1964, Deuchler supervised the observational classes for children with behavioural problems in the city of Zurich. “*Nachlass*” means the collection of manuscripts, notes, correspondence, and other documents related to Deuchler’s professional activities and left behind when he died. Deuchler’s collected documents now fill eighteen archival boxes and are kept in the Zurich City Archives (Stadtarchiv Zürich, 1929–1985).

In recent years, historians of knowledge have become increasingly interested in material cultures (E.g., Mitman & Wilder, 2016; Lyons & Marquilhas, 2017; Martin, 2021). The same holds true for historians of childhood, as they have widened their methodological approaches to incorporate drawings and other objects created by children (E.g., Padrós Tuneu et al., 2015; Rietmann et al., 2017; Tomsic, 2019). This new focus also has to do with the fact that historians who ascribe to the notions of the so-called new sociology of childhood understand children as competent social agents with their own voices and want them to be researched as such (Heywood, 2018a, p. 8). However, even if historians assume that children are competent agents, they cannot help but notice that in some circumstances children had virtually no influence on social or societal interaction (E.g., Hofmann 2022). And this is especially true when it comes to “abnormal” children such as those with behavioural problems. Heywood (2018b, p. 8) argues that “one needs to recognise both agency and vulnerability when discussing children”.

Starting from these two contradictory aspects (agency on the one hand, and vulnerability, not having a voice on the other), I will focus on the drawings by Zurich pupils who in the mid-20th century attended an observational class for children with behavioral problems, which are included in the Deuchler *Nachlass*. These drawings that were created in everyday school life strike me as exciting not only in terms of childhood history but also in terms of history of knowledge. In the proposed paper, I will explore two questions. First, what history of knowledge of “abnormal” children can be written based on this type of sources? Second, what conclusions can be drawn in terms of agency and vulnerability?

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Keywords: history of knowledge, childhood history, agency, behavioural problems, Switzerland



The Dutch Niche – Teaching a Marginalised and Devalued Language in Prussia, 1830–1850

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In the German city of Kleve, Dutch was the lingua franca until around 1815. After the Congress of Vienna, however, a consequential Prussian language policy successfully ousted Dutch from schools, churches, administration and thereby from everyday life (Cf. Cornelissen, 2000, p. 287–288).

In the sense of a history of knowledge, (foreign) language skills can be understood as knowledge that is circulated and evaluated by institutional and informal educational carriers (Cf. Solleveld & van Hal, 2021). The language history of Kleve after the Congress of Vienna is an outstanding example of how language knowledge becomes devalued and no longer promoted after territorial reorganisations, i.e. how deliberate governmental interventions prevent knowledge circulation. This historical example is therefore very well suited for questions about the history of knowledge by asking “what counts as knowledge in a given historical context, and how [do] hierarchies and orderings of knowledge emerge and change” (Bergwik & Holmberg, 2020, p. 292).

Until now, research has completely overlooked the fact that the Royal Prussian Gymnasium in Kleve, i.e. *the* institution of Prussian elite education, actually employed a Dutch language teacher, Johan van Jaarsveldt, as late as 1825. This seems paradoxical since at the same time great efforts were made to prevent the circulation of the knowledge resource in discussion, the Dutch language, within the school system. It seems that the city council, which financed the position, valued Dutch as a valuable type of knowledge that should be available to the next generation of the Prussian elite.

The records of Dutch teaching at the Kleve Gymnasium are good: Jaarsveldt published a Dutch reading book (1833) and a grammar (1838) for his classes. Through the Gymnasium’s annual reports (1833–1853), we can precisely learn which lessons he taught from his books and can therefore reconstruct just what and in a more rudimentary form, how he taught.

My paper consists of three parts:

After outlining the historical and language-political context, the second part addresses the question of to which extent language knowledge can be considered a type of knowledge, as understood by the history of knowledge.

The third part then discusses Jaarsveldt’s teaching activities: How does he claim relevance for the knowledge he wants to convey through his books and his teaching? How is this illustrated by the introductions to his textbooks and through his selection of texts and tasks? In other words, how does he justify the claim that this kind of language knowledge, marginalised and devalued by Prussian language policy, should continue to circulate? It will conclude with an overview of his teaching methods and thus help answer the question of how concretely the institutionalised circulation of publicly devalued knowledge took place in the classroom.

For the field of the history of education, this instance of language teaching within the context of a strict language policy shows how informal and institutional knowledge circulation is closely connected “with the political and ideological justification of educational programmes”



(Lundberg, 2022, p. 3) and therefore lends itself particularly well to a history of knowledge perspective (Cf. Barnes & Pietsch, 2022).

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Keywords: history of knowledge, language teaching, language politics, political reform, elite and popular education



Education and Social Technocracy: Knowledge, Politics and Social Sciences for 20th Century Labour Party Intellectuals

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This paper seeks to reveal the intellectual background against which various educational reforms take place in Post-War Britain. By placing the intellectual development of the Labour Party in parallel with the growing influence of social sciences in the Post-War context (Savage, 2010), this paper explicates how moral, political and intellectual pursuits of the Labour Party intellectuals entangled in their making of social scientific knowledge. This paper focuses on three intellectuals, namely Hugh Gaitskell, Evan Durbin and Mark Abrams, whose epistemic outlooks represent the 'scientisation' of knowledge of society and shed intellectual influence on comprehensive reform (McCulloch, 2016; Rogan, 2017). By doing so this paper identifies the importance for educationists to understand the epistemic shift in the Post-War welfare state when approaching the series of educational reforms in the 1960s. It is also argued that with the emerging social sciences constructing a common language between the academics and the statesmen, an epistemic pre-condition that made the progressive educational reforms possible was achieved.

Hugh Gaitskell served as the Labour Party leader from 1955 to 1963. He and his close friend Evan Durbin were both Oxford graduates and proteges of Christian socialist R. H. Tawney (Brivati, 1996). Both held academic posts before entering politics, they actively engaged with Inter-war development of social sciences. Gaitskell left the materials that show his familiarity with the then-emerging fields of sociology and anthropology. Evan Durbin, with his expertise in economics, demonstrated his understanding of social sciences in his influential book *The Politics of Democratic Socialism* (Durbin, 1969). Mark Abrams was a professional sociologist who had conducted political opinion polling and social surveys for the Labour Party since Gaitskell's leadership (Worcester, 1991). Abrams' knowledge-making processes demonstrated his efforts to use social science and statistical tools to address social issues. Gaitskell, Durbin and Abrams shared a utilitarian attitude towards the epistemic sources of social sciences, which also qualify them to be categorised as social technocrats. Primary sources and archival materials are engaged in this paper, namely Gaitskell's lecture notes in the 1920s, Durbin's treatise *The Politics of Democratic Socialism* (1940) and Abrams' conducts of social surveys (1951) in the Post-War period. In doing so this paper depicts the continuities and discontinuities in the epistemic development of social technocrats over time.

Situating the intellectual development among the three intellectuals in the history of social science in contemporary British history, this paper argues that moral and political commitments remain relatively stable despite changes in the epistemic outlook. By picturing how moral, political and intellectual pursuits were combined in the social technocrats, the inquiry that this paper makes may allow educationists to better appreciate educational reforms through the lens of the history of knowledge.

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Keywords: Labour Party, history of social sciences, governmentality, politics, comprehensive



The Educational Reform Of The Regenerationist Movement In Spain In The Late 19th And Early 20th Centuries.

La Reforma Educativa Del Movimiento Regeneracionista En La España De Finales Del XIX y Principios Del XX

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Picavea's analysis of the educational situation in Spain at the end of the 19th century, together with the new pedagogical ideas contributed by Costa, provided a basis for initiating educational reform (Puelles, 1989). His proposals to turn Spain into a more European than African country demanded the change of all educational structures. For Escolano (2002) Macías Picavea: "defined in *El problema nacional* the pedagogical dimensions of the necessary reconstitution in Spain" (1899, p. 107).

The confidence they had in education as an instrument of transformation demonstrated the importance they attached to the educational system for the improvement of society. It was the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Álvaro de Figueroa y Torres, Count Romanones, who was responsible for tackling these changes in education. He continued along the path initiated by the first Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, the conservative Antonio García Alix.

Count Romanones undertook the reform of the education system in 1901. He initiated the first changes in Secondary Education and Professional Education, including Teacher Training. He continued three months later with Primary Education (R.D. of 26 October 1901). To do so, he used an unusual system. He consulted the teachers, obtained data on their concerns, the payment of their salaries, their desire to be paid quarterly or monthly, the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the municipalities with Primary Education, with which he tried to elaborate a law based on the needs and concerns of all those involved (Capitán, 2000).

With the new legal regulations, changes were made in several areas: the increase in the age of compulsory schooling for pupils; the modification of the curricula of the Elementary Schools; with respect to teachers, it is established who is responsible for the payment of salaries, the requirements to practise, the different qualifications, the disciplinary regime and competitive examinations (Melcón, 1992). In addition, it was considered necessary to know the needs of schools in each area. New rules were established for the Juntas de Instrucción Pública, both provincial and local.

But education was not only for the young. The adult population had very low literacy levels. To this end, the building of schools and the teachers responsible for them were made useful to educate both men and women.

In the Boys' Schools, an evening class for men was made compulsory. Women's education was reserved for the Girls' Schools and was taught only on Sundays. The difference in the time set aside for educating men and women was very unequal in terms of the time devoted to each. This belief that education was important in order to achieve the social progress promoted by the regenerationist movement promoted by the ILE succeeded in initiating the changes that Spanish society needed.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

El análisis que realiza Picavea sobre la situación educativa en España de finales del XIX junto con las nuevas ideas pedagógicas aportadas por Costa, suponía una base para poder iniciar la reforma de la enseñanza (Puelles, 1989). Sus planteamientos para convertir a España en un país más europeo que africano exigían el cambio de todas las estructuras educativas. Para Escolano (2002) Macías Picavea: “definía en *El problema nacional* (1899) las dimensiones pedagógicas de la necesaria reconstitución en España” (p. 107).

La confianza que tenían en la educación como instrumento transformador demostraba la importancia que le concedían al sistema educativo para mejorar la sociedad. Fue el Ministro de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, Álvaro de Figueroa y Torres, Conde Romanones, el responsable de afrontar estos cambios en la enseñanza. Continuando el camino iniciado por el primer Ministro de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, el conservador Antonio García Alix.

El Conde de Romanones emprendió la reforma del sistema educativo en 1901. Inició los primeros cambios en la Enseñanza Secundaria y en las Enseñanzas Profesionales, incluidas las de Magisterio. Continúo tres meses después con la Enseñanza Primaria (R.D. de 26 de octubre de 1901). Para ello utilizó un sistema poco habitual. Consultó a los maestros, obtuvo datos sobre sus preocupaciones, el cobro de sus nóminas, su deseo de querer cobrar trimestral o mensualmente, el cumplimiento de las responsabilidades de los municipios con la Primera Enseñanza, con lo que intentó elaborar una ley basándose en las necesidades y preocupaciones de todos los implicados (Capitán, 2000).

Con la nueva normativa legal se realizaron cambios en varios ámbitos: el aumento de la edad de escolarización obligatoria para el alumnado; la modificación de los planes de estudios de las Escuelas Elementales; con respecto a los maestros se establece a quién le corresponde la responsabilidad del pago del sueldo, los requisitos para ejercer, los diferentes títulos, el régimen disciplinario y los concursos (Melcón, 1992). Además, se consideraba necesario conocer las necesidades de escuelas en cada zona. Se establecieron nuevas normas para las Juntas de Instrucción Pública, tanto provinciales como locales.

Pero la educación no era solo para los jóvenes. La población adulta tenía unos niveles de alfabetización muy bajos. Para ello se le dio utilidad al edificio de las Escuelas y a los docentes responsables de ellas, para educar a los hombres y a las mujeres.

En las Escuelas de Niños se establecía como obligatoria la existencia de una clase nocturna para hombres. La educación de las mujeres se reservaba para las Escuelas de Niñas y se impartía solo los domingos. La diferencia que se daba en los tiempos reservados para educar a los hombres y a las mujeres era muy desigual en cuanto al tiempo que se dedicaba a cada uno de ellos.

Esta creencia de que la educación era importante para lograr el progreso social que promovía el movimiento regeneracionista impulsado por la ILE consiguió iniciar los cambios que necesitaba la sociedad española.

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Keywords: Institución Libre de Enseñanza, Regeneracionismo, Romanones, Enseñanza Primaria.



Rosa Sensat: Inclusion Of The Sciences In Home Economics Classes For Girls. 1913–1927.
Rosa Sensat: Inclusión De Las Ciencias En Las Clases de Economía Doméstica Para Niñas.
1913–1927

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In Spain, since the end of the 19th century, a current of thought was born about the education that should be given to girls against the thought of the time which was that the education of women was a private matter and directed exclusively to their moral formation. This current of thought exposed the need for an academic education that was comparable to the one given to boys. With the turn of the century, there were pedagogues who thought of a more egalitarian education in terms of the quality and applicability of the education given to boys and girls. Rosa Sensat, a Spanish teacher at the beginning of the 20th century, through several writings in congresses, publications, and books, between 1913 and 1927, proposed the inclusion of science (Physics, Chemistry, Physiology) in the program of home economics classes for girls in Barcelona. And developed a pedagogical alternative to be implemented not only in this city but also in the rest of Spain and that represented an option to counteract the 19th-century thought about women's education.

The aims of the research are: to analyse the main pedagogical characteristics of the proposal to include science in home economics classes for girls in the first place. Secondly, determine the pedagogical current from which Rosa Sensat took guidelines to develop her pedagogical proposal. Lastly, expose the contributions of Rosa Sensat in the education of girls in Catalonia at the beginning of the 20th century.

At the methodological level, primary sources were used by studying the original documents written by Sensat, which are digitalized, and relating them to books and essays on the educational movements and feminism of the early 20th century. The results of the research determine that Rosa Sensat during the first decades of the previous century developed a program of contents for the subject of home economics that included a significant amount of science topics, relating them to the activities that women carried out in the early 20th century. In the same way, she made the content of the subject sincere in relation to the real educational needs of the Barcelona women of the time. And finally, throughout her career as a teacher and pedagogue, she sought to improve the education of girls, putting it on the same level of quality as boy's education.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

En España, desde finales del siglo XIX, nace una corriente de reflexión sobre la educación que debía darse a las niñas en contra del pensamiento de la época el cual era que la educación de las mujeres era un asunto privado y dirigido exclusivamente a su formación moral. Esta corriente de pensamiento expuso la necesidad de una formación académica que estuviese equiparada a la impartida a los niños. Con el cambio de siglo hubo pedagogos y pedagogas que pensaron en una educación más igualitaria en el sentido de la calidad y la aplicabilidad de la enseñanza que se daba a niños y niñas.

Rosa Sensat, docente española de principios del siglo XX, a través de varios escritos en congresos, publicaciones y libros, entre 1913 y 1927, planteó la inclusión de las ciencias (Física, Química, Fisiología) en el programa de las clases de economía doméstica para las niñas en



Barcelona. Desarrollando una alternativa pedagógica para ser implementada no sólo en esta ciudad sino también en el resto de España y que representaba una opción para contrarrestar el pensamiento decimonónico acerca de la educación de la mujer.

Los objetivos de la investigación son:

- Analizar las principales características pedagógicas de la propuesta de inclusión de las ciencias en las clases de economía doméstica para niñas.
- Determinar la corriente pedagógica de la cual Rosa Sensat tomaba lineamientos para desarrollar su propuesta pedagógica.
- Exponer los aportes de Rosa Sensat en la educación de las niñas en Cataluña de principios del siglo XX.

A nivel metodológico se utilizaron fuentes primarias estudiando los documentos originales escritos por Sensat, los cuales están digitalizados, y relacionándolos con libros y ensayos sobre los movimientos educativos y feminismo de principios del siglo XX. Los resultados de la investigación determinan que Rosa Sensat en las primeras décadas del siglo anterior desarrolló un programa de contenidos para la asignatura economía doméstica que incluía una cantidad significativa de temas de ciencias, relacionándolo con las actividades que realizaban las mujeres de principios del siglo XX. De igual manera sinceró el contenido de la asignatura en relación con las necesidades educativas reales de las mujeres barcelonesas de la época. Y por último durante toda su trayectoria como docente y pedagoga buscó mejorar la educación de las niñas equiparándola a nivel de calidad con la enseñanza de los niños.

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Keywords: Education for girls, history of education, pedagogical currents, education and feminism.



Slides for the teaching of Natural Sciences in the last years of Primary Education in Spain (1970–1990)

Las diapositivas para la enseñanza de las Ciencias Naturales en los últimos cursos de Educación Primaria en España (1970–1990)

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The XII. Conference on Public Education convened by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education in Geneva in 1949 stated that education at the lower levels should include the study of natural sciences. The natural sciences were to be included in the curricula at the lower, primary, levels and should give maximum importance to direct observations of natural facts, objects and phenomena and to experimentation.

In Spain, the enactment of the General Education Law (EGB) of 1970 meant a reform of the education system as a whole, an educational reform that aimed to bring education to 100% of the population, and whose compulsory stage was extended to the age of fourteen. General Basic Education comprised eight years of study, between the ages of six and thirteen. The studies were divided into two stages: a first stage for children from six to ten years of age, with a markedly global character; and a second stage for children from eleven to thirteen years of age, which presented a moderate diversification of the teachings by areas of knowledge.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the divergences between the legislative recommendations, their development and the recommendations made by the institutions regarding the learning methodologies to be implemented. We will focus on the second stage of EGB, which, as has been pointed out, covers the levels to be taught to children from eleven to thirteen years of age. Within this stage, we will study the methodological recommendations made in relation to the area of Natural Sciences. Once the area of knowledge has been delimited, we are going to study the audio-visual methodologies and more specifically those related to the projection of slides.

We will study the learning content from the collections of slides offered by different commercial houses, including those published by the Ministry of Education, the different marketing channels and their correspondence or not with the official programmes. In terms of their use, we will try to see what role they play in the new methodologies proposed and to what extent they are coherent with the aims of the Law.

Slide collections were one of the most widely used resources in Spanish classrooms for teaching science. They were an inexpensive material and once the projection equipment was acquired, the slide collections were offered as a complement to the textbooks. Being a concrete resource allows us to investigate classroom practices that represent in some way the actual implementation of a reform.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La XII Conferencia de Instrucción Pública convocada por la UNESCO y la Oficina Internacional de Educación de Ginebra en el año 1949 apuntaba que la educación en sus primeros niveles debía incluir el estudio de las Ciencias Naturales. Las Ciencias Naturales se incluirían en los curriculum de las enseñanzas en los niveles inferiores, primaria, debían conceder la máxima importancia a las observaciones directas de los hechos, objetos y fenómenos naturales y a la experimentación.



En España la promulgación de la Ley General de Educación (EGB) de 1970 supuso una reforma del sistema educativo en su conjunto, una reforma educativa que pretendía hacer llegar la educación al 100% de la población, y cuya etapa obligatoria se extendía hasta los 14 años. La Educación General Básica comprendía 8 años de estudio, entre los 6 y los 13 años de edad. Los estudios se dividían en dos etapas: una primera etapa para niños de seis a diez años, con un marcado carácter global; y una segunda etapa para niños de 11 a 13 años que presentaba una moderada diversificación de las enseñanzas por áreas de conocimiento.

Con esta comunicación se pretende poner de manifiesto las divergencias entre las recomendaciones legislativas, el desarrollo de las mismas, y las recomendaciones que desde las instituciones se hacían respecto a las metodologías de aprendizaje que se querían poner en marcha. Nos centraremos en la segunda etapa de EGB, que como se ha apuntado, abarca los niveles a impartir a los niños de 11 a 13 años de edad. Dentro de esta etapa estudiaremos las recomendaciones metodológicas que se hicieron en relación al Área de Ciencias de la Naturaleza. Acotada el área de conocimiento vamos a estudiar las metodologías audiovisuales y más concretamente las relacionadas con la proyección de diapositivas.

Estudiaremos los contenidos de las colecciones de diapositivas ofertadas por diferentes casas comerciales, incluso las que publicaba el Ministerio de Educación, las diferentes vías de comercialización y su correspondencia o no con los programas oficiales. En cuanto a su utilización trataremos de ver qué papel juegan en las nuevas metodologías propuestas y hasta qué punto son coherentes con los anhelos de la Ley.

Las colecciones de diapositivas fueron uno de los recursos más utilizados en las aulas españolas para la enseñanza de las ciencias. Constituían un material económico y una vez adquirido el equipo de proyección, las colecciones de diapositivas se ofertaban como complemento a los manuales. Al tratarse de un recurso concreto nos permite investigar las prácticas en el aula que representan de alguna manera la verdadera implantación de una reforma.

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Keywords: Natural Sciences, Slides, Spain, primary education, catalogues



1933: Girl Scouts at the World Jamboree?!
1933: Pfadfinderinnen auf dem Weltjamboree?!

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The Scout movement founded by Robert Baden-Powell was originally aimed at the education of boys, but it soon became attractive to girls as well, with more and more girls becoming involved in Scouting. Baden-Powell therefore began to develop a specific Girl Scout pedagogy in 1909 and initiated the creation of a separate organisation. In keeping with the British social norms of the time, Scouting was not a co-educational organisation, the laws and principles were the same, but the purpose and therefore the content of the activity differed. Girls were prepared for the roles of mother, wife and housewife, for the partner of the boy scouts. So, the goals were traditional, but the tools were new, shaped by reform pedagogy. The basic principles of scout education for girls were activity, autonomy and usefulness (Mills, 2011, pp. 542–547; Proctor 2005, pp. 239–247).

In Hungary, the first girls also joined the boys' troops. In 1919 was formed the first girls' troop and 1924 by the Hungarian Girl Scout Association (Gergely, 1989, p. 85). Their history is poorly researched (see Bernáth, 2009; Kertész, 2020; Rébay, 2020), although the organisation quickly developed and Hungarian leaders played a significant role in the world movement.

The first Girl Scout World Jamboree was held in Hungary in 1939 (Bokody, 2009, p. 17). Prior to this, girls were allowed to attend boys' gatherings, but only as guests. In our research, we will examine the following aspects. First of all, the role of the Girl Scout Association in the 1933 World Scout Jamboree (Gödöllő), how it prepared for the event. Secondly, the activities in which the girls participated. Lastly, the reception of the girls' participation in the event in Hungary and abroad. Our sources are the Hungarian scouting newspapers (*Cserkészlányok Lapja, Magyar Cserkész*), the daily and weekly newspapers of the time, and the archival documents of the Boys' and Girls' Association. Our method was the historical documentary analysis.

The Girl Scouts Association was asked to organise a camp and a programme for the foreign girl scouts invited by the Hungarian Scout Association. The programme was preceded by two years of preparation: the Association advertised foreign language courses for its members, encouraged them to complete special exams in tourist guiding and world knowledge, and invited troops to prepare for the National Exhibition of Manual Dexterity. The latter was not included in the official programme, but attracted many visitors, as did the home of the Gödöllő's Girl Scouts. Their other major event was their own parade, which was attended by 300 foreign and 600 Hungarian Girl Scouts. Several trips to the countryside were organised for the foreign girl scouts and they also visited the jamboree together with Hungarian girls. However, their role at the event was not significant: they were dance partners in the performances. The Hungarian political papers' reports on the girls' programmes stressed the importance of the movement and its social usefulness. In the scouting community, the promotion of the scout brotherhood as well as the introduction of the nation and the country were the goals that were fulfilled.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Die Pfadfinderbewegung wurde von ihrem Gründer, Robert Baden-Powell, ursprünglich für die Ausbildung von Jungen konzipiert, wurde aber bald auch für Mädchen attraktiv, so dass sich immer mehr Mädchen der Pfadfinderbewegung anschlossen. Baden-Powell begann daher



1909 mit der Entwicklung einer spezifischen Pfadfinderinnen-Pädagogik und initiierte die Gründung einer eigenen Organisation. Im Einklang mit den britischen Gesellschaftsnormen der damaligen Zeit war das Pfadfinden keine koedukative Organisation, die Gesetze und Grundsätze waren die gleichen, aber der Zweck und damit der Großteil der Aktivitäten unterschieden sich. Mädchen wurden nämlich auf die Rolle der Mutter, Ehefrau und Hausfrau erzogen, zur Lebensgefährtin eines Pfadfinders vorbereitet. Die Ziele waren also traditionell, aber die Mittel waren neu, von der Reformpädagogik geprägt. Die Grundprinzipien der Pfadfindererziehung für Mädchen waren Aktivität, Selbstständigkeit und Nützlichkeit (Mills, 2011, pp. 542–547; Proctor, 2005, pp. 239–247).

In Ungarn schlossen sich die ersten Mädchen ebenfalls den Jungengruppen an. Erst 1919 wurde die erste Mädchengruppe gegründet und 1924 wurde der Pfadfinderinnenverband etabliert (Gergely, 1989, p. 85). Die Geschichte der Pfadfinderinnenbewegung ist in Ungarn wenig erforscht (s. Bernáth, 2009; Kertész, 2020; Rébay, 2020), obwohl sich die Organisation schnell entwickelte und ungarische Pfadfinderinnen eine bedeutende Rolle im Weltverband spielten.

Das erste Weltpfadfinderinnentreffen fand 1939 in Ungarn statt (Bokody, 2009, p. 17). Davor durften Mädchen zwar an den Treffen der Jungen teilnehmen, aber nur als Gäste. In unserer Forschung untersuchen wir: 1. die Rolle des Pfadfinderinnenverbandes beim Weltpfadfindertreffen 1933 in Gödöllő, wie er sich auf das Ereignis vorbereitete; 2. die Aktivitäten, an denen die Mädchen teilnahmen; 3. die Rezeption ihrer Teilnahme in Ungarn und im Ausland. Unsere Quellen sind die ungarischen Pfadfinderinnen- und Pfadfinderzeitungen (*Cserkészlányok Lapja, Magyar Cserkész*), die Tages- und Wochenzeitungen der damaligen Zeit sowie die Archivalien des Jungen- und des Mädchenverbandes. Als Methode wurde die historische Dokumentenanalyse gewählt.

Der Pfadfinderinnenverband wurde gebeten, ein Lager und ein Programm für die vom Ungarischen Pfadfinderverband eingeladenen Gäste zu organisieren. Während der zweijährigen Vorbereitungszeit warb der Verband für Fremdsprachenkurse für seine Mitglieder, ermutigte sie, spezielle Proben in den Bereichen Fremdenführung und Weltwissen zu absolvieren, und lud die Truppen ein, sich auf die Nationale Ausstellung für manuelle Geschicklichkeit vorzubereiten. Letztere war nicht im offiziellen Programm enthalten, zog aber viele Besucher an, ebenso wie das Heim der Gödöllőer Pfadfinderinnen. Das andere große Ereignis war ihre eigene Parade, an der 300 ausländische und 600 ungarische Pfadfinderinnen teilnahmen. Für die ausländische Gäste wurden mehrere Ausflüge aufs Land organisiert, und sie besuchten auch das Jamboree zusammen mit ungarischen Pfadfinderinnen. Ihre Rolle bei der Veranstaltung war jedoch unbedeutend: Sie waren bloß Tanzpartner bei den Aufführungen. In den Berichten der ungarischen politischen Zeitungen über die Pfadfinderinnenprogramme wurden die Bedeutung der Bewegung und ihr sozialer Nutzen hervorgehoben. In der Pfadfindergemeinschaft wurden die Förderung der Pfadfinderbrüderschaft und das Kennenlernen der Nation und des Landes als die zu erreichenden Ziele angesehen.

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Keywords: world jamboree, girl scouting, Hungary, 1933, Gödöllő



The Educators' Movement of Kibbutz Artzi (1930s–1990s) As an Actor in Educational Reforms, Changes and Improvements

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The historians Larry Cuban and David Tyack defined educational reforms as “planned efforts to change schools in order to correct social and educational problems. Sometimes broad social crises triggered school reforms, and sometimes reforms were internal improvements initiated by professionals” (1995, p. 4).

The body of research I published about the history of kibbutz education points out that in kibbutz education there were changes that were ahead of their time and pioneering reforms (Dror, 2001, 2004, 2016, 2020). All reforms, changes and improvements took place within the three main kibbutz movements that were active from the 1930's to the 1990's and mostly in Kibbutz Artzi (national kibbutz). In the 1930's and the 1940's, Kibbutz Artzi institutionalized its educators' movement as a department and developed the unique reformist integrative socialist-Zionist 'subjects method' for its primary and secondary schools.

The department continued during the 1950's till the 1980's to hold conferences in any vacation, in order to discuss reforms, changes and improvements by educators. The active members of the department came from the educational field. They used the materials that had been formulated through this ongoing process of conferences decisions > products > schools > next conferences on: curricula; bulletins; upgrades of the 'educational groups'; final research papers; agricultural clubs; cultural projects; students' journals; assessment by booklets, exhibitions and collective projects. Professional committees of schools' educators updated the department's curricular materials and prepared the next conferences that discussed them.

The unit for curricular development within the education department, established in 1967, developed new reformist and integrative curricula assisted by teams of educators. Only a few of the innovations were implemented in schools and the unit ceased to exist in 1980.

Although the educational conferences did continue in the years 1970, 1976 and 1982, it was the department of Kibbutz Artzi establishment that usually initiated them. Attempts at reviving the active educators' movement failed. The last conference was held in 1995, with few educators, after 13 years of pause.

Educators continued doing creative work in the 1980's and 1990's, when Kibbutz Artzi schools began to merge with the United Kibbutz Movement's day schools. The staff of each regional school sought to forge its own identity, which included humanistic, Zionist-socialist, agricultural, artistic and scientific-technological education, by way of unique interdisciplinary programs. This search of Kibbutz educators during those years was carried out within the regional framework. The proposals were discussed by the schools' staff, and in most schools students and parents were also involved, similarly to the national education conferences, now functioning only on a regional basis.

Some international lessons can be drawn from Kibbutz Artzi case by the 'grounded theory' method: First of all, grassroots movements of educators can be very fruitful actors for initiating reforms, like the American ones during the Progressive Era (Reese, 2002). Secondly, Educators' movements can act as 'social movements' 'from below' in the 'macro'/national level, and/or in the 'micro'/school level, and/or in the 'meso' ('intermediary')/regional level (Meyer et al., 2002). Lastly, Educators' movements can revitalize innovative educational paradigms like integrative subjects/projects/complexes methods (Dror, 2001, 2016).



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Keywords: Educators' movements; Kibbutz; macro; meso; micro



The Right and Duty of Knowledge: Science Teaching and Reformation Policies in Melanchthon's "Initia Doctrinae Physicae" (1549)

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Among the vast array of books composed by Melanchthon for educational purposes, the *Initia doctrinae physicae dictata in academia Vuitebergensi* is seldom put into the light for its contents or its underlying pedagogical perspective. Published in 1549 in Wittenberg, the cradle of the Reformation, where Melanchthon taught, the textbook was endlessly reprinted for several decades and provided the standard of scientific teaching in Protestant universities.

From a pedagogical point of view, its interest and value go far beyond its curricular features and scientific content. The author pinpoints natural order as a theatre offered to the human mind, which has not only the right to know nature's law and mechanisms, but also the duty of possessing clear-cut notions on the universe and the human body and soul in order to recognize and admire the providence of God. Teaching and learning Nature is therefore a proof of faith and scientific knowledge is the necessary background of the reformed mind.

Moreover, this textbook proposes an idea of humankind fully immersed in the natural world and draws on Galenic temperamental theory and medicine to explain human nature and behaviour. Natural science is considered able to provide certainty, thanks to natural order controlled by God who also gave humankind the ability to know it, mainly before Christianity through the works of Greek authors, whose doctrine is extensively quoted by Melanchthon.

This work is fully consistent not only with the medical approach to the study of the soul expressed in a major work such as the *Liber de anima*, inspired by Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*, but with the Reformed perspective of education and policies embraced by Luther and Melanchthon, especially after the Peasant's war. The German nobility and local Protestant majors and leaders have the responsibility of taking care of the basic education of the masses, but also of making the right decisions as custodians of the social order prescribed by the divine law, keeping rebellion and disorder at bay. Melanchthon's *Initia doctrinae physicae* describes a natural order in exact correspondence with God's will and with which social and political order must comply.

Therefore, learning science from the classics and conceiving the human soul as regulated by Galenic principles is a precise duty of a member of the Reformed élite. With the elegant and precious style of the exposition, the author addresses the students with the triple aim of inspiring interest and passion in the natural science, infusing the basic notions of Aristotelian physics, Renaissance astrology and Galenic medicine, and promoting a model of cultivated leadership in which the (pre-experimental) scientific method acts as a model for a governmental but self-aware perspective on education and the cultural policies of the Reformed world.

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Keywords: Melanchthon, scientific education, Reformation, policies, textbooks



Pedagogy of Place. 20th century School Ideals and Reforms in Norway

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The paper points to «pedagogy of place» (Orr, 1992; Løvlie, 2007) as a central idea behind school reforms in Norway during the early 20th century. Place-based pedagogy emphasizes direct observation and exploration of immediate surroundings, experimentation, and problem-solving in education (Orr, 1992), and is generally understood as ways of thinking that emphasizes pedagogy from the point of view of “the child as situated” (Løvlie, 2007). Thus, the child’s experiential horizon has formed the basis for the school’s more formal subject instruction in this tradition.

Based on a study of key reform documents in the Norwegian school, the paper touches upon different forms of pedagogy of place that were discussed in the Norwegian educational context during the early 20th century. The paper highlights that both a liberal ideal of the place (A. Sethne), and a communitarian understanding (E. Kristvik) were discussed. Furthermore, the paper shows how these ideas drew upon international pedagogical ideas and scholars, and how «pedagogy of place» was embodied in the school through the mandatory school subject «heimstadiæra» [Heimatkunde]. From a societal perspective the paper points to the pedagogy of place as a source for cultural development and modernization in Norway, which differed from modernization based on instrumental rationality and technology.

Furthermore, the question is raised about the status and position of the pedagogy of place in the Norwegian school system after World War II and in today’s school, and whether we need to revive a new pedagogy of place for our time?

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Keywords: «Pedagogy of place», Heimatkunde, modernization, Norwegian school tradition



Changes in the Role of Hungarian Museums as Cultural Mediators and in the Approach to Museum Education During Digital Age

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Until the 20th century, the spatial structure and approach of Hungarian museums was dominated by the museum-temple analogy, which followed Central European museum practice and legitimised the existence of the nation-state. In the first half of the century, the reform pedagogical trends, new challenges of education and policy associated with the name of Kunó Klebelsberg also contributed significantly to the development of the role of the museum and the early museum pedagogical initiatives. In the second half of the 20th century, the museum of the socialist period continued to be characterised by this quasi-specialist closed structure, with strong elements of communist ideology perpetuated as a political religion. The period following the change of regime saw significant changes in this area as well, with the structure of closed exhibition spaces in the museum environment undergoing a significant transformation and the emergence of museum and museum education initiatives in Western Europe and the transatlantic region.

These changes have significantly transformed the former enclosed space of museums. The dissolution of rigid spatial relationships and guided visits of the past has transformed museums from a temple of knowledge into a venue for social events. Prior to the change of regime in Hungary, programmes organised by museums were generally seen as an alternative to leisure activities. By the early nineties, with the spread of television, the internet, shopping malls, the number of leisure activities had increased and around the 2000's, the development of public cultural activities and offerings of museums started (Koltai, 2011) The central document regulating education in Hungary is the National Curriculum, which presents the role of museums and museum education in education differently in different periods, sometimes more dominantly, sometimes less.

At the beginning of the 21st century, digital technological advances, as well as pandemics, social, economic changes, cultural diversity have redefined the role and tasks of museums. (Fleming, 2019). Digital culture is gradually being integrated into "traditional" culture and represents a growing part of it. It also has the added characteristic that it cannot be understood or created in isolation. There are two main sources of digital culture: digitized cultural objects and cultural elements created on a digital platform (Rab, 2007). The Internet as a mediating medium helps to satisfy users' interests and overcome cultural barriers (Binkowski, 2009).

The aim of our research is to investigate how the old traditional museum in Hungary is being transformed by the changes in the social environment and social reforms. What are the influences that help the creation of digital museums? How has the pandemic affected the development and use of digital content? How has the cultural outreach strategy of museums changed with the end of the pandemic? How has the role of domestic museums changed and adapted to international trends? How is the role of museums and museum education in meeting the learning needs of 21st century generations evolving? Research sources and methods: documentary analysis of laws, legislation, decisions; analysis of domestic, international literature on museum education, changes in museum websites, interviews.

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Keywords: museum's reforms, digital technological, "traditional" and "digital" culture pandemic



Tensions and Transformations in the Context of Education Under the Lenses of a Sociodynamic Perspective

As Tensões E Transformações No Contexto Da Educação Sob As Lentes De Uma Perspectiva Sociodinâmica

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The school of the “Estado Novo” period reflects a moment of transformations in the Portuguese political-social and cultural sphere, characterised by authoritarianism, censorship, corporativism and social control of the state. During this period, the education system was influenced by the regime’s ideology, which emphasised the trinity “God, Homeland and Family”, an alignment with the Catholic Social Doctrine and a mechanism of political-social control over teachers and students. Spread throughout the national education system and regulated by Normative Acts that legislated education policies, the regime’s ideology significantly impacted educational dynamics.

Starting from the premise that political-cultural and economic-social contexts influence education policies with an impact on the social microcosm of the school, this paper proposes a sociodynamic perspective of memory to verify how the tensions and transformations in the context of education manifest themselves in the testimonies of teachers who taught in this period of the Estado Novo. Starting from a phenomenological qualitative approach was adopted in 23 semi-structured interviews conducted between 2017 and 2019 with teachers who taught during the Estado Novo. From a vertical cut in the dataset, 18 interviews were analysed whose participants’ profiles shared the most significant number of common characteristics.

The teachers’ narratives highlighted the impact of the regime on the classroom, both in physical and psychological aspects. Themes such as the iconography of the classroom to the contents of the textbooks, as well as the standardisation of procedures related to the marriage of female teachers, teacher-spouse law and even the surveillance of the State police (PIDE), emerged in the recollections.

The interviewees recounted their experiences as students and teachers and the regime’s longevity (1933–1974). In this sense, the tensions and transformations in education were referred to at some moments with some conformism, while comparisons between the past and the present highlighted aspects related to discipline and respect at school and valuing the teaching profession. The social and temporal dialogue of school memories revealed itself in the recollections around these themes, the socio-economic conditions of the pupils and the material limitations in some village schools. The past-present mnemonic exercise highlighted elements of the sociodynamic matrix in the resignification of the biographical events insofar as the past lived was observed regarding the narrated present.

It was verified that the social memory of the school reveals transformations and tensions that make explicit the challenges encountered by the teachers for the teaching practice and the influence of these elements in the memory of the teachers who taught in the school at the time of the Estado Novo. The sociodynamic perspective helps to detect the narrative elements that indicate the relevance of the context (time and space) in the (re)significations of the social memory of the school, the transformations and tensions and the influence of these elements in teaching practice.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A escola do período do “Estado Novo” reflete um momento de transformações na esfera político-social e cultural portuguesa, caracterizadas pelo autoritarismo, censura, corporativismo e controle social do Estado. Durante este período, o sistema educativo foi influenciado pela ideologia do regime, que enfatizava o trinômio “Deus, Pátria e Família”, um alinhamento à Doutrina Social Católica e um forte mecanismo de controle político-social sobre os professores e estudantes. Difundida por todo o sistema educativo nacional e regulada por Atos Normativos que legislavam as políticas de educação, a ideologia do regime teve um impacto significativo nas dinâmicas educativas.

Partindo da premissa de que os contextos políticos-culturais e económico-sociais influenciam as políticas de educação com impacto sobre o microcosmo social da escola, neste trabalho propõe-se uma perspectiva sociodinâmica da memória para verificar como as tensões e transformações no contexto da educação se manifestam nos testemunhos dos professores que deram aulas neste período do Estado Novo. Adotando uma abordagem qualitativa fenomenológica, foram conduzidas 23 entrevistas semi-estruturadas no período entre 2017 e 2019 a professores que ensinaram durante o Estado Novo. A partir de um corte vertical no conjunto de dados, foram analisadas 18 entrevistas cujos perfis dos participantes partilhavam o maior número de características comuns.

As narrativas dos professores evidenciaram o impacto do regime na sala de aula, tanto no aspecto físico quanto psicológico. Temas como a iconografia da sala de aula aos conteúdos dos manuais escolares, bem como a normatização de procedimentos relacionados à casamentos das professoras, lei de cônjuges professores e mesmo a vigilância da polícia do Estado (PIDE), emergiram nas recordações.

O facto dos entrevistados terem relatado experiências de quando eram alunos e depois professores, explicita a longevidade do regime (1933–1974). Neste sentido, as tensões e transformações na educação foram referidas em alguns momentos com algum conformismo, ao mesmo tempo em que as comparações entre o passado e o presente destacaram aspectos relacionados à disciplina e respeito na escola e valorização da profissão docente. O diálogo social e temporal das memórias escolares revelou-se nas recordações em torno destes temas, das condições económico-sociais dos alunos e das limitações materiais em algumas escolas de aldeias. O exercício mnemónico passado-presente apontou elementos da matriz sociodinâmica na resignificação dos eventos biográficos na medida em que o passado vivido foi observado à referência do presente narrado.

Verificou-se que a memória social da escola revela transformações e tensões que explicitam os desafios encontrados pelos professores para a prática docente e a influência destes elementos na memória dos professores que deram aulas na escola do tempo do Estado Novo. Adotando a perspectiva sociodinâmica foi possível detetar os elementos narrativos que indicam a relevância do contexto (tempo e espaço) na (re)significações da memória social da escola, as transformações e tensões e a influência destes elementos na prática docente.

Palavras-chave: Educação, transformações, professores, memória, sociodinâmica.

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Keywords: education, transformations, teachers, memory, sociodynamics



Belgian Influences on Educational Reforms Promoted by the Spanish General Education Law (Ley General de Educación, 1970)

Influencias belgas en las reformas educativas promovidas por la Ley General de Educación (España, 1970)

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By the end of the 1960s, the weaknesses of the Spanish education system were widely recognised. The shifts in political and ideological structures after World War II. contributed to a complex interplay of ideas around Europe; nevertheless, Spain did not participate in this exchange until the sixties.

The influences of foreign countries on the *Ley General de Educación* (1970) have been frequently discussed and, without a doubt, the educational policies of countries culturally close to ours had to be relevant. This work is part of a larger project on foreign influences on the Spanish Educational policies using education journals as a main source.

The aim of this paper is to show the image given about education in Belgium by *Revista de Educación*, the most relevant educational journal of those years; it was published by the Ministry of Education and it allows historians to know which were the foreign references that the Ministry followed.

The 211 issues of *Revista de Educación* published between 1952 and 1970 have been reviewed, using Belgium, Belgian, Decroly, Brussels, Louvain and Ghent as keywords. The cases in which they appeared among other countries in a mere list and when the allusion to Belgium has nothing to do with education have been excluded. Each reference has been classified in a table that shows the year and issue of the journal, title and author, section, pages, and the contents with different categories.

Given the limits of this paper, we will focus on three issues: First, Decroly, because he was the best-known Belgian pedagogue. Second, the Belgium School war: the underlying issues within this subject were the right to educate, the freedom to choose schools and the relationships between the State and the Catholic Church, which have marked the Spanish history of education. Lastly, the reform of secondary education, including vocational training and high school, was one of the issues that occupied the most space in educational policy and it was important to know how it was structured in other countries. Perhaps this subject was the most important in Spain due that the reform of the Spanish education system structure was the most complex and pressing issue to address (besides guaranteeing free and *compulsory education* to every child until the age of fourteen).

In conclusion, the Belgium presence in *Revista de Educación* in those years was relatively frequent, without occupying a relevant place. The references to Decroly, as to any pedagogue of the New School, were scarce. The central concern of the education police was the changes that had to be introduced in the education system to expand common basic education, ending with the unfair separation of students at the age of ten. Following the examples of different European countries, including Belgium, the first step to comprehensive education was taken. This research is part of the R+D+i Project "Connecting History of Education. International networks, scientific production and global dissemination" (CHE)/(Ref.: PID2019-105328GB-I00 Call 2019 – «R&D&i Projects». Ministry of Science and Innovation. Spain).



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A finales de los sesenta, nadie dudaba de la debilidad del sistema educativo español. Los giros en las estructuras políticas e ideológicas que se produjeron tras la II Guerra Mundial contribuyeron a un complejo intercambio de ideas en Europa, en el que España no participó hasta los años sesenta.

Las influencias internacionales en la ley General de Educación de 1970 han sido a menudo estudiadas; las políticas educativas que seguían países cercanos a España, cultural y geográficamente, ejercieron un papel relevante. Este trabajo es parte de otro más amplio que estudia las influencias de otros países en España usando revistas como fuente principal. El objetivo de este estudio es conocer la imagen ofrecida acerca de la educación en Bélgica en *Revista de Educación*, la revista más importante en esos años publicada por el Ministerio de Educación. Esta revista permite a los historiadores conocer las referencias internacionales que manejaba del Ministerio.

Se han revisado los 211 números de *Revista de Educación* publicados entre 1952 y 1970, usando como palabras clave Bélgica, belga, Decroly, Bruselas, Lovaina y Gante, excluyendo los casos en que aparece entre otros países en una mera enumeración y cuando la alusión a Bélgica no tiene que ver con la educación. Cada referencia se ha clasificado en una tabla donde aparece el año y número de la revista, título y autor del artículo, páginas y contenido (nivel educativo concreto, política educativa, materiales, metodología, etc).

Nos centraremos, en este momento, en tres categorías:

- Presencia de Decroly por ser el pedagogo más conocido de ese país.
- Guerra escolar belga: los temas de fondo, el derecho a educar, la libertad de elección de centros, la relación del estado con los centros de titularidad religiosa, han sido una constante de nuestra historia de la educación.
- La reforma de las enseñanzas medias, incluyendo la formación profesional y el bachiller fue uno de los temas que más espacio ocupó en la política educativa y era importante conocer cómo estaba estructurado en otros países. Este tema fue el más importante en España dado que la reforma de la estructura del sistema educativo español era el tema más urgente a afrontar por la reforma (además de ofrecer educación gratuita a todos hasta los 14 años).

Como conclusiones, podemos afirmar que la presencia de Bélgica en *Revista de Educación* fue relativamente frecuente, sin ocupar un lugar relevante. Las referencias a Decroly, como al resto de pedagogos de la Escuela Nueva, fueron escasas. La preocupación central de la política eran los cambios estructurales del sistema educativo para extender una educación común básica, terminando con la injusta separación de alumnos a los diez años (unos seguían en primaria y otros comenzaban el bachillerato). Siguiendo el ejemplo de la mayoría de los países europeos, Bélgica incluida, se dieron los primeros pasos para la llamada educación comprensiva.

Esta investigación forma parte del Proyecto I+D+i "Connecting History of Education. Redes internacionales, producción científica y difusión global" (CHE) (Ref.: PID2019-105328GB-I00. Convocatoria 2019 - «Proyectos de I+D+i. Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación. España).

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Keywords: transnational educational policies, 20th century, LGE, educational reform, modernisation



The Ways of Building a Democratic Culture: Society and Nature in Portuguese Secondary School Textbooks between the 70s and 90s

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Textbooks are complex objects of school culture. They express the knowledge to be transmitted, as well as the curricular decisions, ideologies, conceptions, values and theories that shape educational policies. Textbooks are important devices in the education system and significantly influence students and teachers. In this paper, it will be analysed how society and nature are portrayed in Portuguese secondary school history and sciences textbooks, which were published during the development of democracy (70s/80s) and during a period of regular functioning of democratic institutions (90s). With this analysis, it will be discussed how these two fundamental dimensions of the organization of contemporary societies are presented and the main ideas that underlie this manualistics' discourse. Some of these core ideas address the relations of human beings with nature and socio-economic organization, as well as conceptions and attitudes regarding (a) the state, nationality, and the world (international relations); (b) cultures, religions, different races and ethnicities (interculturality); (c) the structure and role of the family; (d) roles associated with gender; (e) health-related aspects; (f) the environment and climate change; (g) values related to civility, social coexistence, and regulation of interpersonal relationships. Therefore, textbooks are powerful devices both in the educational systems and in the socialization and education of students. They influence young generations, their culture and the way they position themselves regarding environmental issues and exercise citizenship.

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Keywords: curriculum, secondary education, textbooks, democracy, citizenship



A History of the Professor/Scholar in the Brazilian Public School: Focusing on the Students From the Post-Graduation Program Education- PPGE-UNESP/Marília/SP/Brazil
Uma História Do Professor/Intelectual Na Escola Pública Brasileira: Em Foco, os Egressos Do Programa De Pós-Graduação Educação - PPGE-UNESP/Marília/SP/Brasil

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The present work shows research results with the main objective of analysing and interpreting elements from the acting paths in the Brazilian Basic Education of students from the Post-Graduation Program in Education – PPGE-UNESP/Marília-SP-Brazil, from 2008 to 2009 and from 2019 to 2020. This formulation originates from the belief that once graduated at a theoretical and practical level, i.e., as of given a certain institutionalised cultural capital, although at a graduate level, these professors would be suitable to act in schools as education scholars, assuming education scholars in Bourdieu’s definition of those that are able to act, by means of a cultural capital, acquired through certification.

Hence, the field functioning analysis are relevant (Bourdieu, 2015), considering the educational field structures or its sub-fields – of the school – which regulate and maintain the operation of this bigger field, since the educational field itself imposes the scholar with institutionalised capital the practice only on opportunities, “failures that the private conjunctures cause in the surveillance of power of the owner” (De Certeau, 2012, p. 94). According to Catani (2017) “a field is a structured social space, a field of forces – there are dominants and dominated, there are constant relations, permanent of inequality, that are exerted inside those spaces – which is also a field of battles to convert or maintain this field of forces.” (p. 65).

The relations in the Post-Graduation Program in Education UNESP/Marília campus-SP-Brazil and the teaching in Basic Education in Brazil underwent several moments of development, however, for this research where the results are listed, the following were delimited: from 2009, the year immediately after the proposal to develop this Post-Graduation program in Education, finished in 2008, and with new goals defined for the training of professionals and researchers of Post-Graduate level, from 2019 to 2020, with the establishing of partnership between State, Post-Graduation program and contracting institutions, by means of agreement established for the continuous qualification of the students/professors. The development of this research occurred due to the apparent dispute among individuals of cultural capital separated by positions, actions and authority of the speech in the same space, the school space. It was, therefore, historical research and, regarding the sources, documental, which preliminary analysis was held in light of Bourdieu’s (2005) contributions, in which it is also possible to specify the type of scholar who is inserted in the schools and what is the type of scholar who comes from the university, i.e., the scholar carrying a built-in and institutionalised cultural capital, yet from different directions.

Thus, one may conclude that the pedagogues alone achieve their insertions as they start to incorporate and share a capital different from the pedagogues and researchers, since the capital from the first ones determine their own role attributed to the school by the capitalist society, focused on action, while the second ones tend to not identify themselves with the same school, as their attempts to entry concentrate in a broader movement of action-reflection-action.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Apresentam-se neste trabalho resultados de pesquisa com objetivo central de analisar e interpretar elementos das trajetórias de atuação na Educação Básica Brasileira, de alunos egressos do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação – PPG-UNESP/Marília-SP-Brasil, de 2008 a 2009 e de 2019 a 2020. Tal formulação se originou da crença de que uma vez com formação teórico-prática, ou seja, a partir de dado capital cultural institucionalizado, ainda que em nível de graduação, esses professores e professoras estariam aptos a atuarem nas escolas como intelectuais da educação, tomando intelectuais da educação no sentido bourdiano de quem está apto a atuar, mediante um capital cultural, adquirido mediante certificação. Nesse sentido, são pertinentes as análises de funcionamento dos campos (Bourdieu, 2015), considerando as estruturas do campo educacional ou dos seus sub-campos – da escola – que regulam e mantêm o funcionamento desse campo maior, pois, o próprio campo educacional impõe a esse intelectual com capital institucionalizado a atuação apenas nas possibilidades, “falhas que as conjunturas particulares vão abrindo na vigilância do poder do proprietário.” (De Certeau, 2012, p. 94). Segundo Catani (2017) “um campo é um espaço social estruturado, um campo de forças – há dominantes e dominados, há relações constantes, permanentes de desigualdade, que se exercem no interior desses espaços – que é também um campo de lutas para transformar ou conservar esse campo de forças.” (p. 65). As relações do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação UNESP/Câmpus de Marília-SP-Brasil e a docência na Educação Básica no Brasil passou por vários momentos de desenvolvimento, mas, para a investigação cujos resultados ora são apresentados, foram delimitados os seguintes: a partir de 2009, ano imediatamente posterior à Proposta de desenvolvimento desse Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, finalizada em 2008, e com as novas metas definidas para a formação de profissionais e pesquisadores em nível de Pós-Graduação, de 2019 a 2020, com a efetivação da parceria entre Estado, Programa de Pós-Graduação e instituições contratantes, mediante convênios estabelecidos para a formação continuada desses aluno/as/professore/as. O desenvolvimento dessa pesquisa se deu em virtude da visível disputa entre sujeitos de capital cultural distinto por posições, ações e autoridade do discurso num mesmo espaço, o espaço escolar. Tratou-se, portanto, de pesquisa histórica e, quanto às fontes, documental, cuja análise preliminar foi realizada à luz das contribuições de Bourdieu (2005), onde é possível especificar também, o tipo de intelectual que está inserido nas escolas e qual o tipo de intelectual que vem da universidade, ou seja, desse intelectual portador de um capital cultural incorporado e institucionalizado, porém de ordens diferentes. Conclui-se que os somente pedagogos conseguem suas inserções porque passam a incorporar e partilham de um capital que os diferenciam dos pedagogos e pesquisadores, pois esse capital dos primeiros identificam-se com a própria função atribuída à escola pela sociedade capitalista, centrado na ação, enquanto, os segundos passam a não se identificarem com essa mesma escola, pois as suas tentativas de inserções centram-se em um movimento mais amplo de ação-reflexão-ação.

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Keywords: history of education, professors/scholars, students from Brazilian post-graduation, Brazilian school



Secondary Teacher Training in Spain: Ideas of Reform in the Academic Context From the 1960s Onwards

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There have only been two education laws considered to be true educational reforms in Spain since the beginning of the modernisation of education in the 1960s: the General Law of Education (1970) and the Organic Law on the General Organization of the Education System (1990). Their changes, promoted from the political-administrative sphere, have affected the deep roots of the Spanish education system. They attempted to adapt to the social transformation of the time and to accommodate the mass education that emerged in the late 20th century. Despite the fact that «every process of reform and innovation requires the training of the teachers who have to carry it out» (Viñao, 2001, p. 43), these changes have barely been incorporated in the training of secondary school teachers. From the beginning of the Teaching Aptitude Course (*Curso de Aptitud Pedagógica*, CAP) in 1962 to its ending with the implementation of the Master's Degree in Teacher Training for Compulsory Secondary Education and Baccalaureate in 2009, the training of secondary school teachers has seen minimal change. Over the years, different legislation has been passed, there have been several alternatives proposed to modify the successive model and various international reports, such as Eurydice and McKinsey&Company, have warned about the benefits of prioritizing selection over initial training. The first says that «action is needed to renew recruitment and selection processes» (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015, p.15); the second concludes that selection prior to initial training increases the status of teacher studies and reduces overcrowding, thus improving the training process, whereas «a bad selection decision can result in up to 40 years of poor teaching» (Barber & Mourshed, 2007, p. 20).

This paper examines the academic debate around secondary education in Spain since the beginning of the modernization-democratization process focusing on the development of secondary teacher's training. Quentin Skinner's contextual turn will guide the analysis of the ideas developed by four significant authors from the academic context of pedagogy: Raimundo Cuesta, Manuel de Puelles, Alejandro Tiana and Antonio Viñao. They have studied this issue thoroughly and possess a great number of publications and citations according to Dialnet, one of the largest bibliographic portals in Ibero-America. They have all questioned the successive model for secondary teacher's training present in Spain. Viñao (2009) has suggested replacing the public examinations with the implementation of a numerus clausus in accordance with the needs of teachers in the education system. Cuesta has warned about the role of teachers in a reform, whose «absolute control of the education system would have the capacity to frustrate any reformist project in collusion with other social agents» (Cuesta, 2003, p. 12). The present study will explore to what extent the academic context has influenced secondary teacher training policies. The perpetuation of the secondary teacher's training model may have been a result of resistance and institutional inaction but, at the same time, it might have been the only possible solution to the complex Spanish scenario at the end of the 20th century.

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Keywords: academic context, modernization, secondary education, Spain, teacher training



The Students Who Are Inveterate Will Be Expelled From the Schools. The Indiscipline and Its Sanction on the Portuguese Liceus (1836–1910)
Os Alunos Que Forem Incorrígíveis Serão Expulsos Das Escolas. A Indisciplina E A Sua Sanção Nos Liceus Portugueses (1836–1910)

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Victorious, in 1834, on the Civil War that they waged against the absolutists, the liberals started the transformation of the frail Portuguese School. As soon as 1836, the *liceal* [secondary] education was created, delineating a network of twenty-one public schools. Due to a strong political instability and military clash between the two liberal factions, the schools took their time to be installed, starting their function between 1841 and 1853, drawing, immediately, several thousands of male students.

The greatest part of these schools was installed in nationalised monastic buildings following the extinction of the religious orders that ensued in 1834, while, for the others, buildings were rented, almost all of them of manorial origin. The installation of the schools was a difficult process due to the inadequacy of the buildings. Furthermore, and in a significant number of cases, additional state services were also installed, pre-existing commercial establishments kept their function, or even families stayed on living in parts of the school building. As so, none of the buildings matched minimally the pedagogical-formative needs of a teaching institution. The established analysis grid, for a period between the 1836 Reform and the end of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1910, builds upon several strong lines: the problematic of the physicality of the school buildings; the central power's action over establishing standardisation and regulation; the headmaster's exercise of authority; the teaching staff and their specificity; the non-teaching staff role; the origin of the students; the exams as their own microcosm; the school as a space open to the outside. Thus, I've established as goals of this talk: to analyse the legislative production over discipline and its evolution during the time period under study; to ascertain the ways of formal and informal regulation over indiscipline; to emphasise the existence of indiscipline, its types and locals of occurrence; to explain the outbreak of strikes and turmoil; to signal the measures means and actors of the surveillance; to know how the sanctions were applied and their form; to compare between the discourse of the central power, the headmasters and the teachers over the indiscipline phenomena; to characterise the form how the student conflicts were reported and interpreted by the periodic press.

The methodology used is based on the documental analysis of the primary sources, a good part of which are inedited, belonging to the *Núcleos da Direção Geral de Instrução Pública do Ministério do Reino* and of the *Ministério da Instrução Pública*, stored at the *Torre do Tombo* National Archive, as well as a form diverse documental series existing on the historical archives of the secondary schools that succeed Braga, Viana do Castelo and Guimarães Liceus. Additionally, the regulatory legislation published on the *Diários do Governo* was also conferred. Furthermore, a vast array of press publications from this period was also analysed.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Vitoriosos, em 1834, na Guerra Civil que travaram com os absolutistas, os liberais iniciaram a transformação do frágil edifício escolar de Portugal. Logo em 1836, foi criado o ensino liceal, sendo delineada uma rede de vinte e um liceus. Devido a uma fortíssima instabilidade política



e de enfrentamento militar entre as duas fações liberais, os liceus só lentamente foram instalados, entrando em funcionamento entre 1841 e 1853, atraindo, desde logo, alguns milhares de alunos do sexo masculino.

A maioria dos liceus foi instalada em edifícios conventuais nacionalizados na sequência da extinção das ordens religiosas, verificada em 1834, enquanto que para os restantes foram alugados edifícios, quase sempre de origem senhorial. Foi difícil a instalação das escolas liceais em edifícios desadequados. Para além disso, e num número significativo de casos, também foram aí instaladas repartições estatais, ou continuaram a funcionar estabelecimentos comerciais já existentes, havendo mesmo famílias residindo em partes dos prédios liceais. Deste modo, nenhum deles correspondia minimamente às necessidades pedagógico-formativas de uma instituição de ensino.

A grelha de análise estabelecida, para o período compreendido entre a Reforma de 1836 e o fim da Monarquia Constitucional, em 1910, assentou em várias linhas de força: a problemática da materialidade dos edifícios liceais; a atuação do poder central no estabelecimento da normatividade e da regulação; o exercício de autoridade dos reitores; o pessoal docente e as suas especificidades; o papel atribuído aos funcionários; a proveniência da clientela escolar; os exames como microcosmo específico; o liceu como um espaço aberto ao exterior. Assim sendo, estabeleci como objetivos desta comunicação: analisar a produção legislativa sobre a disciplina e a sua evolução ao longo do período em estudo; apurar os modos de regulação formal e informal da indisciplina; salientar a existência de práticas indisciplinadas, seus tipos e espaços de ocorrência; explicar a eclosão de greves e tumultos; assinalar as medidas, meios e atores da vigilância; conhecer os processos de aplicação de sanções e as formas destas; estabelecer comparações entre os discursos do poder central, dos reitores e dos professores sobre o fenómeno indisciplinar; caracterizar as formas como os conflitos estudantis eram noticiados e interpretados na imprensa periódica.

A metodologia utilizada assentou na análise documental de fontes primárias, boa parte das quais inéditas, pertencentes aos Núcleos da Direção Geral de Instrução Pública do Ministério do Reino e do Ministério da Instrução Pública, depositados no Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, bem como de diversas séries documentais existentes nos arquivos históricos das escolas secundárias sucessoras dos liceus de Braga, Viana do Castelo e Guimarães. Foi ainda consultada a legislação normativa publicada nos Diários do Governo. Para além disto, foi analisada uma vasta série de jornais publicados ao longo deste período.

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Keywords: discipline, surveillance, regulation, sanction



**The Tele-secondary: An Innovation for Educational Inclusion in Marginalized Areas
(Mexico, 1965–2022)**

***La Telesecundaria: Una Innovación Para la Inclusión Educativa en áreas Marginadas
(México, 1965–2022)***

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Secondary education in Mexico is part of basic education that includes preschool, primary and secondary levels. Secondary, aimed at students between 12 and 15, is taught in three modalities: general secondary, technical secondary and tele-secondary. Latter is a modality that combines distance education with face-to-face teaching and currently serves more than one million 400 thousand students in dispersed areas, including rural and indigenous. Despite the low-income conditions of the population of these areas and their very cultural diversity, the qualify indicators have produced comparable figures to the general urban secondary schools, which raises many questions on which it is necessary to research.

Tele-secondary schools were an innovation that relied on technologies such as television and radio to reach remote places, where there were no possibilities of establishing general secondary schools. They were opened in 1968 after two years of a pilot program promoted by the Ministry of Education with 6500 students, who had no other option than to continue their studies after primary school, improvising teachers and school spaces.

To the present day, education takes place in the so-called tele-classrooms, equipped with a television or a computer, where a single teacher is in charge of all the subjects, while in the general schools, every subject is taken by specialized teachers. In tele-secondary schools, the teacher in the face of students is supported by specialized distance learning teachers. Each pedagogical unit is integrated for a part of the time taught from Mexico City and another part of the time by the teacher in charge of the group, who answers questions and coordinates learning activities with the students. The 55 years of existence of this school show a continuous and successful expansion reaching favourable evaluations, comparable to the regular schools that have all the means and facilities for their operation.

Our presentation aims to explain how this school modality arose, who devised and promoted it, who have been the teachers students and communities, and what changes were implemented in the curriculum, technology, architectural spaces and results. In brief terms, we are going to explain how it has evolved in the last five and half decades of existence, highlighting the differences between regular schools and tele-secondary ones. Of particular relevance, we are going to expose the role that these schools have had or not in reducing the social gap and educational inequity.

With a socio-historical approach, we analyse primary sources from archives of the Ministry of Public Education as well as school statistics. We are going to utilise oral history resources as we are close to many of the actors of this history. We are taking the data into a complex conception comprising pedagogical, cultural, sociological and economic elements, supported by secondary sources.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La educación secundaria en México es parte de la educación básica que incluye los niveles de preescolar (hasta tres años), primaria (seis años) y secundaria (tres años). La secundaria, dirigida a estudiantes entre 12 y 15 años, se imparte en tres modalidades: la secundaria general, la secundaria técnica y la telesecundaria. Esta última es una modalidad que combina la educación a distancia con la educación presencial, y actualmente atiende a más de un millón 400 mil estudiantes, generalmente en poblaciones dispersas, incluyendo rurales e indígenas y de bajos recursos. A pesar de las condiciones socioeconómicas y culturales muy diversas entre los usuarios de las diversas modalidades educativas, los indicadores de calidad han arrojado cifras comparables, lo que arroja muchos cuestionamientos sobre los cuales es preciso abundar.

Las escuelas telesecundarias fueron una innovación que se apoyó en tecnologías como la televisión y el radio para llegar a lugares recónditos, donde no había posibilidades de establecer escuelas secundarias generales. Se abrieron en 1968 después de dos años de un programa piloto impulsado por la Secretaría de Educación en ocho entidades federativas, con 6500 estudiantes, quienes no tenían otra opción que ésta para continuar estudios después de la primaria, improvisando docentes y espacios escolares. La educación se imparte en teleaulas, dotadas de un televisor o computadora, donde un solo profesor se hace cargo de todas las materias, que en la modalidad tradicional son aún impartidas por maestros especializados para cada disciplina. Los docentes de telesecundaria son apoyados por profesores especializados a distancia. Cada unidad pedagógica se integraba por una parte del tiempo impartida desde la ciudad de México, y otra parte del tiempo coordinada por el maestro a cargo del grupo, quien resuelve dudas y coordina actividades presenciales de aprendizaje. Los 55 años de existencia de esta escuela muestran una continua y exitosa expansión, llegando a tener evaluaciones muy favorables, comparables a las mejores escuelas regulares que cuentan con todos los medios y facilidades para su funcionamiento

Nuestra ponencia tiene por objetivo explicar cómo surgió esta modalidad escolar, quiénes la idearon e impulsaron, quienes han sido sus docentes, sus estudiantes, su currículum, tecnología, espacios arquitectónicos, comunidades escolares y resultados. En breves términos se explicará como ha ido evolucionando en los 55 años de existencia, remarcando las diferencias entre las escuelas regulares y las telesecundarias. De particular relevancia será exponer la función que estas escuelas han tenido o no en la disminución de la brecha socioeconómica, y la inequidad educativa.

Con un enfoque histórico social analizaremos fuentes de primera mano de los archivos de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, así como estadísticas escolares: utilizaremos recursos de la historia oral al contar con la cercanía de muchos de los actores de esta historia, y analizaremos los datos con una concepción compleja comprendiendo elementos pedagógicos, culturales, sociológicos y económicos, apoyadas por fuentes secundarias.

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Keywords: secondary education, educational reforms, rural schools, distance education



The Reform Proposals of the Lower Secondary School in Italy and the Unified Perspective. 1861–1962

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The debate on the reform of lower secondary school, or rather, of the school for pupils aged between 11 and 14, has been shared by most European countries since at least the beginning of the 20th century. One of the transversal themes in these debates has been whether or not to create a unitary school channel that could delay pupils' choice of study path rather than forcing them into early decisions through a multi-stranded post-primary school system. A debate developed in the context of the progression towards mass education and went hand in hand with the heated confrontation between defenders of humanistic culture and supporters of technical-scientific education.

However, most European countries, with a few exceptions (Visalberghi, 1964), did not actually reform the schooling of pre-teens until the second half of the 20th century.

Italy, too, in fact only changed its school system in 1962, creating a unitary three-year post-elementary system.

In Italy, however, this type of paradigm of unitary lower secondary schooling seems to have always accompanied reform projects, with traces of it being found as early as in the first steps of the post-unification state (1861), and even earlier.

For example, in 1865 Giovanni Maria Bertini put forward a detailed reform proposal that envisaged a unitary three-year period (MPI, 1865). This hypothesis was followed by several other reform initiatives that circulated in those years, such as that of Carlo Matteucci (1867) or later Michele Coppino. Then, in 1870, the public minister Cesare Correnti presented a bill for a single three-year school (Bertoni Jovine, 1967). None of these proposals went on to be implemented.

In the early 20th century, the need for a unitary school was taken up again by the public education minister Bianchi, with an initiative that led to the investigation work of the Royal Commission in which Gaetano Salvemini's famous multi-channel counter-proposal (1908) took shape.

However, none of these projects ever really challenged the elitist structure of the school system, although in some cases they were courageous proposals.

The unitary perspectives were instead rejected by the Gentile reform (1923), but they were later revived during the twenty-year Fascist period by Minister Giuseppe Belluzzo, with the law on vocational schools (1929), and decisively relaunched by Bottai's School Charter (1939).

After World War II., the debate finally became more intense. The unitary choice was stubbornly opposed by one part of the Catholic establishment and the Government, but at the same time, also influenced by Sergej Hessen's studies, it was supported by another part of that multifaceted universe. On the other hand, on the secular side, Gramsci's discovery encouraged the first hypothesis of a single middle school being formulated into the Bill presented to parliament by the PCI in 1959, which formed the basic text of the 1962 law.

This paper, therefore, aims to offer a path through the various reform hypotheses that emerged in Italy from 1861 to 1962, with a privileged look at the unitary category.



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Keywords: single path, pre-teens, premature choice, long term



Literacy in the “Driest of Sciences” – The Emergence of Competing Statistical Knowledge in Prussia and its Influence on School-Politics (1859–1920)

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Statistics are often perceived as neutral carriers of information. Though there is a general awareness that the aggregation process influences the numbers and contains some biases, the political nature of the question of when and what type of statistical knowledge aggregations start, is seldom addressed. I argue that the compilation of specific school statistics is not neutral, but affected by contextual interests and demands. Hence history of school statistics needs to be written as an interplay between statistics, their materiality, their interpretation and the connected school politics (Garz et al. 2022). Such considerations become particularly clear when competing actors and knowledge collide as in the example of teachers' salaries, which I will focus on in this paper.

Though there is a certain body of work on the institutions producing statistics, the history of the emergence of more complex and separately produced statistics for the Prussian case has yet to be written (Blenck 1905; Haas et al. 2019; Saenger 1934; Schneider 2013). This entails more than just collectively naming, describing and interpreting the surveys and summarising the involved knowledge.

The contribution starts by highlighting the emergence of more detailed school “statistics” in 1859 that ended traditional school “tables”, which had been used in Prussia since 1826. Additional and advanced knowledge gathered in the newly introduced statistics was intentionally brought together, to allow for an intended school law. I will then describe how the increasingly elaborate statistics were widely accepted and used in administrative planning, focusing here on the question of age-grading. After 1900, the Prussian school statistics were utilised to identify cases when a drop-out rate was too high and through this, they affected the debate on this topic and finalised the institutionalization of the age-graded curriculum (Böckler 1905, 6). While this inter-administrative reform approach allows to describe the relevance of statistics, it is only later that professional teacher organisation started to use statistical data for their own interests.

The main part of my contribution will discuss a discursive conflict about teachers' salaries. The Philologenverband [high school teachers' association] independently compiled statistics on their own salaries and hiring and retiring numbers to argue for a general improvement of their positions. By this, they hoped to influence political decisions, which they partly successfully achieved. The teacher associations generally did not only start to have their own statistical bureaus, but they brought addressing and working with statistics to the fore, which, from their perspective, teachers should more regularly make use of (Menzel 1925). Statistical literacy became one newly emerging goal and using and creating statistics as a political go-to strategy. From a history of knowledge perspective, I discuss how statistical knowledge, its creation, circulation, and reception mattered in shaping and influencing reforms and improvements within the system of schooling. In this sense, the questions of who surveys what and to what end might be a central and influential one, that can be addressed within proposed the framework.



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Keywords: statistic literacy, Prussia, elementary schooling, higher education, 3D hermeneutics



Pestalozzi's Letters to Parents about their Children: A Source for the History of Knowledge in the History of Education?

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The question of methodology – in this specific case the question of the history of knowledge in the history of education – is connected to the question of the available sources. The connection between theory and sources can be reconstructed almost paradigmatically using the example of Pestalozzi. The research on his theories, methods, and educational institutions were and still are mainly based on a limited selection of “important” sources that had been accessible in printed form. Yet, in the last decades, more and more “marginalized” sources or unpublished archival materials have been used for research, not least because the critical edition of Pestalozzi's works and correspondences has made more texts easier available (Tröhler, 1998; Horlacher, 2014).

One kind of Pestalozzi-related data set has received little attention so far, namely the six copy-letter-books from the Institute in Yverdon, which are available in their original handwritten form and are currently being edited step by step in a citizen science project. These copybooks contain some 8000 letters and document the correspondence with parents and business partners from the Institute in Yverdon between 1808 and 1827. Because the majority of these letters were not (hand-)written by Pestalozzi himself, they have not been integrated into the edition of Pestalozzi's correspondence. Yet, despite the difficulty of accessing this corpus of texts, it has not gone completely unnoticed by researchers. Two publications should be highlighted in this context, Alfred Zanders *Leben und Erziehung in Pestalozzis Institut in Yverdon* (1932) and Gertrud Renggli-Geiger's *Berichte Pestalozzis an die Eltern seiner Zöglinge, 1808–1825* (1950). The first publication, Zanders *Leben und Erziehung*, reconstructs the everyday life in Yverdon using – besides the copy-letter-books – various sources: Published reports on Pestalozzi's institute from students, teachers, and visitors and Pestalozzi's own writings about his endeavours. Renggli-Geiger worked explicitly (and quite exclusively) with the selected parts copy-letter-books and reconstructed on this basis the every-day life in Yverdon. Even if both publications used not only extensively unpublished sources but also documents written from the perspective of students and teachers, the focus of interest lays in both cases on Pestalozzi, his work and acting. Accordingly, the focus is (again) on Pestalozzi's educational ideas, his methods and organization of the everyday-life in an early 19th-century boarding school and thus aims ultimately at a “better” understanding of Pestalozzi's educational concepts and educational activities.

Against this background, the paper asks what kind of knowledge – not just about the daily life in Yverdon – becomes available when Pestalozzi is not the centre of interest, but the dynamics of the correspondence, in particular of the (fee-paying!) parents and the various business relationships, which were a prerequisite for the functioning of the institute in Yverdon. Thus, the paper questions, if and if yes how, the specific source material – a serial source from an early 19th boarding school – offers new or different insights into what schooling and education in Pestalozzi's institute meant and what these findings mean for the history of education.



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Keywords: Pestalozzi, ego-documents, methodology, boarding school, education



What Can You Do With a TimesMachine? Exploring Histories of Knowledge and Education Within a Digital Newspaper Archive

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The mainstreaming of digital archives has greatly expanded research possibilities for historians, allowing for the mass digitisation of materials, greater accessibility, and time-efficiency when conducting archival research (Abel, 2013). At the same time, the fog of digitisation also brings certain challenges for researchers, particularly concerning the decontextualization of materials, source criticism, and technical navigation of these digital spaces (Fickers, 2012). The TimesMachine digital newspaper archive is just one of many digital collections available for historical research, but its unique design is intended to help researchers overcome many of these common methodological challenges. Keyword searchable, creatively contextualized, and empirically rich, this archive is well-suited for a wide range of research in both the history of knowledge and history of education; that is, as long as you know how to use it. Recent scholarship has brought debates over digital newspaper analysis and methods to the forefront of discussion in numerous fields of historical research (Bunout et al., 2023; Oberbichler et al., 2022; Jensen, 2021); however, there are few examples of literature which investigate the intersections of digital methods, the history of knowledge, and the history of education, and none which have centred the TimesMachine as an object of inquiry. There is value, then, in critically examining the functionality and character of this archive to determine what it can (and cannot) offer to researchers interested in the circulation of knowledge (about education) in newspapers.

In this paper presentation, I will first present the TimesMachine digital archive, and then I will examine and discuss its strengths and limitations, particularly as it pertains to my PhD project on the postwar circulation of knowledge about education in *The New York Times*. The TimesMachine archive has proved instrumental to this research project, as has key history of knowledge concepts such as circulation, public arenas, and knowledge actors. The integrative and generative capacities of the history of knowledge have allowed me to establish a baseline on what constitutes educational news as a form of knowledge in media, as well as explore the values and intricacies of *The New York Times*, itself, as a circulator and producer of knowledge about education for its readers. However, beyond what the archive has allowed me to do with this approach, its design also limits research possibilities into individual journalists and advertisements and still maintains an unfortunate distance between the original material context of the newspaper and its abstracted, digitized form. Besides sharing findings and useful observations, I hope this case study will also contribute to discussions about the budding relationship between the history of knowledge and the history of education by demonstrating how their theories and approaches can enrich each other in practice (Lundberg, 2022; Östling & Heidenblad, 2020).

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Keywords: digital newspapers, digital archive, methods, The New York Times, education news

Abstracts

online sessions





The Debate on the Normal School's Reform in Italy in the First Two Decades of the Twentieth Century

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The paper aims to analyse the debate on the reform of the Scuola Normale (Normal School), which until 1923 was the only educational training for teachers: this debate will be reconstructed through the analysis of papers published in the magazine *La Cultura Popolare*, which was dedicated to educational issues.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the Italian pedagogical debate on the teacher's training was lively and there were numerous proposals for reform of the Normal School. The period between the beginning of the 20th century and 1923 is in fact a crucial moment in the history of the Italian school.

On the one hand, significant criticism against teacher's training began to spread: the Normal School was considered inadequate training, which prepared the future teachers in an incomplete and very limited way. On the other hand, teachers gave rise to professional associations at the national level: in 1901 the National Magistral Union was born, with the coordination of Luigi Credaro, who will become Minister of Education: the association aimed to play a role of dialogue on many issues and also on the theme of the basic training of teachers. In that period, moreover, very innovative educational experimentations were carried out in Italy, also thanks to the stimuli coming from abroad: for example, the Salvoni's School, the Pizzigoni's Renovated School, and Montessori Children's Houses. All these significant experiments highlighted the need to radically change teacher's training by redesigning their professional profiles.

A very heated debate on the Normal School's Reform developed: pedagogists, politicians, and thinkers among the best-known participated very actively in this debate, proposing articulate and various positions. This climate led to the activation of the Pedagogical Schools in 1904, courses organized at the Faculties of Letters and Philosophy, with cultural and professional value.

Because of this debate, Luigi Credaro, who had become Minister in 1910, presented a radical Reform proposal, which strengthened the cultural preparation of future teachers, and included the study of pedagogical, psychological, biological, and didactic disciplines, and the increase of the hours of training practice in schools.

The proposal was not approved and was taken up by Credaro's successor, Agostino Berenini, with some small changes; the Italian neo-idealists, however, were very opposed to this proposal and also to the stimuli that came from Europe.

There were many aspects discussed: was there a need for a technical and vocational school or for a school offering a cultural and humanistic education? What subjects were indispensable for teacher's training? Were psychological and didactic pedagogical disciplines necessary? Was there a need for an internship period? Should teacher's training include a 3-year or 4-year course?

These questions found very different answers and animated a very significant debate, until 1923, when the Gentile's Reform abolished the Normal School and replaced it with the Istituto Magistrale.

The reconstruction of this debate also offers very important reflections on current teacher training.



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Keywords: Normal School's Reform, Teacher's training, Gentile's Reform, Primary School's history, Teacher's training history



The democratic School in the reflection of the “School Reform”

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The aim of the contribution is to reconstruct the events connected to the affirmation of the democratic school in Italy starting from the end of World War II., outlining the contribution and the central role offered by a group of communist intellectuals, including Mario Alighiero Manacorda, Lucio Lombardo Radice, Mario Alicata, Dina Bertoni Jovine, just to name a few of the best known. Starting from 1955, these philosophers gathered around the PCI area magazine named "Riforma della scuola" promoting a rigorous reflection on the role of public schools in an advanced democracy.

In particular Bertoni Jovine and Manacorda conducted, in those years, a reasoning aimed at a radical transformation in a democratic sense, also in the light of the thought of the philosopher and politician Antonio Gramsci, whose works were discovered and published after the war.

Precisely, these authors identify in Gramsci's prison reflection a fundamental tool for analysing the Italian school system class structure, as it was configured from the Unification of Italy onwards, and the possibility of identifying a "new educational principle" aimed at favouring the access to high education for all social groups, and also capable of implementing a universalistic and democratic school.

In numerous articles of political intervention that both Bertoni Jovine and Manacorda write in the columns of Riforma della scuola, they explicitly denounce the high school dropouts, due to an explicit selection which relied on a strong differentiation of opportunities on the basis of a marked distinction of class. Hence, the highlighting of how in the administrative apparatus, in the widespread mentality of the teaching staff, conceptions that were culturally conservative and inspired by a hierarchical vision of social relations which the bourgeois elites, creators of the construction of the unitary state in the second half of the 19th century, and which, on the scholastic level, expressed a vision of society characterized by a rigid class distinction.

Also because of this profound ideal inspiration, the contribution offered by these intellectuals was decisive in the historic turning point that led to the approval of the Reform of the unified middle school in 1962, with which, moreover, compulsory schooling was raised to fourteen years of age.

In particular Manacorda, whose writings are now collected in an archive dedicated to him at the School and Education Museum of the Roma Tre department of Education Sciences, was very active during the works for the implementation of the law. As can be seen from the many documents gathered in the mentioned archive, he participated in parliamentary work fighting for the approval of an advanced and democratic bill.

In addition during the seventies of the last century those intellectuals were the protagonists of debates, investigations, articles promoted on the columns of "Riforma della scuola", aimed at highlighting the still classist and discriminating structure of the Italian public school, despite the coming into force of the law of 1962.

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Keywords: Democratic School, Constitution, School Reform, Education, Democracy



The Italian Dispute Over The School Textbook and the Legitimisation of Alternative Adoption

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In Italy, the Seventies were a decade of significant tensions accompanied by many changes in the educational field; these transformations emerged mostly from grassroots movements, their objections to “traditional” school and their demand for reforms. According to this vision, the school was operating a selection based on social class, without respect for Italian democratic principles, and was failing to enhance students’ natural attitudes, creative skills and critical capabilities. Education was perceived as a central theme, an integral part of the social debate, intrinsic to the cultural climate of the Seventies, especially after the ‘68 movements (Galfrè, 2017). The use of the single school textbook in every class was one of the most contentious issues of the time. Such textbooks were designed to passively convey knowledge, thus requiring an extreme simplification of reality, without engaging with the students’ real abilities and experiences (Kantor et al., 1983; Anichini & Parigi, 2019). Thus textbooks became a symbol of the Seventies’ disputes and a topic of particular concern in the Italian educational reform movements.

A large number of studies were conducted on many textbooks in the years under consideration, as *I libri di testo della scuola elementare* (Barassi et al., 1972). All highlighted how school textbooks presented a distorted and reductive picture of social dynamics. An alternative proposal to textbooks, especially worthy of mention, is the Italian editorial collection “Biblioteca di Lavoro” (1971–1979), directed by the teacher Mario Lodi and inspired by Freinet’s “Bibliothèque de Travail” and ideas (Freinet, 1964). The collection’s guides and documents indicate how the intention was not to replace the school textbook with another editorial product, but rather to provide a useful tool to stimulate the use of research methods in daily teaching at schools: the alternative, indeed, could not be a *new book*, but the promotion of a *new idea of school*. In addition to the adoption of alternative textbooks, educational renewal was also embodied by full-time school attendance, a more active and workshop-based methodology, the rejection of school grades and a different conception of the teacher-student relationship: all these subjects became relevant in the Seventies community-based reforms (Ricuperati, 2015).

As a result of this debate, which even involved intellectuals of the calibre of Umberto Eco (1972), in 1974 Presidential Decree no. 419 granted initial legislative recognition to alternative textbook choices for primary school, which was then ratified with law 517/77, Legislative Decree 297/94 and Presidential Decree 275/99 on school autonomy (Dal Passo & Laurenti, 2017).

This paper aims to reconstruct the Italian social and pedagogical debate over school textbooks in the Seventies and the community-based pathway leading to educational reforms on the adoption of alternative textbooks. Despite legitimisation from a regulatory perspective and reform theories, alternative adoption remains a critical issue in school education (Choppin, 2008) and a minority choice, often contested by headteachers and parents, and mostly unfamiliar, especially to the new generation of teachers (Loewenberg, 1988). Not using the textbook is still considered a difficult choice, also because it is intrinsically connected to an innovative idea of teaching.



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Keywords: textbook, Biblioteca di Lavoro, Mario Lodi, educational reforms, education.



Instructing for a Utopia: a Critical Discourse Analysis on the Peasants' Literacy Textbook in 1950's China

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Literacy education for the peasants is considered the fundamental approach to promoting modernization. Once the New China took authority in 1949, the aim of the literacy education for peasants was also the ideology education, including the political understanding of the new authority, modern agricultural knowledge, and the brand new law system (Man, 2013; Zhang, 2009; Ma, 2006).

Researchers chose a set of literacy textbooks published in 1951 as the research materials, with over one million copies published and sold from October 1951 to October 1952. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis was employed as the research method. All texts in this set of textbooks are sorted into different categories; then traced back to the original materials, e.g., news, reports, and other literacy textbooks. Various recourses were carefully chosen to produce the textbook that guided the peasants to formulate the new national culture, political understandings, and new history. The peasant literacy textbook gave the impression of modernity, with basic medical, agricultural, and national science knowledge, including explaining the eclipse and pest control with aircraft.

The results of this research show: firstly, the ideology understanding of communism was fabricated into the textbook concretely to provide a vivid picture of the new China that can guide the peasants to become patriots, which the textbook was a significant imagination space to new China (Stig, 2002; Vickers & Zeng, 2017). Secondly, this set of literacy textbooks is considered to construct communist utopian for the peasants. The peasant literacy textbook is a powerful tool to reschedule the everyday political activities for the peasants (Li, 2017). The national anthem, the brand-new capital location, political leaders, the people's congress system, and the relationship with the USSR were all introduced within the texts book to construct the legitimacy of the new China that led the peasants to accept the value of the new authority. Thirdly, the peasant literacy textbook disciplines the peasants with the simultaneous news from the national news agency, which vehemently proclaimed gender equality and marriage freedom (Culp, 2020; Kipnis, 2012). After all, this set of textbooks provides a new common language that educated the agriculture workers to become patriots and disciplined them to prepare for socialist reform.

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Keywords: Literacy education; social reform; Critical discourse analysis; communism utopian; modernization



Socialism, gender, and notions of the ideal teacher in East Germany, Japan, and China

Chair: Joseph Lawson

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This panel explores images and ideas of ideal teachers in connection with the socialist world during the Cold War. The three presenters each take a case study of a post-Second World War context that was outside the Soviet Union but significantly influenced by Soviet ideas, particularly those of the Ukrainian educator and writer A. S. Makarenko (1888–1939). Natascha Shalutkevich considers pre-school programmes in East Germany; Ami Kobayashi explores the reception of Makarenko in Japan, and Joseph Lawson focuses on China. The case studies explore different political and social contexts that were nevertheless deeply influenced by ideals of socialism and connections with the Soviet Union. Of the three, Soviet influence was greatest in East Germany, where Makarenko's 'Road to Life' was compulsory reading for trainee educators, though not all his ideas were adopted. Japan stood outside the Communist world in the Cold War, yet many teachers were deeply engaged with Soviet educational philosophies due to sympathies with Marxism alongside a rejection of American "individualistic" approaches to education and pre-war Japanese models. In China, Soviet influence was powerful in the early and mid-1950s but declined rapidly thereafter. Many teachers were attacked during the Cultural Revolution, but that era nevertheless generated new notions of ideal teachers, many of which endured even after the official rejection of the Cultural Revolution and the onset of reform. Across all these contexts, to what extent did socialist ideas and Soviet influence promote a certain vision of an ideal teacher, and how did this vision combine, or contradict with other ideals in East German, Chinese, and Japanese society?

Professional ideals are often deeply gendered, either because a large majority of people who do the profession are men or women, or because the attributes of what is considered to be an ideal practitioner are stereotypically thought of as masculine or feminine qualities. Although there is often an alignment between the gender of most practitioners and the stereotypical gender of the attributes of what is considered excellence for that profession, this is not always the case. Irvine and Vermilya (2010), for example, argue that although most practitioners of veterinary medicine are women in the United States, professional norms are associated with masculinity. This panel reflects on the gendering of early Soviet ideals and how these translated into contexts with different assumptions about the gender of teachers. In East Germany, all preschool workers were addressed as women. Shalutkevich examines Makarenko's views on the relevance of educators in the upbringing-process from the perspective of gender. In 1950s Japan significant numbers of teachers were women, but did not yet make up a majority. In China, female teachers were extremely rare in rural areas when the Communist Party came to power, and although their numbers rose through the Maoist period, women were not a majority of teachers in rural schools until the 2000s. To what extent were socialist visions of an ideal teacher associated with attributes stereotypically considered masculine (for example, authoritativeness) or feminine (for example, caring)? Moreover, although projecting authority and caring are often seen as masculine or feminine attributes, can discourses of authority and care work lead to alternative ways of thinking about these things?

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Keywords: gender, socialism, East Germany, Japan, China



Educator Personality as a Decisive Power in Children's Development: Makarenko's Influence in the Former GDR

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Student Contribution

After the Tsar's power in the former Russian Empire was overthrown, a hopeful enthusiasm to overcome the authoritarian remnants was spreading over the newly emerged Soviet Empire. To build a new and fair socialistic society was the celebrated slogan declared by the Communist Party. The full extent of brutality and inhumanity of the regime leaked out just a few years before the fall of the Soviet Empire and stimulated controversial public discussions. But at the very beginning the main effort to build the socialistic society captured every political and social domain concerning the educational system.

During the period of numerous reform attempts, Makarenko was given the task by the Minister of National Education to develop a new pedagogical concept. Makarenko tried to grow up a Real Soviet Citizen who should be "an accomplished, energetic, honest person devoted to his people, to the cause of the Revolution, a hardworking, cheerful, well-bread person" (Makarenko, 2004) by developing collective education principles while working with deviant adolescents in the Gorky Colony and Dzerzhinsky Labor Commune.

Already at that time, Makarenko was a subject of strong criticism concerning his concept of collective education. Authoritarian and militaristic elements as well as some punishment forms were criticised by the so-called "free education movement" (Dreier-Horning, 2022), which rejected any kind of coercion as a means of education. It is still debated to what extent Makarenko can be considered a "Stalinist pedagogue" (Kobelt, 1996), especially because the 1930s (the time when his concept of collective education was officially implemented in the Soviet Union and other real socialistic states) are classified as "Stalin Era".

From the 40th onwards Makarenko's books were translated into German. His most famous poem "The Road to Life" has been declared compulsory reading for trainee educators in former GDR. Makarenko's idea that everybody can become a pedagogue prevailed: "The skill of a teacher is not an art that requires special talent. It is the result of a specialised training like that of a doctor or a musician" (Makarenko, 2004, p. 258). As a result, binding guidelines for pedagogical work were developed.

In my presentation, I will focus on GDR preschool programs, especially on the relevance of educators for the upbringing process. After figuring out which elements of Makarenko's concept had been adopted, the question, of how such contradictory elements as care and pedagogical management based on obedience were united, will be discussed.

In preschool guidelines in former GDR, women were addressed as educators. The entire pedagogical instructions were written in the generic feminine. The main task of the kindergarten teacher (Kindergärtnerin) was to "direct all their care" (Pfütze, 1975) so the children can "grow up to be healthy, socialistically educated who feel good in the collective and live a happy life" (Pfütze, 1975). At the same time, play and other childish activities should be navigated. That seems to contradict the then prevailing ideal of women as gentle and loving, i.e. caring mothers.

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Keywords: gender, socialism, East Germany, Japan, China



Caring but Masculine? A. S. Makarenko's works and the ideal image of teachers in Japan and the GDR

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In many countries, caring works have been strongly associated with femininity. According to Volker Schubert, however, A.S. Makarenko (1888–1939) suggested an alternative image of the teacher; namely, caring, masculine, and proletarian. Makarenko is one of the most influential educators of the Soviet Union, and his novels tell the story of a male teacher living in his colony with his pupils and devoting himself to his educational activities, which consist not only of teaching various subjects but also working and living together with his pupils. The protagonist is depicted as an adventurous, heroic, militaristic, objective, direct, untamed, impulsive, and emotional person. As various criticisms of Makarenko show, his works do not exclude violence as a means of education. In his novel, the protagonist even says that he would be ready to become a dictator, if necessary. Furthermore, Makarenko's works underline the importance of teachers assuming a practical (objective) and pragmatic attitude, which may help male teachers to practice their jobs without renouncing their existing gender identity.

This image of masculine teachers, who not only teach in the classroom but also commit themselves to giving pupils' life guidance, is something we can also observe in Asian countries such as Japan. My paper argues that this is not a coincidence but due, in part, to the reception of Makarenko's ideas among Japanese teachers and scholars sympathetic to Marxism. Makarenko's "The Pedagogical Poem" was published in Japanese in 1951/52, and Japanese teachers found common ground between the problems Makarenko faced and those the Japanese teachers faced; namely, how to tackle the poverty and chaos caused by armed conflict (revolution or war). Japanese teachers who rejected the wartime ultra-nationalistic education but could not tolerate the "individualistic" educational approach initiated by the United States, welcomed Makarenko's education since it appeared to be a good mixture of disciplinary and child-centred education.

Thus, my paper investigates the image of ideal teachers, which to some extent derived from Makarenko's novels. My main sources are the teachers' magazine "Life Guidance" [Seikatsu-Shido], and interviews. This magazine includes discussions on the educational ideas of Makarenko and reports from teachers who appeared to care deeply for their pupils yet were extremely authoritative and insistent on knowing what was best for them.

As a contrast I will also refer to the situation in the former German Democratic Republic, where Makarenko's idea of the Collective Education was regarded as an official educational program, and the teaching occupation was more associated with females. This comparative study on Makarenko and his image of ideal teachers in a capitalist and a socialist country (Japan and GDR) aims to investigate the knowledge transfer beyond the Iron Curtain and challenges the binary perspective during the Cold War, which often categorises educational ideas and practices as either socialist or capitalist.

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Keywords: gender, socialism, East Germany, Japan, China



Masculine Care Work? Revolutionary Ideals for Teachers in China in the Maoist and Early Reform Era

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Education is often highlighted as a key area of change in China's transition from Maoism to the post-Mao reform era (Pepper, 1996). The restoration of the college entrance exams in 1978, for example, often serves as a marker within ordinary people's experience of change, one that heralded the end of an education system focused on revolutionary ideology and class labels, and the rise of a new meritocratic, science-orientated system. However, analysis of the ideals associated with teachers reveals significant continuities from the 1960s through to the 1990s. The ideal teacher during the Cultural Revolution was selfless, sympathetically devoted to the poorest children in their community, and voluntarily involved in manual labour outside teaching terms. In villages, elements of this ideal persisted into the early 1990s, and was promoted even by authors who were otherwise critical of the Cultural Revolution.

Discourses around ideals for teachers had implications for the changing gender dynamics of teaching. In rural areas, teaching was a heavily male-dominated occupation in the early 1950s. The proportion of women in rural schools rose over the following decades, though women did not make up a majority of rural teachers until well into the twenty-first century. To some extent, the revolutionary ideal for teachers facilitated a 'feminization' of the role of teachers in that it introduced an element of 'care work', typically associated with women in most societies. Teachers were to be tireless advocates and carers for children, albeit those with 'good' class labels. However, many female teachers in rural areas found this sort of care work difficult to fulfil since it involved substantial time travelling away from their homes and away from the caring work they were expected to perform in their own families. It often also involved confrontational encounters with antagonistic locals. Thus, male teachers might have found it easier to capitalise on this ideal, which might have been part of the reason that, on some indicators, male dominance over rural school teaching and leadership increased after the Maoist period.

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Keywords: gender, socialism, East Germany, Japan, China



The Game in the Service of Ideology. The Use of Board Games to Create Consensus and Make Propaganda

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The anthropological approach to game theory has shown that play can be a vehicle for transferring culture, used by adults to foster the learning process of social and behavioural models. The exploitation of the game, i.e. its use to pursue different purposes than just pure entertainment, is tangible with the material testimony of the games published in Europe during the late 1800s and in the first decades of the 1900s. These games had the most disparate intentions: they ranged from pedagogical and training ones, up to the actual political propaganda. The plurality of versions of the “Game of the Goose”, also defined as “route”, is remarkable, because it is a simple game, easy to play and capable of adapting to the transmission of one-sided values, behaviours and messages. An interesting example comes from the United Kingdom: between 1908 and 1909, the “Women’s social and political union” (WSPU – Militant organization founded by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903), to disseminate its political objectives, namely the emancipation of women and the conquest of the right to vote, designed a game similar to chess that traced the opposition between feminist activists and law enforcement, “Suffragetto”.

European totalitarianism also recognized board games as having great potential in activating consensus and, through the ritualistic repetition of shared practices, identified games as the glue of the social fabric.

During Fascism there were numerous variants of the game of the goose that featured a young and heroic Balilla, engaged in amazing adventures: from Fiume with D’Annunzio to East Africa for the conquest of the Empire. In September 1937, the Workshops of the Italian Institute of Graphic Arts Bergamo printed yet another version of the game of the goose, “The economic conquest of the Empire”, to celebrate the conquest of Ethiopia and the foundation of the Empire.

To shape and indoctrinate students with their vision of the world, in Italy as in Germany, play accompanied education; in fact, Goebbels stated that “to be perceived, propaganda must arouse the interest of the public and be transmitted through a means of communication that attracts attention”. To inspire and encourage the hatred and thirst for conquest of German kids in 1940, “Wir Fahren Gegen Engeland” [Let’s invade England] was launched. The game takes place on a map depicting the United Kingdom and the coasts of Norway, Denmark, Germany, France and Belgium. According to the International Association for the Study of Board Games (IPA – International Play Association), however, the worst of all was “Juden Raus!”, a game that in the 1930s was advertised as “fun and educational”, whose aim was to move all the tokens representing the Jews from the board to a “collection point” where they would then be deported to Palestine. “If you can eliminate six Jews, you win!” said the board. The Soviet board games “Chemical Warfare” (1925), “Air Battle”, “Modern Fight”, “Revolution”, “Naval Battle” (1931), a forerunner of the modern game, date from the 1920s and 1930s tabletop games called “Battleship”.

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Keywords: game, board game, propaganda, consensus, ideology



Exploring the Emergence of National Language as School Subject: An Analysis of National Language Textbooks in Postwar Taiwan, 1945–1967

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Taiwan, having experienced the Japanese national language movement under Japanese occupation during 1895–1945, underwent for the second time another national language movement promoted by the Republic of China (ROC) after World War II. Since the building of ROC in 1912, the Chinese national language had been created and promoted for unifying the new nation-state. When “restored” by ROC in 1945, Taiwan was included in the “nationalization” (i.e., re-sinicization) agenda, in which Chinese national language education was promoted in Taiwanese society as well as in primary schools. In the transition from Japanese colonization to Chinese nationalization, colonial school education in Taiwan was reformed and replaced by ROC’s national education system, which was still developing. The primary school curriculum was revised firstly from the colonial timetable and the subject of the Japanese national language was replaced by the Chinese national language (Department of Education, 1946). This curriculum lasted for only one semester. It was then suggested to adopt a curriculum from China for being consistent with school education in China (He, 1980). The first curriculum adopted was the one developed during wartime in 1941 for national unification and solidarity, and the second was the one developed after World War II in 1948 for nation-building purposes. After ROC relocated to Taiwan in 1949, the primary school curriculum was revised in 1952 and 1962 respectively for the goals of anti-communism and restoring the Chinese nation. It was not until 1968 that the national education system had developed steadily and compulsory education was extended to nine years. In the transition period during 1945–1967, five curricula were implemented consecutively in Taiwan, and textbooks were thus edited and revised according to different curricula and national education goals. These changes created conditions for the emergence of the school subject of the Chinese national language as since then, the national language has become a major subject in primary school curriculum and high-stakes tests.

This paper aims to explore the emergence of the national language as a school subject during this reform period. Drawing on the perspective of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) seeing reality (like society) as “a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling”(Latour, 2005, p. 7) by heterogeneous actors that may include humans and non-humans with agencies, this paper analyzes primary school national language textbooks for exploring how the elements in the texts assembled and enacted the formation of the national language subject. In ANT, texts are regarded as relational and “tell particular stories about particular relations” (Law, 2008, p. 142). Also, as Nimmo (2011) stresses, “Texts as mobile and material inscriptions are active agents which assemble, shape and connect practices, and in doing so enact objects, constitute subjects, and inscribe relations, ontological boundaries and domains” (p. 114). The analysis shows that elements such as the Chinese nation, three principles of the people, language components, literature, life, and childhood are assembled in different ways in different textbooks in the creation of a specific national language as a school subject. The national language textbooks created specific knowledge about new Taiwanese and nations in Taiwan.



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Keywords: national language, school subject, textbooks, postwar Taiwan



The Causes Of The Break Of The Ekpaideftikós Omilos (EO): An Attempt At Interpretation

Les Causes De La Rupture De L' Ekpaideftikós Omilos (EO): Une Tentative D' Interprétation

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This proposal concerns the attempt to justify the split of the Educational Association (EO) and its interpretation. EO was an educational company of the beginning of the 20th century in Greece. The “Ekpaideftikós Omilos” [Educational Association] was founded in 1910 in Athens, with founders Tsirimokos, Triantafyllidis and Delmouzos with the aim of educational improvement of Greek teachers and Greek schools. Its members are educated people as well as teachers from Athens, its surroundings and to a lesser extent from other regions of Greece and abroad.

The work applies the interpretive historical method of analysis of primary and secondary archival material, from various historical archives: ASKSA in Athens, Municipal Library of Amfissa, electronic material from the archive of Glinou, Triantafyllidis. In other words, the method of interpreting historical texts (archives of the EO) is applied with the aim of their fullest and deepest understanding possible (Pigiaki, 2004, p. 141) because it subjects the historical texts and their creator to an internal examination through their historicity.

The split was launched on the occasion of Miliadis' proposal for a review of the statutes, the start of a debate, the submission of two separate plans and the predominance of Glinos' group. This is followed by the departure of Delmouzos along with 43 members. The causes of the split include the unfulfilled attempts at reform, the conversion of Glinos' beliefs, the lack of understanding between the three workers, the divisive climate between them. Also, the strengthening of the leftist ideology, the sense of frustration, the difference of characters and the ideological deviation, and the general national, political, social, economic upheavals are some elements of the interpretation of the split. The group of Glinos considers as a predetermined event the split as a result of the crisis of demoticism.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Cette proposition particulière concerne la tentative de justification de la scission du groupe éducatif (EO) et de son interprétation. EO était une entreprise éducative du début du XX^e siècle en Grèce. (Ekpaideftikós Omilos), [Association éducative] a été fondée en 1910 à Athènes, avec les fondateurs Tsirimokos, Triantafyllidis et Delmouzos dans le but d'améliorer l'éducation des enseignants grecs et des écoles grecques. Ses membres sont des personnes instruites ainsi que des enseignants d'Athènes, de ses environs et, dans une moindre mesure, d'autres régions de Grèce et de l'étranger.

Le travail applique la méthode historique interprétative d'analyse du matériel d'archives primaires et secondaires, provenant de diverses archives historiques: ASKSA à Athènes, Bibliothèque municipale d' Amfissa, matériel électronique des archives de Glinou, Triantafyllidis etc. En d'autres termes, la méthode d'interprétation des textes historiques (archives de l'EO) est appliquée dans le but de leur compréhension la plus complète et la plus profonde possible (Pigiaki, 2004, p. 141) car elle soumet les textes historiques et leur créateur à un examen interne par leur historicité.



La scission est lancée à l'occasion de la proposition de Miliadis d'une révision des statuts, de l'ouverture d'un débat, de la présentation de deux plans distincts et de la prédominance du groupe Glinos. S'ensuit le départ de Delmouzos avec 43 membres. Les causes de la scission incluent les tentatives de réforme non réalisées, la conversion des croyances de Glinos, l'incompréhension entre les trois ouvriers, le climat de division entre eux. Aussi, le renforcement de l'idéologie de gauche, le sentiment de frustration, la différence des caractères et la déviation idéologique, et les bouleversements nationaux, politiques, sociaux, économiques généraux sont quelques éléments de l'interprétation de la scission. Le groupe de Glinos considère comme un événement prédéterminé la scission résultant de la crise du demoticism.

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Keywords: educational group, Demoticism, dissociation, education



Educating Workers for Automation: Imaginaries and Problematisations of Reformist Education in Swedish Trade Union Films in the 1980s

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The societal desire for a digital automation of work started after World War II. and intensified during the 1970s and 1980s (and has effectively not diminished since). This sociotechnical imaginary was based on two principles: firstly, the idea that there was always something historically significant happening ‘right now’, and secondly, that this moment would yield a fundamentally different future for work (Rahm, 2021). Today, notions such as autonomous robots, deep machine learning, and artificial intelligence are described with equal measures of worry and fascination (often implying that “the future is finally here”). But the future is nothing new – it has been here before (Hong, 2021). The idea that we are in the midst of a digital revolution that will change the future forever often assumes autonomous markets and enclosed technologies, and obscures the social and political processes behind development and use (Wajcman, 2017). Imaginations of the future have powerful consequences, and it is, therefore important to put contemporary assumptions of the digital into a historical perspective, as this can help us understand how the past, the present, the future, and technological development are entangled. By trailing the Swedish reformist labour movement, one of the most important stakeholders in the Swedish chronicle of digitalisation, this study aims to historicise the sociotechnical imaginaries of the future of work.

Based on an analysis of education films from Swedish reformist labour movement associations in the 1980s, this presentation illustrates firstly how automation of work was imagined, and as such what was seen as problematic, and further what the corresponding solution was imagined to be. Second, it illustrates the role that union-driven education has played in solving (and reforming) these problems.

Theoretically, we use a heuristic lens that considers imaginaries and problematisations together (Bacchi, 2012; Miglani & Burch, 2021). This is a combined analytical tool that we use for studying how systems of automation are foreseen as impacting education, and vice versa. We argue that imaginaries and problematisations, when brought together, produce a symbiotic and mutually beneficial theoretical connection, where both concepts gain analytical traction from each other. There is no doubt that various imaginaries of automation together with corresponding problematisations were present in the reformist worker’s movement in Sweden during the 1980s (and is still increasingly common in general educational settings, but now related to AI). Our presentation goes into specific details of how these imaginaries and problematisations are of both historical and contemporary interest to our understanding of educational reform.

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Keywords: workers education; automated futures; sociotechnical imaginaries, reformist labour movement



Tensions and Wage Tensions in the Mirror of the Austrian Educational Press of the Dualism Era

Spannungen und Lohnspannungen im Spiegel der österreichischen Bildungspresse im Zeitalter des Dualismus

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In the presentation, I would like to present the opinion of journalists on the salary of Austrian female teachers during the period of Dualism with the help of contemporary pedagogical journals and magazines. The focus of the study is the labour market situation of Austrians during the period of Dualism – with particular attention to Viennese female teachers – in the light of the pedagogical journals of the period between 1889–1910.

During the research, I looked for the answer to how often the journalists of the time wrote in various newspapers about the employment difficulties affecting female teachers and the salary issue. What wage problems arose during the examined period? What concerned writers, teachers and readers about the wage issue? During the exploration of the sources, I tried not only to present the general principles based on the opinions of the time but also to cover the presentation of the different salary categories/systems and salary grades – their changes – in the individual basic education areas. In the examined period, the question of the salary of female teachers was a sensitive topic. There were significant differences in the remuneration of female and male teachers. The basic problem was that male teachers received much more in salary and other benefits than their female colleagues for the same work, which led to the development of "wage tensions". I examined 3,638 coded units of four types of Austrian educational newspapers from the era of Dualism (Österreichische Lehrerinnen-Zeitung; Der Lehrerinnen-Wart and its successors: Neuzeit, Frauenleben, Neues Frauenleben; Frauen-Werke; Mittheilungen in Erreilinen) and processed them using the method of semantic content analysis, including also name analysis. "Gehalt" [salary] based on the categories I have predetermined; "Preis" [price]; "lohn" [wage]; "Gehaltsclasse" [salary category]; "Gehaltstufe" [salary grade]; "Lehrerinnengehalte" [teacher salary]; "Quartiergeld" [accommodation money]; "Stipendien" [scholarship]; "Beschäftigung" [employment].

In order to understand and describe the relationships, I measured the frequency of occurrence of the contents to be investigated. After the numerical part of the content analysis, I evaluated the data, established the correlation between the quantitative indicators, analysed them, and then presented them with the help of diagrams. During the investigation, I tried to draw quantifiable conclusions, revealing the possible reasons behind the numbers and the new results. During the semantic content analysis of the articles of the pedagogical press of the time, based on the analysis and the evaluation of the quantitative indicators, with the representative presentation of the results, we can get a more nuanced picture of the cause-and-effect relationships of the "glass ceiling" effect concerning the female teaching force in the background of the turn of the century. The pedagogical newspaper Österreichische Lehrerinnen-Zeitung, the "Journal of the Austrian Teachers' Association" and all the newspapers I examined were created to help remove the above-mentioned obstacles and limitations for women choosing to become teachers. I bring up instructive and in many ways telling examples that faithfully reflect the beliefs of the time regarding the position of women and female teachers.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

In der Präsentation möchte ich die Meinungen von Journalisten über die Besoldung österreichischer Lehrerinnen während der Dualismuszeit anhand von pädagogischen Zeitschriften und Zeitschriften der damaligen Zeit darstellen. Im Zuge der Forschung wurden vier deutschsprachige österreichische Dualismuszeitungen (Österreichische Lehrerinnen-Zeitung; Der Lehrerinnen-Wart - und ihre Nachfolger mit den Titeln: Neuzeit, Frauenleben, Neues Frauenleben-; Frauen-Werke; Mittheilungen des Vereines der Lehrerinnen und Erzieherinnen in Österreich;) Ich habe 3638 kodierte Einheit im genannten Thema mit der Methode der semantischen Inhaltsanalyse bearbeitet. Der Fokus der Studie liegt auf österreichischen Frauen im Zeitalter des Dualismus – insbesondere den Wiener Lehrerinnen – ihre Stellung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt wird vor allem anhand pädagogischer Zeitschriften aus der Zeit von 1889 bis 1910 dargestellt. Bei der Forschung suchte ich nach einer Antwort darauf, wie oft die damaligen Journalisten in den verschiedenen Zeitungen über die Beschäftigungsschwierigkeiten von Lehrerinnen und die Gehaltsfrage schrieben. Welche Gehaltsprobleme sind im Berichtszeitraum aufgetreten? Was beschäftigte Schriftsteller, Lehrer und Leser in Bezug auf die Lohnfrage? Bei der Erschließung der Quellen habe ich versucht, nicht nur die allgemeinen Grundsätze nach damaligen Auffassungen darzustellen, sondern auch die Darstellung der unterschiedlichen Gehaltskategorien/-Systeme und Gehaltsstufen – deren Veränderungen – in einigen Bereichen der Grundbildung zu erfassen . Im Zuge der Forschung untersuchte ich 3.638 codierte Einheiten von vier Gattungen österreichischer Bildungszeitungen aus der Zeit des Dualismus (Österreichische Lehrerinnen-Zeitung; Der Lehrerinnen-Wart und ihre Nachfolger: Neuzeit, Frauenleben, Neues Frauenleben; Frauen-Werke; Mittheilungen des Vereines der Lehrerinnen und Erzieherinnen in Österreich) und mit der Methode der semantischen Inhaltsanalyse einschließlich Namensanalyse verarbeitet. Gehalt nach den von mir vorab definierten Kategorien; Preis; Lohn; Gehaltsklasse; Gehaltstufe; Lehrerinnengehalte; Quartiergeld (Übernachtungsgeld); Stipendien; Beschäftigung usw. Ich habe die Häufigkeit des Auftretens der zu untersuchenden Inhalte gemessen, um die Zusammenhänge zu verstehen und zu beschreiben. Bei der semantischen Inhaltsanalyse der Artikel der pädagogischen Presse der damaligen Zeit, basierend auf der Analyse und der Auswertung der quantitativen Indikatoren, mit der repräsentativen Darstellung der Ergebnisse, können wir uns ein differenzierteres Bild von Ursache und Wirkung machen Zusammenhänge des "gläsernen Decken"-Effekts bezüglich der weiblichen Lehrkräfte vor dem Hintergrund der Jahrhundertwende. Nach dem numerischen Teil der Inhaltsanalyse habe ich die Auswertung der Daten, die Korrelation zwischen den quantitativen Indikatoren, die Analyse und dann die Präsentation mit Hilfe von Diagrammen durchgeführt. Während der Untersuchung habe ich versucht, quantifizierbare Schlussfolgerungen zu präsentieren, die möglichen Gründe für die Zahlen aufzudecken und die neuen Ergebnisse aufzuzeigen.

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Keywords: Austrian women's education, dualism, semantic content analysis, naming analysis, women's history, gender



An Educational and Social 'Bottom-up' Reform. The History of the 'Asilo Ricci' in Macerata through its Archival and Monumental Heritage

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The years following the European Restoration were rather tumultuous from a socio-political point of view, especially in some countries, such as Italy, which began to cultivate the idea of realising the ideal of a nation. However, these years were indeed also characterised by the urgent need to achieve widespread education of the people, starting with childcare. Although there were different points of view on the subject, education was conceived as the main instrument to improve people's living conditions.

The 'Asilo Ricci' in Macerata was established within this context and represented the first infant school for poor children in the territories of the Papal State. The institute opened in 1841 thanks to the intervention of the Marquis Domenico Ricci, in a historical phase in which signs of the insurrectionary movements of 1831 were still present and the preparation of a revolutionary wave that would lead to national unity was becoming evident. Initially, the infant school began its activities with a small number of children, ranging from the age of 3 to 7–8 years. However, thanks to the interest of Ricci himself and other philanthropists, the school was soon able to be attended by about one hundred children. The institution formed part of a more highly articulated program of social regeneration, which – albeit animated by a markedly paternalistic stance – had the aim of promoting the emancipation of the populace.

Strengthened by these conditions, the initial educational program of the Macerata infant school – like other similar institutions founded in those years – aimed to combine elements of literacy and activities of introduction to work. Over the years the school was highly receptive with regard to new pedagogical approaches, initially adopting the educational methods of Aporti and, subsequently, those of *Fröbel* and Montessori. In addition, this institution took into consideration also the needs of the surrounding community, accepting female pupils at an early stage and establishing, at the beginning of the 20th century, a primary school next to the infant school.

The 'Asilo Ricci' has a long history, which extended until the end of 20th century. The old edifice in which Ricci's initiative was developed continues to bear witness to an important chapter in the history of the city, which still awaits a rigorous historical reconstruction. Inside the building commemorative plaques dedicated to various events and those individuals who contributed to the development of the institute remain intact, like pages of a book carved in marble and preserved for posterity. The research presented here intends to propose an analysis of the important monumental heritage of the 'Asilo Ricci', as an expression of the historical-educational heritage of the school, with the support of the rich archival documentation of the institute preserved in the State Archives of Macerata. In this direction, this work aims to reassert the importance of a particular *lieu de mémoire*, the significance of which may be seen as extending far beyond the history of the institute itself as it involves the dimensions of the culture and identity of a community.

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Keywords: childhood, infant schools, historical-educational heritage, history of education, Italy.



Educational Reforms and Social Policies in Italy (1962–1968)

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This contribution would like to offer, on the one hand, a reconstruction of the center-left's school policy: a social policy of education, supported by substantial funding, which considered school development as an engine of democratic and economic growth. On the other hand, it would like to recall the reforms planned and those implemented: the birth of the compulsory middle school, the attempt to reorganize the secondary school and renew the university, the school and university building plan, and the state preschool.

Between 1962 and 1968, in Italy, partly as a result of the fall of internal (by Catholic hierarchies) and international (by the U.S.) vetoes, the coming together on programmatic grounds between the party of Catholics (Democrazia Cristiana) and the socialists (Italian Socialist Party) matured, with the aim of initiating a series of reforms that would foster the development of democracy and increase social participation. Protagonists of that season were Christian Democrats Aldo Moro (Prime Minister) and Luigi Gui (Minister of Education), along with Socialists Pietro Nenni and Tristano Codignola.

A new centrality was assigned to the reform of the school and education system, from infancy to university, with planning based on investigation, allocation of funds and finally the drafting of reforms. Despite two government crises, two landmark laws were passed: the compulsory middle school (1962) and the state preschool (1968). The compulsory middle school, in harmony with the European comprehensive school project, ended the early channelling of youth and initiated the first true mass schooling. In addition to being an educational reform, it presented itself as a social reform of the greatest significance, especially for the children of the working classes: designed to ensure as much as possible equal starting educational conditions for all, it aimed to promote greater social mobility and emancipation and to trigger a steady process of civic maturation.

With the state preschool, for the first time in the history of united Italy, the state took charge of early childhood education.

In addition, in 1967, in line with the Educational Planning that Unesco was promoting in Europe, the School and University Building Law was passed. It constituted an important innovation, since the state intervened not only as a funder but also as a coordinator and planner of initiatives: for the first time, financial aspects were addressed along with technical and qualitative ones.

Overall, the 'scholastic center-left' must therefore be credited with considering schooling and education as a political issue and linking the quantitative and qualitative growth of the school-education system to the broader democratic, social and economic development of the entire country, bringing to approval the most important structural school reforms in the republican age. Left unresolved, however, were the reform of the secondary school, the university, and the revision of the legal status of school personnel: all issues that would be at the centre of the youth and student protests of '68, later taken up and partly brought to resolution by governments and ministers of public education during the 1970s.

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Keywords: Social policies, democratic school, comprehensive school, extension of compulsory education, school and society



The Family and the Reform of the Italian School During the Seventies

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During the Seventies, the new idea of the educational community suggested by the Faure Report (1972) accelerated a reform process of the Italian school involving the family. Family and school have been the two main controversial targets of the protesting youth movements, hippy and students, who accused these two institutions of being closed and obsolete communities. In this period, when innovations reduced the educational role of the family and the school, school policies promoted new reforms. For example, the Delegated Decrees issued in 1974 suggested transforming the school into a democratic community where decisions were taken by all the components, families, students and teachers. The Decrees, therefore, promoted an active participation of parents in school life, through the construction of a dialogue between the school and the family considered essential to preserve and guarantee the educational aims of both institutions.

Although the meeting between the school and family communities promoted by the Decrees was desirable, contemporary literature understood the limits of this reform, highlighting how this meeting between the two most important educational agencies was complex and artificial. The press of the time has been of the same opinion, reporting the problematic nature of a relationship that was not idyllic: teachers who presented a less authoritarian educational style were defined as subversive by still patriarchal and traditional families; parents, on the other hand, perceived the participation of families in the school life as undemocratic, since not everyone possessed the cultural knowledge and the cognitive skills necessary. The subsequent regulatory interventions of 1994 and 2007 in favour of promoting the co-responsibility educational pact, were unsuccessful. In fact, even today the relationship between school and family appears difficult and the pact of alliance between these two institutions is broken, since parents join forces with their children and leave the teachers in total solitude: Many teachers complain that they feel devalued by parents, who justify their attitude by accusing the school of not meeting their expectations. The most recent pedagogical debate describes this problem as a real educational emergency of post-modernity, identifying the presence of “affective families”, where there is a permissive educational style where a child is more adored than loved. This excessive affectivity and overprotection, that distinguishes today’s parents, determines such a deep gap between the family institution and the school institution as to make obsolete what was established by the Decrees of the seventies? Or, perhaps, is it precisely the comparison with the pedagogical reflections on the school and the family, launched from the 1970s onwards, that offers new perspectives and gives us a glimpse of a new parenting that becomes more aware thanks to the comparison with a renewed school?

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Keywords: school, family, delegated decrees, community, co-responsibility



The Contribution of La Scuola Publishing House to an 'Inner' Reform of the Italian School System During Fascist Regime

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According to some of the latest methodological advancements in the contribution of History of Education to teacher training (Herbst 1999; Depaepe 2001; Polenghi & Bandini, 2016), an interesting case study could be identified, at least at the European level, in the commitment of the Catholic publishing house La Scuola in Brescia (Northern Italy) during the years of gradual transformation of the Italian school system, reformed by Giovanni Gentile in 1923, in an instrument of political propaganda imposed by Benito Mussolini's regime (Ostenc, 1980; Charnitzsky, 1994). The teachers' magazines "Scuola Italiana Moderna" and "Supplemento pedagogico a Scuola Italiana Moderna" – published by La Scuola – promoted indirectly an 'inner reform' of the Italian elementary schools through innovative proposals, which were able to combine the revival of the best Catholic educational tradition with the introduction of active methodologies from the International New Education Movement (Chiosso, 2003; Sani, 2018). Marco Agosti (1890–1983) and Vittorino Chizzolini (1907–1984), elementary school teachers and main members of the editorial staff of the two magazines, introduced thousands of readers to international figures such as Adolphe Ferrière, Robert Dottrens, Eugène Dévaud, Friedrich Förster, Maria Boschetti Alberti and other scholars, able to inspire new experiences of democratic education and professionalisation of teachers, far from the impositions of the Fascism.

According to that perspective, they drew the practice of a 'school of life and action', which they applied with the promotion of teaching-learning processes as a natural and constant search for coherence between 'knowing' and 'doing' (Chiosso, 2003; Scaglia, 2016). In particular, Marco Agosti introduced in the Royal Elementary School 'Camillo Ugoni' in Brescia an original form of organisational and didactic self-government of the classroom entrusted directly to the pupils, named the *Regents' System*. At the same time, together with Vittorino Chizzolini and some teachers from the Catholic School 'S. Maria degli Angeli' in Brescia, he experimented internship activities of some students at the annexed elementary school, showing the limits of the Gentile reform that had abolished internship in the initial training of elementary teachers (Scaglia, 2016).

The dissemination of these meaningful experiences by La Scuola publishing house, which also involved research activities between groups of teachers and the construction of pedagogical objects by the pupils themselves, allowed Catholic Italian teachers of the time to learn about alternative ways of training and schooling. Those practices were indebted to the child-centred pedagogy of Giuseppe Lombardo Radice but were also attentive to take up the contributions coming from the Swiss and German renewed pedagogy. In this sense, they silently promoted an 'inner reform' of the Italian school, through an improvement in teachers' professionalism in the darkest years of the fascist regime (Chiosso, 2003; Scaglia, 2016; Sani, 2018).

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Keywords: school reform, teacher education, New Education Movement, Italy, XX century



Imperial Writings: The Effects of 1934 Syllabuses in the Letters Sent By Pupils to Rodolfo Graziani (1936–1937)

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The present paper examines letters and postcards from primary school pupils to Gen. Rodolfo Graziani (1882–1955), viceroy of Abyssinia, in 1936–1937. This source has never been used in school history research, although these documents were written or solicited in schools. So, they are a precious source to «understand the effectiveness of [Fascist] regime ideological propaganda in influencing the minds and consciences of young people» (Morandini, 2019, p. 398). The analyzed documents contribute to evaluating the consequences of the revision of school syllabuses that took place in 1934 under the Ministry of Francesco Ercole (1884–1945). In 1934, indeed, «school syllabuses were drastically changed, and school was subject to a process of Fascistization in order to become the place of birth of the new fascist man» (Paciaroni, 2019, pp. 1004–1005).

The paper investigates the sources stored at the Central archives in the light of background historical-educational literature published during the last twenty years (Meda, Montini & Sani, 2010; Wingenter, 2012; Morandini, 2019). The author aims to give evidence to a process of hybridization between «teaching and learning, public and private spheres, individuals and communities, spontaneity and self-censorship, which are a crucial issue at the heart of the twenty years of Fascist rule in Italy because the regime tended to blur the boundaries» (Galfré, 2010, p. 299).

The letters and postcards sent by elementary school pupils and their drawings, dictations and summaries based on readings about life in colonies show a transition towards a new imperialistic and racial ideology promoted by the regime. The conquest of Abyssinia and the repression of local resistance spurred this new ideology in 1936. In the same year, an officer of the Education Ministry, Nazareno Padellaro, founded the magazine «Primato educativo. Rivista bimestrale di pedagogia» to encourage a pedagogic project that promoted the New Fascist Man showing manly virtues and racist attitudes. The author argues that some of these virtues – such as heroism, loyalty, strength, and warlike attitude – and racist stereotypes were expressed by students of the Opera Nazionale Balilla and, after 1937, Gioventù Italiana del Littorio in their writings. Concepts such as «heroism, loyalty, strength and war [...] reveal that [the regime] attempted to obtain in the education of young people the same results that he looked for in factories, offices and public squares» (Civra, 2002, p. 99).

The author follows the methodology used by Meda (2020, pp. 17–28) to interpret the writings of pupils and students «on the basis of the categories of *spontaneity* and *discipline*, but also on the basis of the synthesizing *training* one» (Meda, 2020, p. 27).

As a result, the author provides a reconstruction of a piece of «real school [...] as it flows throughout textbooks, exercise books and didactic materials» (Viñao Frago, Chiosso & Gibelli, 2011, p. 457). Going beyond the stereotypical and rhetorical features of the sources analyzed (Meda, 2020, p. 19), the author shows how they can reveal the didactic practices used in the school system of the Thirties.

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Keywords: Fascism, Letters, Graziani, Imperialism, Primary School



Lewis Carroll's *The Nursery Alice* in Translation: A Time-based Exploration of a New Reading Paradigm for Young Children in Italy

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Lewis Carroll's *The Nursery Alice* (1890), a rewriting of the well-known *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), is a remarkable anticipation of reading interaction between adults and children "aged from Nought to Five", as the author wrote in his preface to the book. Recent research focused on the alternate fortune of *The Nursery Alice* and emphasised the time span in which the idea for this book developed in Carroll's literary projects. Carroll conceived a text that maintained only a superficial resemblance with its "elder sister" and interrogated a dual audience of adults (the actual readers) and children (the receptors) on the illustrations scattered throughout the book. The preponderance of the colourized illustrations over the text, as well as the ways in which the narrator invites the audience to use the book, anticipate the modern conception of books as physical tools to introduce very young children to a positive attitude towards reading.

The Nursery Alice soon went out of print and many years passed until a new reprint reappeared on the market in the mid-20th century. In Italy, this book took longer to be translated and published in two distinct versions with new illustrations and translations in 1992 and 2017. This paper wishes to explore the reasons behind these translations based on the cultural approach to translation as an indicator of social, economic and political shifts offered by Bassett and Lefevre, tracing a timeline in the educational evolution that had to occur in Italy in order to produce them. *Alice dei bambini* first and *Alice dei piccoli* later, reflect the recent pedagogical approach to "emergent literacy" as an opportunity to study the developmental attitude of pre-readers towards reading material and their relationship with competent adults. As stated by Chartier, quality children's literature is meant to initiate young readers to savour "slow reading", encouraging constant re-reading. Therefore, a reading canon of classics seems to support this role of "cultural initiator" to prepare young readers to more complex texts. In Italy, this initiation process started around the end of the 20th century, and a growing awareness of the importance of early literacy in more recent years has prompted adults as mediators to produce, disseminate, buy (or lend), read books and interact with pre-readers using a wide variety of sources.

To this end, small, independent publishing houses promoted series specifically designed to introduce rewritings of classics to a dual audience, as is the case for the two translations mentioned. The paratextual material is indicative of the diffusion and reception network intended for these volumes. From a textual point of view, the translations show a distinct shift in the intended audience: in *Alice dei bambini* the narrator speaks to a group of people, in *Alice dei piccoli* it addresses a single reader. This is only one of the numerous instances of adaptation that suggest how a change in the conception of the development of very young children's reading skills promoted the creation of a new literary vision of *The Nursery Alice*.

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Keywords: Nursery Alice, Lewis Carroll, emergent literacy, translation, children's literature



The US Occupation in Okinawa: Education Reform and Indigenous Values

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This article examines educational reform under the US occupation in Okinawa, Japan. The education reform started in April 1945, four months before Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers in World War II., and had lasted until 1972 when Okinawa was returned to Japan that had finally regained full national sovereignty since 1945. In this paper, the education reform is in three ways: the transmission of political values and culture through education reform; the ideological rationales that legitimised the reform; and the political, social and cultural context in which the reform was operable.

It is argued that the US occupation authorities did not intend to 'Americanize' Okinawa socially or culturally through education reform. Rather than that, it was intended to emphasize the Okinawan indigenous values and traditions in the renewed education system. It is further argued that this intention was largely based on the US expectations for its long-term rule of Okinawa as a keystone in Cold War Asia by detaching this far-southern island prefecture from Japan socially and culturally. The US intervention in Okinawa illuminated the new scheme of global governance that the US mapped out in the post-war geopolitical context.

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Keywords: the United States, Okinawa, World War II, the Cold War



Back to Classical Liberalism: Arthur Seldon and the Reform of “Free” State Education (1957–1988)

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Arthur Seldon (1916–2005) was a significant British classical liberal economist in the second half of the 20th century. In 1957, Seldon joined the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) as a part-time Editorial Adviser and became a full-time Editorial Director from 1959 to 1981. From 1981 to 1987, he was the Consultant Editor of the IEA and was responsible for the editing work of the IEA’s journal, *Economic Affairs*. In 1987, he was the Advisory Director of Publication and retired from the IEA in 1988 (Robinson, 2009). During the 30 years, working with Ralph Harris, the General Director of the IEA, Seldon had been the ‘the engine room’, the producer of the ideas of the IEA, advocating the reform of the welfare state, especially the provision of ‘free’ state education. He argued that parents should pay for school fees in state schools as in private schools. Moreover, influenced by the American economist, Milton Friedman, he proposed experiments in the education voucher and the reverse income tax, by which each parent could be provided with purchasing power and school choice. From the mid-1960s, his ideas gradually attracted the attention of the Conservatives such as Keith Joseph and Margaret Thatcher and led to the rise of the New Right and the Thatcherism in the 1980s. His advice was consulted by the Thatcher governments from 1979 to 1990, even though his reform agenda related to education voucher were not involved in the *1988 Education Reform Act* (Harris, Seldon & Erickson, 2001, p. 57).

Undoubtedly, the IEA’s contributions to the Thatcher governments were recognized by the academic world. Despite this, as Robinson (2009, pp. 58–59) indicates, the IEA was different from the typical think tank of the early 21st century, which is often associated with a particular political party. Seldon (2004, p. 269) also emphasized that the IEA was not the academic arm of the Conservative Party. Indeed, from the mid-1960s, Seldon had been trying to influence politicians from all political parties and their educational policies. In Geoffrey Howe’s words, Seldon not only sought to permeate and transform much wider public attitude, but also permeated the body politic (Howe, 2009, p. 161). Despite this, there have been very few researches focusing on Seldon’s ideas and his involvement in the politics of education. Hence, this paper aims to fill the lacuna. Through examining Seldon’s collected works edited by Colin Robinson, Seldon’s other published works in newspapers and journals, and the IEA’s papers at the Hoover Institute in the US, the current paper will provide a deeper understanding of Seldon’s ideals and efforts in educational reform throughout the 30 years. More importantly, this paper will show a broader picture of how the IEA exerted its influence on the official educational policies, not merely focusing on its relation with the Conservative Party.

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Keywords: Arthur Seldon, Classical Liberalism, the Welfare State, Thatcherism, The New Right



Educational policy in post-dictatorship Chile (1990–2022). A New Approach

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Chile is a paradigmatic case of the installation of market-oriented educational policies throughout the world (Verger, Fontdevila & Zancajo, 2017; Treviño et al., 2019). Through a structural reform implemented in the midst of the military dictatorship (Verger, Moschetti & Fontdevila, 2017), the Chilean educational system was organized since the early eighties as a system that has been oriented towards the development of competition in education, the reduction of the role of the State, the promotion of private agents in the educational system and the consolidation of an accountability system with high consequences. The centrality of the market and competition as articulating axes of the Chilean school system have motivated an intense research agenda aimed at understanding the trajectory of educational policies in the Chilean system, both in the dictatorial period and in the following decades (Villalobos & Quaresma, 2015; Castiglioni, 2005; Diaz-Ríos, 2019; Cox, 2012; Bellei & Vanni, 2015; Bellei & Muñoz, 2021). Most of these investigations have highlighted two facts. On the one hand, the continuity that would exist between the educational policies of the dictatorial period and the post-dictatorship has been shown, especially in terms of the structure and organization of the school system. On the other hand, several authors have shown how, especially since the beginning of 2000, mechanisms are built to enhance the role of the State as an evaluating agent (Cox, 2012; Treviño, 2018, Cornejo, 2018). Likewise, during Bachelet's second government, policies were implemented that, for the first time, addressed structural aspects of the market system in education (Pribble, 2017; Carrasco, 2018).

Practically all of these investigations have been developed with two similarities. First, and in methodological terms, the studies have been developed from perspectives derived from comparative analysis, which have privileged secondary analyses without empirical sources or using the voices of key actors. On the other hand, and in conceptual terms, research has tended to develop from historical perspectives, starting from the idea that the different government periods can be understood as relatively "homogeneous policy blocks or cases". In contrast to these studies, this paper uses an unpublished data source to study the trajectory and characteristics of educational policy in post-dictatorship Chile (1990–2022). Through a collection, systematization, and analysis of all the laws and decrees related to educational policy in Chile (more than 400), the characteristics, themes, approaches, and logic of the educational policy during the post-dictatorship are analysed, accounting for the changes both between governments and differences within each government.

Three preliminary results can be highlighted. First, the analysis shows that educational policies aimed at promoting or regulating the market are constituted as hegemonic policies throughout the post-dictatorship period. Second, the results show – paradoxically – that the object of market educational policies has been mainly public education, through policies aimed at students and teachers through targeted policies, either in socioeconomic or territorial terms. Finally, the results suggest that most public policies, especially in the last two decades, have been financed by the public sector, with little private sector involvement, either personally or as institutions.



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Keywords: Chile, educational policy, post-dictatorship, Latin America



The Irish schoolteacher: Actors and Agents for change in the 19th century

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Within the context of the historiography of education, the Irish national, primary education system occupies a unique position. Established by the British in 1831, it is recognised that this system was founded to further imperial principles of cultural assimilation and practice. Through an imperial lens, it can be argued Ireland existed as, 'a social laboratory where various policy initiatives were tried out which might be less acceptable in England', thus legitimising the expansion of empire in colonial acquisitions (Coolahan 1981, p. 3). The rapid expansion and success of the national schools in 19th century Ireland is borne out by the data accompanying its growth. The board established to oversee the national schools was titled the Commissioners of National Education for Ireland (CNEI). The CNEI published annual reports on the progress and minutiae of the nascent system, from development to conclusion in 1922, with the advent of Irish independence. The First report, published in 1831, notes 789 schools, 'which are now in operation' (CNEI First Report, 1831, p. 1). Ten years later the Eighth report details the number of national schools in operation at 2,337 (CNEI Eight Report, 1841, p.13). This exponential growth rate was maintained in the decades to come, firmly establishing the national school system within the landscape of Ireland.

An often overlooked and rarely studied historical figure within this narrative is the Irish national school teacher. Initially, the role of the teacher was restricted by the governing authorities, with the focus firmly placed on the teachers' duties as agents of empire. One commentator noting that, 'by the world of officialdom'... (the teacher) ... 'was treated in a rather perfunctory manner and pains were taken to impress upon him that he ought not to have ideas above his station, which was the giving of elementary education to the children of the common poor' (Coolahan 1981, p. 30). However, as actors within the theatre of Irish communities the Irish national school teacher slowly developed an identity that presaged change within the educational landscape of Ireland.

This presentation seeks to highlight those aspects of the lives of the Irish national teacher which saw them cast as actors for reform in Ireland's educational landscape during the mid-19th century. Among these elements of reform was the establishment of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation (INTO) in 1868, which developed as a grassroots organisation for Irish national schoolteachers. This organisation is still in existence today.

This presentation seeks to briefly explore the position of the Irish national teacher within the communities, in which they worked, from the foundation of the national school system to the mid-19th century. At which point the teachers increasingly began to embody a separate social class within these communities, which led to a surety of identity and a developing capacity for agitation and change.

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Keywords: national education, national teacher, reform, community, agency



The Society “Neohellenes” “New Greeks” (The Unofficial Break of EO) & The Chronicle of Its “Official” Break

La Société "Neohellenes" (La Scission Non Officielle D'EO) & La Chronique De Sa Scission "Officielle"

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The presentation deals with two separate chapters: the operation of the company “Neohellenes” [“New Greeks”], as a company that indirectly led to the breakup of the EO and the timing of the breakup of the educational group (EO), as it appears based on the sources and the available archival material.

The first part refers to the establishment, organization and action of the company “Neohellenes” based on the minutes of its meetings, from its notebook, included in File 20, in the Delmouzos archive in the library of Amfissa. The purpose of this (political) association is the systematic study and diagnosis of the Greek conditions and the organization of all the creative elements of the Greek people, the struggle to spread and impose political, economic and social democracy in Greece, based on the particular Greek conditions.

The company “Neohellenes” with a political, social, educational and social democratic orientation was established in 1923, with several members from the members of the Group and with the aim of the regeneration of Greece but in a direction opposite to that of the Group (from the people upwards). It is about the radical part of EO members that after the split belongs to the group of Glinos. The participation of the speakers demonstrates their disappointment with the Group's action. The company's attitude is, however, shifting and moderates criticism of the EO's work.

The second part refers to the elements that conclusively determine the split of the EO in 1927, and are related to the relations of the members, the general political and social climate and the changes in the ideological approaches of Glinos, who adopts the views of socialism, recognizes the need revision of the Club's statutes and leads Delmouzos to the decision to withdraw from the Club together with 43 other members and to its well-known split on the 23rd of March, 1927. Afterwards, Glinos remains the head of the EO, which acquires a left-wing colour until its final dissolution, in 1930.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La présentation traite de deux chapitres distincts : le fonctionnement de la société « Neohellenes » en tant que société ayant indirectement conduit à l'éclatement de l'EO et le moment de l'éclatement du groupe éducatif (EO), tel qu'il ressort des sources et le matériel d'archives disponible de saisonnier.

La première partie de celui-ci fait référence à la constitution, l'organisation et l'action de la société "Neohellenes" à partir des procès-verbaux de ses réunions, de son cahier, inclus dans le dossier 20, dans les archives de Delmouzos à la bibliothèque d'Amfissa. Le but de cette association (politique) est l'étude systématique et le diagnostic des conditions grecques et de l'organisation de tous les éléments créateurs du peuple grec, la lutte pour répandre et imposer la démocratie politique, économique et sociale en Grèce, basée sur la conditions grecques.

La société "Neohellenes" avec orientation politique, sociale, éducative et social-démocrate a été créée en 1923, avec plusieurs membres parmi les membres du EO et dans le but de la



régénération de la Grèce mais dans un sens opposé à celui du EO (du peuple vers le haut). Il s'agit de la partie radicale des membres d'EO qui après la scission appartient au groupe des Glinos. La participation des intervenants témoigne de leur déception face à l'action du Groupe. L'attitude de l'entreprise est cependant négociatrice et modère les critiques sur le travail de l' EO.

La deuxième partie se réfère aux éléments qui déterminent de manière concluante la scission de l' EO en 1927, et sont liés aux relations des membres, au climat politique et social général et aux changements dans les approches idéologiques de Glinos, qui adopte les vues du socialisme, reconnaît la nécessité d'une révision des statuts du Club et conduit Delmouzos à la décision de se retirer du EO avec 43 autres membres et à sa scission bien connue le 23 mars 1927. Par la suite, Glinos reste à la tête de l' EO, qui acquiert une couleur de gauche jusqu'à sa dissolution définitive, en 1930.

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Keywords: “New Greeks”, Educational Club, Demoticism, Education, Delmouzos.



Art and the New State. Polish Ideas of Reform of Art Education at the Beginning of the 20th Century

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The aim of the paper is to analyse the results of research into the history of children's art education in the early 20th century in the Polish-speaking areas and its ideological significance at the dawn of the independence of the Republic of Poland (appropriated by Prussia, Austria, and Russia since 1795). Since the Romantic period, Poles attributed special importance to art as a carrier of patriotic ideas, and also it was considered a medium through which the true Polish "spirit" and national characteristics were to be expressed and which were repressed by the censorship of the partitioners (Milosz, 1983).

From the second half of the 19th century, at a time of dynamic historical and social changes and the formation of nation-states, new Polish patriotic movements associated with various political parties were also born. In fact, after regaining independence in 1918, art, as a kind of repository of Polish spirituality, was to play an important role in rebuilding the state right alongside the new system of basic education. From around 1900, the Polish intelligentsia prepared political and social programs for an independent country and its future citizens. Young Poles, who were to be the first to enter adulthood in an already fully independent Poland, were assigned an extremely important role.

The paper will demonstrate the ideas of the new aesthetic (art) education, which at the same time had a propagandistic character, or were ascribed importance in the development of the state. On the basis of three selected examples of texts by authors representing different disciplines, the main concepts and meanings of art education reform will be presented.

The first part will present the first Polish-language text on aesthetic education *O wychowaniu estetycznym* [On aesthetic education] by Janina Mortkowiczowa (1903). The author's concepts were a synthesis of the thoughts of Western aestheticians, including Friedrich Schiller or John Ruskin, and theorists of new education (James Sully, Alfred Lichtwark). Although due to censorship, Mortkowiczowa could not directly write about the emancipatory role of education, she emphasized the importance of aesthetics in social and economic development and the "moral and intellectual uplift of the masses." The second part will present the conclusions of an analysis of the first Polish drawing manual for children. In the pages of *Principles of Beginning Drawing*, Stanislaw Matzke (1919) wrote about the need to teach drawing on the model of Western countries, through which citizens would have a chance to develop their tastes and abilities. This method would give Polish production, in general, a chance to be appreciated internationally. In his last text, the catalog of the government's Art of the Child exhibition (1920), the right-wing official and artist Eligiusz Niewiadomski described the necessity of art education and aesthetic education to liberate the "Polish spirit," which could eventually bring independence of thought and develop the domestic market. The texts cited will show the role attributed to art, art education, and children themselves.

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Keywords: history of art education, Poland in the 20th century, history of education in Poland



The Existential Conception of Education as Reflected in Josef Schächter's Philosophy in an Era of Crisis and Change

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Josef Schächter (1901–1994) was an existentialist thinker, mainly influenced by the Danish existentialist philosopher Søren Kierkegaard, Wittgenstein, and Martin Buber. Schächter was born and raised in a Jewish home in Galicia. In his twenties, he moved to Vienna, where he studied at the Faculty of Philosophy of Science and belonged to the “der Wiener Kreis” [Viennese Circle], and at the same time, received rabbinic ordination. In 1938, he immigrated to Israel, served as a high school teacher, and even ran a teacher training seminar in Haifa for some time. During these periods, he wrote philosophy texts and published instruction manuals for philosophy and Bible teachers. Later on, this group established the community of Yodfat in the Galilee, where Schächter was an actual address for outlining their way of life for the rest of his life.

Israel was established in 1948, a few years after World War II. In the recently nascent state, attitudes toward ideals, values, and religion confronted attitudes of individualism and pluralism, yielding different approaches. The same was expressed in the field of education. Josef Schächter proposed an educational philosophy seeking to deal with the modern individual's crisis. This approach is self-directed in a situation of change and transformation, designing an authentic internal educational language that touches on universal questions of existence, which have tools for strengthening the existential meaning of both the individual and society.

In my lecture, I will describe the fundamental principles of Josef Schächter's educational conception while presenting the concept of “authenticity”, a central and organising axis in philosophy, and crucial importance in understanding Schächter's conception of the role of education. Finally, aspects of philosophy that I find relevant today will be discussed.

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Keywords: authenticity, inner religion, inner existence, education



Circulation of Reform: Catholic Women Religious and the Internationalisation of the Montessori Method, 1911–1939

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This paper will consider the circulation of reform by exploring the role of Catholic women religious, in the global implementation of Maria Montessori's innovative Method which reformed early childhood education. It will identify the tensions and challenges as well as successes. Of those in the New Education Fellowship, "only M. Montessori, by the translation of her work and her training sessions, succeeded in gaining an international arena of influence" (Condette & Savoye, 2016, p. 5). The agency of teachers, mainly women, who attended the courses and read the books is well known. That of Catholic women religious, however, has been absent from Montessorian historiography until recently (De Giorgi, 2018; Moretti & Dieguez, 2018; Williams, 2021; 2022).

Two questions will be addressed. Firstly, what part did Catholic women religious play in Montessori training? Secondly, how did they deal with the challenges posed by influential prelates who questioned the compatibility of the Method with Catholic tradition?

Findings from case studies will show how Montessori used convent *case dei bambini* as the main demonstration classes for most of her international training courses. Course participants from many nations, faiths, and beliefs observed the class of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary in Rome in 1911, 1913 and 1914 and that of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Barcelona in 1916. Her London biennial international training between 1921 and 1939 used the class of the Religious of the Assumption in London. The convent locations were particularly important for Catholic women religious, offering an environment appropriate to the time, in which they gained much-needed qualifications. Their membership of transnational organisations contributed to global implementation. The significant contribution of Montessori practice classes in the Notre Dame de Namur Teacher Training College in Glasgow and Mother Mary Charles Magdalene Walker's school in Calabar, Nigeria will also be demonstrated.

Criticism from senior Catholic prelates limited opportunities in Rome before World War I. In Spain, however, senior Vincentian Father Casulleras saw the Method as Catholic in its very substance (Montessori & Standing, 1929, p. 2). In 1920s England, Montessori could pre-empt criticism, as convent superiors gave her introductions to senior prelates including Cardinal Francis Bourne and influential Dominican and Jesuit priests. In Ireland, the influence of Father Timothy Corcoran SJ, Professor of Education and adviser to the Irish government, restricted adoption of the Method. In Nigeria, Irish Bishop Joseph Shanahan CSSp came to regard it as an essential method for missionary teachers.

Reference will be made to little known archival sources including convent annals, letters, photographs and the Philip and Tacey 1930 *Catalogue of the Montessori Didactic Material*. Along with publications by sisters, Montessori, and her associates, they will contribute to uncovering hidden actors in the global circulation of educational reform.

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Keywords: Montessori, Catholic women religious, global circulation



Foreign Missionary Women Teachers and the Kindergarten Movement in Japan in the Early 20th Century

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This paper focuses on transnational settings and the practice of Christian kindergartens in the progressive education movement between the U.S. and Japan in the early 20th Century. As recent works showed that the transnational nature of the kindergarten movement was transplanted and developed mainly from its native Germany to other countries in the world (Wollons 2000; Allen 2017; Mayer & Arredondo 2020), the kindergarten movement helped to develop the Western ideology of gender, the family and child-rearing in Japan. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, missionary women teachers from the U.S. and Europe travelled to Japan for the propagation of Christianity and sought to reform the traditional customs and cultural life in Japan that put a slight on education and health for girls and infants and the social status of women. Since the ecumenical organisation for the kindergarten movement in Japan, the Japan Kindergarten Union (J.K.U.) was founded by U.S. missionary women teachers in 1906, it promoted reform of early childhood education as well as professional training for nursery teachers in Japan earlier than public education (Wollons, 2000). To argue the circulation of the movement between the U.S. and Japan, we will examine the two points below.

First, we discuss the missionary women teachers from the J.K.U. aimed for and tried to reform and achieve the kindergarten movement beyond religious schools in Japan. In particular, we discuss how as the sixth president of the J.K.U., Margaret Melinda Cook (1870–1958) from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South brought progressive education affected by John Dewey (1859–1952) to kindergartens in Japan. While Cook taught at the nursery teacher training course in Hiroshima girls' higher school ('Hiroshima Jogakko', later 'Lambuth Jogakuin') from 1904, she often returned to the U.S. during vacations to bring new educational methods back to Japan and studied at Columbia Teacher's College in New York from 1911 to 1912. We focus on Cook's practices in kindergarten attached to her school and in the nursery teacher training course to discuss how she introduced child-centred education (with free play 'Jiyuu-Asobi' and handwork 'Jiyuu-Sagyou') based on Froebelian education (with the Froebel gifts, 'Onbutsu') in kindergartens in Japan by analyzing school records of Hiroshima girls' higher school between the 1910s and the 1920s.

Second, we also focus on transnational practices by the two graduates of her school, Japanese women nursery teachers, Tomi Tachibana (Methodist Episcopal Church, South) at Lambuth kindergarten in Kobe and Mutsuko Fujimoto (Episcopal Church in the United States of America) at Heian kindergarten in Kyoto. After graduation, they spread the new educational method in their kindergartens as chief nursery teachers in Japan. They had opportunities to study early childhood education in the U.S. in the 1930s. We trace their careers and analyse their practices in these kindergartens by using historical materials such as school curriculum, dairies, newsletters and creative works by Japanese children, reminiscences and the annual reports of the J.K.U. Finally, we also suggest what the ecumenical missionary women's network brought to society in Japan.

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Keywords: missionary, the kindergarten movement, female network



The Beginning of School Hygiene Projects in Shanghai, 1920s: The Context of the Transition from Weisheng to Hygienic Modernity

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The purpose of this paper is to focus on the practice of Chinese elites in promoting school hygiene to be associated more with measurement and prevention, which came about through contact with the United States and other countries in the 1920s, and to identify the beginning of school hygiene work by the Shanghai Public Health Bureau.

In the early 20th century, the reformulation of public health emphasised personal responsibility and education (Berridge, Gorsky & Mold, 2011), and this has been discussed in terms of colonialism and nationalism (E.g. Bashford, 2004), which are relevant to China. Rogaski discussed *weisheng* (卫生), the Chinese word, as 'hygienic modernity' by focusing on changes in people's food, clothing, and life habits in Tianjin society under the influence of foreign imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. The translation of Western science was first undertaken in Shanghai in the late 19th century. Through these translations, *weisheng* shifted from Chinese cosmology and was realigned to reside in chemistry, physiology, and anatomy (Rogaski, 2004). According to Rogaski (2004, p. 304), *weisheng* was also used by a portion of the elite to transform a city and to establish their own identity as the "moderns". An elite embrace of hygienic modernity came through education in missionary schools or Western-influenced Chinese schools, and they tried to combine "traditions" and "moderns" around the term *weisheng* to awaken the people.

When it comes to the strategies or methods used by elites, Nakajima's study should be highlighted. From the late Qing through the Republican period, Shanghai's social and medical elites were primarily responsible for introducing Western science and medical systems into society and promoting ideas about public health to the general population. Schools, teachers, and students, which were also the targets of this study, were concluded as being mainly focused on health-related educational programs (Nakajima, 2018). However, although Nakajima (2018) discussed public schools from the standpoint that they functioned as "a method of awakening and mobilizing the populace used by elites and administrators", she did not detail how *weisheng* was used by the elites at schools, nor did she discuss the practice of school hygiene.

In this paper, I will examine the activities of the Council on Health Education (CHE) and the Shanghai Public Health Bureau (PHB) in the 1920s by using *Health* and annual reports that they published. First, I will focus on the discourses and activities of Chinese elites in the CHE and clarify that they highlighted the importance of school hygiene through contact with Western medical missionaries. Next, I will discuss the initiation of school hygiene accompanying the establishment of PHB. Finally, I will examine the practice of the school hygiene program in the PHB to show that a numerical method was adopted for the physical management and examination of children. Based on the above analysis, this study seeks to embody the shift in the meaning of hygiene elucidated by Rogaski in the context of school education by clarifying the practice of school hygiene in Shanghai.

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Keywords: school hygiene, hygienic modernity, Council on the Health Education, Shanghai Public Health Bureau, Shanghai



**Primary School Drawing During the 1st Portuguese Republic: Curricula in Transition.
*O Desenho Durante a I República Portuguesa e no Ensino Primário: Programas em Transição***

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During the 1st Republic, Drawing as a subject knew its golden age in primary education, at least theoretically and legislatively, recognizing its European valorization from the end of the 19th century. Through bibliographical research, we found that theory did not give way to practice and that the new approach was not implemented in the curricula.

Although the conflicting contours involved the 1st Portuguese Republic, it was in primary schools that the republicans intended to train citizen-voters, aware and participative, in order to promote their socializing cause. This republican schooling emerged as an agent for the improvement of the human species, manifesting a demopaedia based on the Enlightenment, with the sole purpose of giving freedom and self-determination to objective thinking and conscience.

In Republicans' elementary education curricula, Drawing changed to a more plastic context, reflecting some traces of the romantic movement, whose involvement with all fields of creation instigated a theoretical recycling of pedagogy. Republicans intended that Education met the spontaneity and creativity of children, avoiding any castration of any child's potential. Drawing would thus be pedagogical.

At the dawn of a dictatorship, difficult days for *Drawing* were set in. With the objective of teaching literacy, to succeed in instructing and educating citizens, there was initially indeed energy in the spirit, but no strength to apply changes. Portuguese society, impoverished and in need of more hard-working than enlightened workers, as well as the international context, did not contribute to succeed. However, it is remarkable how Drawing would become disconnected from other subjects to eventually become autonomous; it is also admirable how the *Escola Nova* movement focused on an experimental pedagogy that was so advanced for its time.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Durante a 1^a República, o *Desenho* como disciplina conhece a sua época áurea no ensino primário, pelo menos a nível teórico-legislativo. É nesta fase que se lhe reconhece o valor que já a Europa dos finais do séc. XIX lhe atribuía. Veremos, através de uma pesquisa bibliográfica e documental, que a teoria não dará lugar à prática, e que as medidas não chegarão a ser implementadas no que concerne aos conteúdos programáticos, cujas propostas e emendas se sucedem umas após outras.

A disparidade dos contornos que envolveram a 1.^a República Portuguesa é abundante e conflituosa, no entanto, é nas escolas primárias que os republicanos pretendem formar cidadãos-eleitores, conscientes e participativos, e desta forma fomentar a sua causa socializadora. Esta escolaridade republicana emerge como agente de melhoramento da espécie humana, manifestando uma demopedia de base iluminista, composta pelo positivismo e cientismo do século XIX, com a única finalidade de dar liberdade e auto-determinação ao pensamento objectivo e à consciência.

Nos conteúdos programáticos do ensino elementar, propostos pelos republicanos, o Desenho muda para um contexto mais plástico, uma plasticidade emergente na legislação reformadora republicana que reflecte vestígios do movimento romântico, cujo envolvimento com todos os campos de criação instigava uma reciclagem teórica da pedagogia. Era defendida a ideia da



educação ir ao encontro da espontaneidade e criatividade da criança, não podendo ser castradora das potencialidades daquela. Neste seguimento, o Desenho teria um carácter pedagógico.

Ao alvorecer de uma ditadura que viria a romper com as liberdades fundamentais, tornando-se nacionalista, autoritária, repressiva e antiliberal, avizinhavam-se dias difíceis para o *Desenho*. Tendo como objectivo alfabetizar, para lograr instruir o cidadão, e desse modo o educar, a década de dez revelou ter muita energia no espírito, mas pouca força nos braços, para erigir a obra que se propunha. Tão pouco ajudou a realidade da sociedade portuguesa, empobrecida e carente de trabalhadores mais esforçados do que esclarecidos, assim como o contexto internacional. No entanto, é notável como o *Desenho* se desligaria das outras disciplinas para eventualmente se tornar numa disciplina autónoma; também resulta admirável como o movimento da Escola Nova se debruçava sobre uma pedagogia experimental tão avançada para a época.

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Keywords: drawing; 1st Republic; education



The Reception of Dewey's Thought in Brazil and Portugal. Distinct Reformist Determinations, Tensions and Orientations
A recepção Do Pensamento De Dewey No Brasil E Em Portugal. Determinações, Tensões E Orientações Reformistas Distintas

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The Brazilian and Portuguese educators of the first half of the 20th century found in John Dewey (1859–1952) the reformist reference (Popkewitz, 1988, p. 77), based on a new educational paradigm of pragmatist lineage. The reformist spirit of Dewey is animated by the assumption of education to improve society, from which derives the organization of school as a space of democratic life and progress, where the child is formed as a future citizen (Popkewitz, 2005, p. 26). In Brazil, Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971) was a pioneer in the introduction of Dewey's educational thought. The trip to the USA, in 1927, and the publication of *American Aspects of Education* (1928) mark the contact with Deweyan thought and its diffusion. This diffusion, which centered on the child, experience, and democracy, generated strong reactions registered at the time.

Anísio Teixeira is rightly considered one of the main representatives of the reformist and progressive face of Brazilian education, as opposed to the conservative and elitist one. Two texts represent this opposition: *Manifesto of the Pioneers of New Education* (1932) and *Declaration of the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of Brazil*, gathered in Goiânia (1958). However, the importation of Dewey's pragmatist thought, associated with the attempt at social and educational modernization, was characterized not only by the constant articulation between reflection and action but also by a twofold transposition of theory to practice. One of the paths led to the reform of teaching and teacher training; another led to the creation of the discipline of Philosophy of Education. This orientation is expressed in the book *A Short Introduction to the Philosophy of Education: progressive school or transformation of the school*, published in 1934. In Portugal, the introduction of Dewey's thought was made discretely during the First Republic. The name of Adolfo Lima (1874–1943), who cites him in articles from 1924 onwards in the journal *Social Education*, is advanced. Other names will also be mentioned.

Based on this framework and in a comparative approach, this article aims to meet the following objective: to show what brings together and distinguishes the entry of Dewey's thought in Brazil and Portugal. The text is structured as follows: First of all, introduction, where a framework circumscribed to the twenties and thirties of the 20th century is developed. Secondly, theoretical support of the reformist activity of Teixeira, entering into the strands of this activity, always under the sign of democracy. Thirdly, appropriation that the Portuguese pedagogues made of Dewey, on whom they relied to remain equidistant from positivism and traditionalism. Lastly, conclusion, distinguishing the receptivity and appropriations of Dewey's thought in Brazil and Portugal, such as the Brazilian political-religious tension did not have a parallel with the Portuguese epistemological-conceptual tension; the passage of educational theory to school practice did not have the same impulse in the two countries; the creation of the discipline of Philosophy of Education also occurred in distinct times and moulds. Succinctly, the introduction



of Dewey's thought had a reformist impact, in which we recognize the modelling potentiality of his thought.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Os educadores brasileiros e portugueses da primeira metade do século XX encontraram em John Dewey (1859–1952) uma referência reformadora (Popkewitz, 1988, p. 77) alicerçada num paradigma pragmatista. O espírito reformista de Dewey foi animado pelo pressuposto da relação causal direta entre educação e sociedade, propondo a organização da escola como espaço de vida democrática e de progresso, onde a criança se forma como futura cidadã (Popkewitz, 2005, p. 26). No Brasil, Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971) foi pioneiro na introdução do pensamento educativo de Dewey. A viagem realizada aos USA, em 1927, e a publicação de *Aspectos Americanos de Educação* (1928) marcam o contacto com o pensamento deweyano e da sua difusão. Esta difusão, que centralizava a criança, a experiência e a democracia, gerou fortes reações registadas na época. Justamente se considera Anísio Teixeira como um dos principais representantes da face reformista e progressista da educação brasileira oposta à vertente conservadora e elitista. Dois textos representam essa oposição: *Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova* (1932) e *Declaração de Cardeais, Arcebispos e Bispos do Brasil, reunidos em Goiânia* (1958). Todavia, a importação do pensamento pragmatista de Dewey, associada à tentativa de modernização social e educativa, caracterizou-se não só pela articulação constante entre reflexão e ação, como também pela transposição da teoria à prática, por duas vias. Uma das vias conduziu à reforma do ensino e da formação docente; outra via originou a criação da disciplina de Filosofia da Educação. Esta orientação está expressa no livro *Pequena Introdução à Filosofia da Educação: escola progressiva ou transformação da escola*, publicado em 1934. Em Portugal, a introdução do pensamento de Dewey fez-se discretamente durante a Primeira República. Avança-se o nome de Adolfo Lima (1874–1943), que o cita em artigos datados a partir de 1924 na revista *Educação Social*. Outros nomes serão mencionados. A partir deste enquadramento e numa abordagem comparada, o presente texto pretende cumprir o seguinte objetivo: mostrar o que aproxima e distingue a entrada do pensamento de Dewey no Brasil e em Portugal. O texto estrutura-se em quatro pontos: 1) introdução, onde se desenvolve um enquadramento circunscrito à década de vinte e trinta do século XX; 2) suporte teórico da atividade reformista de Teixeira, adentrando-se nas vertentes dessa mesma atividade, sempre sob o signo da democracia; 3) apropriação que os pedagogos portugueses fizeram de Dewey, em quem eles apoiaram para permanecer equidistantes do positivismo e do tradicionalismo; 4) conclusão, distinguindo aspectos da recetividade e da apropriação do pensamento de Dewey, no Brasil e em Portugal, tais como a tensão político-religiosa brasileira não teve paralelo com a tensão epistemológico-conceitual portuguesa; a passagem da teoria educacional para a prática escolar não teve o mesmo impulso e efeito nos dois países; a criação da disciplina de Filosofia da Educação também se deu em tempos e moldes distintos. Sucintamente, a introdução do pensamento de Dewey teve um impacto reformista no qual se reconhece a potencialidade adaptativa e modeladora do seu pensamento.

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Keywords: John Dewey, Anísio Teixeira, Adolfo Lima, Filosofia da Educação, reforma educativa, política educativa



Active Pedagogy in the North of Espírito Santo, Brazil: Issues on Teaching Preparation and Schools Materiality (1928–1930)

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During the New School reform carried out in the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil, between 1928 and 1930, this study focuses on the materiality of primary schools, as well as the performance and training of in-service teachers, that took place in the northern county of São Mateus, where crucial social, economic, and cultural factors challenged the following intents of that reform: a) the spread of the new methods to all public primary schools; b) the emphasis on teacher qualification, which had as its first initiative the preparation of a group of 36 teachers, directors and school inspectors, who would be responsible for the dissemination of active methods in all public schools; c) the modernization of teaching through pedagogical innovation, which included the use of a school newspaper, pedagogical libraries, radio and cinema; d) the limited financial resources available. The documentary corpus is composed of: government reports and messages, printed matter, school newspapers and school inspection reports, analyzed through the inductive method (Ginzburg, 1989), in the search for possible local answers in response to general questions raised on the studied object (Levi, 2020). Thus, the intent to produce a connected history (Subrahmanyam, 1997; Carvalho, 2017) that, through the capillarity of New School ideas in the northern interior of Espírito Santo, targets time and space in the research process, focusing on the new school movement followed in national and international circuits.

At the beginning of the 20th century, São Mateus was inhabited by a diverse and small population distributed in scattered centres, surrounded by dense forests, which made access difficult. Economically, it was characterized by the coffee and flour trade, sold through the city's port. The few existing schools in the region operated in precarious and insufficiently equipped spaces, frequently difficult to access. In this context, inspectors such as Francisco Generoso da Fonseca denounced conditions in the local schools, as he intended to meet basic needs, through the creation of school funds. The dissemination of active methods included teaching demonstrations, attended by teachers from elementary schools. The ways in which these ideas reached the most distant schools remain an open question, but it is certain that the general spread of new methods throughout the state of Espírito Santo, especially in São Mateus, frequently ran into precariousness and insufficient schools, materials and human resources, as well as difficulties regarding teachers training according to new pedagogical ideas. Through source analyzes, this text seeks to explore traces of possible teachers preparation and school materiality in motion.

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Keywords: Active school. History of education in Espírito Santo. Indiciary method. Teacher training.



The Movimento Escolinhas de Arte (MEA) in Brazil: An Art Education Movement in Response to Estado Novo (1937–1945)

O Movimento Escolinhas de Arte (MEA) no Brasil: um movimento de arte/educação criado logo após o período Estado Novo (1937–1945)

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In Brazil, the political regime "Estado Novo" occurred between the years 1937 to 1945, under the government of Getúlio Vargas. The period was characterized by a formation of Brazilian nationality and identity, through the elimination of cultural differences. By relating militarism to education, an attempt was made to nationalize ethnic groups of immigrants through repression, mainly Germans in southern Brazil. As a result, foreigners and their descendants were the most affected, because a clash of nationalisms was created (Lorenz & Vechia, 2016). At that time, in South of Brazil, Germanization was present in schools and institutions maintained by communities, in which the German language and culture prevailed. Based on issued decrees, the government instituted that teachers and directors should be native Brazilians and classes should be taught in Portuguese language. As a result, hundreds of schools were closed, in addition to the dismissal or imprisonment of teachers who did not respect the decree. The educational system was guaranteed for the construction of nationalist ideological meanings, stimulating the precepts of morality, civility and appreciation of the homeland, against communism. In art education, some procedures such as the copying of images and geometric designs in primary and secondary school were promoted (Barbosa, 2003), restricting students' creativity. In response to the art teaching of the Estado Novo, the Escolinhas de Arte Movement (MEA) emerged, which manifested itself in Brazil in the 1940s by the creation of the first Escolinha de Arte do Brasil (EAB). The movement considered art as a way to release children's emotions, valuing free art expression (Lima, 2012) based on the ideas of education through art by the English poet and art critic Herbert Read (2001), in addition to the theory of the artistic development stages of the child, created by the Austrian professor Viktor Lowenfeld (1977).

The movement was initially led by Augusto Rodrigues, a Brazilian artist and art/educator who created EAB in 1948 in Rio de Janeiro. Rodrigues, along with other "artists also dissatisfied with the common school, unite in the same ideal: to provide a place for children to express themselves and release their creative impulses" (Costa, 2010, p. 12). According to Barbosa (2008), MEA was promoted in regular schools by teacher Noemia Varela, who "was the great influencer of art teaching towards the development of Creativity, which characterized modernism in Art/Education" (Barbosa, 2008, p. 7). The MEA influenced the qualification of art education professionals by promoting the Cursos Intensivos de Arte Educação (CIAE) created in the 1960s, offered full-time at the EAB, providing training in art education even before the creation of the first art academic degree in Brazil.

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Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

No Brasil, o regime político “Estado Novo” aconteceu entre os anos de 1937 a 1945, sob o governo de Getúlio Vargas. O período se caracterizou pela imposição de valores marcados pela nacionalidade e identidade brasileiras, por meio da eliminação de diferenças culturais. Ao relacionar o militarismo à educação, procurou-se por meio da repressão nacionalizar os grupos étnicos de imigração, principalmente dos alemães no sul do Brasil. Em decorrência dessa política identitária, os estrangeiros e seus descendentes foram os mais prejudicados, pois criou-se um confronto de nacionalismos (Lorenz & Vechia, 2016). Naquele momento, na região sul do país, a germanização estava presente nas escolas e instituições mantidas pelas comunidades, em que a língua e a cultura alemã imperavam. A partir de decretos expedidos, o governo instituiu que os professores e diretores deveriam ser brasileiros natos e as aulas ministradas em língua portuguesa. A partir dessas imposições políticas, ocorreu o fechamento de centenas de escolas, além da demissão ou prisão de professores que não respeitaram o decreto. O sistema educacional foi estruturado para a construção de sentidos ideológicos nacionalistas, estimulando os preceitos de moral, civismo e valorização à pátria, contra o comunismo. No ensino artístico, foram solidificados alguns procedimentos, como a cópia de estampas e desenho geométrico na escola primária e secundária (Barbosa, 2003), restringindo o espaço de liberdade dos estudantes. Em resposta ao ensino artístico do Estado Novo, surgiu o Movimento Escolinhas de Arte (MEA), que se manifestou no Brasil na década de 1940. A gênese do movimento, que constituiu espaços de criação artística para crianças, ocorreu a partir da criação da primeira Escolinha de Arte do Brasil (EAB). Dessa forma, o movimento pregou a arte como uma forma de liberar as emoções das crianças, valorizando a livre-expressão (Lima, 2012) a partir das ideias de educação pela arte do poeta e crítico de arte inglês Herbert Read (2001), além da teoria dos estágios do desenvolvimento artístico da criança criada pelo professor austríaco Viktor Lowenfeld (1977). O movimento foi liderado inicialmente por Augusto Rodrigues, artista e arte/educador brasileiro que criou a EAB em 1948 no Rio de Janeiro. Rodrigues, junto a outros “artistas também insatisfeitos com a escola comum, unem-se em um mesmo ideal: possibilitar um lugar para as crianças se expressarem e liberarem seus impulsos criadores” (Costa, 2010, p. 12). Segundo Barbosa (2008), o MEA foi impulsionado na escola regular pela professora Noemia Varela, que “foi a grande influenciadora do ensino da arte em direção ao desenvolvimento da Criatividade, que caracterizou o modernismo em Arte/Educação” (Barbosa, 2008, p. 7). O MEA influenciou na formação de profissionais da área a partir dos Cursos Intensivos de Arte Educação (CIAE) criados nos anos 1960, oferecidos em tempo integral na EAB, proporcionando formação em arte/educação antes mesmo da criação dos primeiros cursos superiores em artes no Brasil. O presente trabalho foi realizado com apoio da Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Brasil (CAPES).

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Keywords: Estado Novo, art education, art teaching, Movimento Escolinhas de Arte, escolinha de artes



The Central Waqf Library and Its Reforming Role In Education In Skopje Between The Two World Wars

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Libraries are one of the most important structures of a complete educational institutional complex. The library which dates back to the 15th century as a part of the madrasah founded by Isa bey in Skopje and after whom it is named as well, during its history has had a discontinuity in its work and for this library there are only several texts written up to now.

In the period between the two world wars, the need to establish a central waqf library was huge. The Islamic Religious Community, which consisted of regional Ulema Madjlis, was administratively located in Skopje and covered parts of Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro. In Skopje, at that time there were three madrasahs, two within the state education system, the king Alexander's Madrasah and the Isa Bey Madrasah, and one which operated privately – the Meddah Madrasah. With the reformation of Isa Bey's madrasah in 1936, within the framework of the Ulema Madjlis of the Islamic Religious Community in Skopje, an initiative was taken to establish a new institution, now called as The Central Waqf Library. This library, like the madrasah, is intended to restore or, more precisely, to continue the tradition of the manuscript cultural tradition of the educational system of the past.

Both the madrasa and the library, according to archival data, are named as central institutions that differ from traditional madrasahs and libraries. They have a central and reforming role, so they are called "central reformed madrasah" and "central waqf library". This is due to the new circumstances that required a different organization of religious life in which education or knowledge plays a central role. In the classic Isa Bey library, the books were mostly with religious content, that is, books that were studied in the classic madrasahs, while in the central waqf library there were books with different contents, scientific magazines as well as newspapers. The books were systematized chronologically and thematically and the readers were not only those associated with madrasahs. During the re-construction of a central waqf library in 1936 in Skopje, it cooperated with other libraries in the region such as Gazi Husrev Beg's library and madrasa in Sarajevo, the king Alexander's madrasa and library in Skopje. The library acquired scientific journals from the former Yugoslavia and beyond. The library organized debate programs about the situation in Turkey with scholars from the Islamic faith and sometimes with other denomination as well.

This library will stop working with the outbreak of the Second World War, and then within the framework of the Islamic Religious Community, in the post-war period, it will be named as the Isa Bey library, which today is still located in the premises of the Faculty of Islamic Sciences in Skopje.

The library had a very short period of work, but we can conclude that the Central Waqf Library as a cultural and educational institution functioned according to all the standards and norms of a library in the period when it was established, namely between the two world wars.

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Keywords: library, reform, waqf, Isa Bey, manuscript



Trends in Making Archives Accessible. Focus on Archival Pedagogy

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Despite their decades-long history, archives are the least known of all memory institutions in Hungary. My lecture aims to give a brief history of their activity from the second half of the 20th century. In the first part of the lecture, I will focus on the way in which the archives, as a public collection, have carried out scientific and educational activities for the public. Historical analysis will reveal how these activities have evolved and what obstacles stand in their way. I will do this by analysing contemporary laws and regulations on public education and archives. In the second part of the presentation, I will examine the difference between the concepts of scientific and educational activity (popular education and public education) and how this opening to primary and secondary age groups occurs. The definition of archival pedagogy will conclude this section. It will explore how attitudes towards outreach have changed since the second decade of the 21st century. Finally, I will answer the question of why it is in the interest of the National Archives of Hungary, the archival profession (B Van Der Walt, 2011; Osborne, 1986) and public education to establish closer links and integrate the educational content of open archives (Szekely, 2015) into everyday educational practice.

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Keywords: National Archives of Hungary, public education, open archives



Oral memories and Reforms in 1970s Italy

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The 1970s decade marked a pivotal moment for Italian history of education as several, organic reforms give a new shape to Italian school. Between 1970 and 1977, indeed, Parliament enacted laws that established full-time elementary and middle schools (in 1970); school boards were heavily reformed allowing parents and students playing a role (1974); teachers could pursue didactic innovation in their classes without headmaster's consent (1974); special schools and special classes for people with disabilities were closed as they were enrolled in normal classes (in 1977).

Alongside with formal reforms, in that decade a wave of informal reforms took place in Italian school: the relationship between teachers and pupils changed deeply; teachers' role was questioned and debated within workers themselves. All of these changes were backed by a renovated spread of pedagogical ideas linked to classic (Dewey and Freinet) as well as new figures (like Paulo Freire or Ivan Illich).

However, how innovations were remembered in former pupils' memories? What is their perception about changes occurred in that decade?

This paper aims at investigating such topic analysing oral memories collected by the University of Florence since 2020 within the broader PRIN (Project of National Relevant Interest) project "School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation". All the oral interviews collected were inserted into a database; later, they were historically contextualized thanks a 500-word paper. Text and videos could be read and seen at the following link: <https://www.memoriascolastica.it/memoria-individuale/video-testimonianze> Among the roughly 300 interviews collected, the main part of them deals with education experiences in 1970s: hence, interviews could be regarded as a pivotal historical source. The paper is aiming at analysing them, showing former pupils' enthusiasm for the educative innovations they lived through, but also their concerns about how the latter affected on their scholastic career when they started to attend high school and university.

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Keywords: oral history of education, reforms, didactic innovation, Italy



From Quality to Ideology: The Role of Schoolbooks in Italy in the Broader Context of International Revision of History Teaching

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With the Gentile reform in 1923, it was decided to get to the root of the long-standing issue of the selection of school texts, which since the late 1800s had proved to be inadequate in content, language, and form. Books were too differentiated from each other, too numerous, and published by editors without any control over the quality of the product, especially with regard to elementary school textbooks (Ascenzi & Sani, 2005). All attempts to revise the system of school textbook adoptions had been somewhat obstructed by publishers and authors, who saw the State's interference as a loss of profits. Lombardo Radice, director of the elementary school division, decided that the time was mature to start along with the reform, the work of a school text examination committee. In fact, in his view, there could be no effective school reform without publishing a reform (Radice, 1925). Its purpose was to select qualitatively good texts, provide guidance to improve texts with inaccuracies and reject books that were too inaccurate (Ascenzi & Sani, 2009).

In those same years, international interest was expanding in teaching approaches, especially to history, which many intellectuals had proved responsible for the people's hostility that led to the Great War's outbreak. In 1922, there were some Italian groups participating in the work of associations concerned with the teaching of history. These included the International Conference on moral education (Claparède, 1929) and the Carnegie Endowment. The latter launched an investigation into the spirit in which school texts were written in the aftermath of the war in the former belligerent countries (Dotation Carnegie pour la paix internationale, 1923). The purpose of these enquiries was to identify an exceedingly nationalist and chauvinist narrative in school texts and to modify it for the benefit of cooperation between the peoples. Certain propositions also suggested the elimination of the war narrative in favour of the exaltation of the progress of civilization. A cross-section of school texts emerges from the Italian report in which there was little emphasis on national pride and in many cases condemnation of the war (Accardo & Baldocchi, 2004).

As interest in a revision of history teaching aimed at a pacifist approach increased, radical changes in teaching approaches were approved in some countries, especially in Nordic countries (Elmersjö, 2015). In Italy, the effort to improve the quality of school texts continued on the one hand, but on the other hand, the rise of fascism was changing ideological demands and the school was chosen as the privileged place where to indoctrinate new generations. So despite the fact that in the early 1920s Italian school texts were not particularly oriented toward the transmission of nationalistic values. In 1928, it seemed that the work of the Committee on Book Evaluation had made significant progress in the qualitative selection of school texts. It was determined by the government that for elementary schools one standardized book would have been adopted in every school of the kingdom affirming the predominance of ideology (Partouche, 2022).

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Keywords: Schoolbooks revision, Gentile reform, history teaching, peace education, fascist education.



“Teachers Cannot Be Improvised” – Notes On The Honduras Instruction Reform (1892–1893)

Espanhol e Português

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On March 15, 1895, Decree 36: Regulatory Law for Primary and Normal Education (1893) was published in “La Gaceta”, official newspaper of the Republic of Honduras, drawn up during the repressive government of General Domingo Vasquez. During this period, the so-called “revolution of the liberals” was brewing in Nicaragua, together with its exiled leaders. On October 30, 1893, the National Congress declared war on Nicaragua, which in response invaded Honduras in December, with the support of liberal revolutionary forces. The fighting extended for two months until the capital (Tegucigalpa) was taken and the liberal government was installed on February 22, 1894, under the presidency of Dr Policarpo Bonilla. This troubled picture provides enough clues to understand the delay in the dissemination of the Law of 1893, which was also disseminated, two years after it had been decreed, in the pedagogical periodical “La Instrucción Primaria”, in the first issue of October 1895. In the “Instructions” section of this periodical were published the “reforms to the Code of Public Instruction” (1892/1893), highlighting the programming of the subjects for primary education, distributed in 5 series, and other elements related to normal schools, which represents an important change in Honduran public education.

In this research, we investigate the referred printed materials in a way articulated to a bibliographic review, in which we highlight the reflections of Ardon (1957) and Laínez (2021) to locate the elements that contributed decisively to the production of the reform in question and those of (Gondra, 2000, 2018) and Viñao (2002) on the tradition and meaning of reforms, in order to better frame the analysis of the reform of normal instruction in Honduras in the late 19th century. The present paper explores some motivations and characteristics of the 1892/1893 reform, focusing on the permanences and displacements in the field of teacher training via normal schools. It was possible to observe a more prolonged formation, of 4 years, segregated from the point of view of the sexes, with a stratification of the knowledge, highlighting the most regular and with daily lessons, the less regular, with 3 weekly lessons and, finally, those that could be offered in an optional way. The most regular subjects were Grammar (two years), Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and Mechanics (one year each), Pedagogy (three last years) and Manual Work (four years). As for the less regular ones, we have the discipline of Drawing (for 4 years) and Gymnastic Exercises (4 years). In the latter, the mark of segregation by sex is even more present, since the law establishes that the regular schoolgirls should have a class of “gymnastics in the salon” in place of the “gymnastic exercises”, which these intended exclusively for future teachers. As far as the so-called “alternative lessons” are concerned, the reform foresees the teaching of Music and Singing. Finally, it is a matrix designed and anchored in science, a strategy considered necessary to train well the masters of Honduras, considering that “masters cannot be improvised” (Lopez, 1895, p. 3).

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)



El 15 de marzo de 1895 fue publicado en *La Gaceta*, la Ley Reglamentaria de Instrucción Primaria e Normal (1893), elaborada durante el gobierno represivo del General Domingo Vásquez. Durante ese periodo se estaba gestando, en Nicaragua, la “revolución de los Liberales”, junto con sus líderes exiliados. El 30 de octubre de 1893, el Congreso Nacional declaró la guerra a Nicaragua que, en respuesta, invadió Honduras en diciembre, con apoyo de las fuerzas revolucionarias. La lucha se extendió por dos meses hasta la toma de la capital (Tegucigalpa) e la instalación del gobierno liberal el 22 de febrero de 1894, asumiendo la presidencia el Dr. Bonilla. Este cuadro turbulento proporciona pistas para comprender la demora en la divulgación de la ley de 1893, que fue igualmente difundida, dos años, en el periódico *La instrucción primaria*, en el primer ejemplar de octubre de 1895. En la sección “Instrucciones” de este periódico fueron publicadas las “reformas al código de Instrucción Pública” (1892/1893), destacando las programaciones de las materias para la enseñanza primaria, distribuidas en 5 grados, y otros elementos relativos a las escuelas normales. En esta pesquisa, investigamos los periódicos referidos, de modo articulado a una revisión bibliográfica, en las cuales destacamos las reflexiones de Ardon (1957) y Laínez (2021) para localizar los elementos que contribuyeron de modo decisivo para la producción de la reforma en cuestión y las de (Gondra, 2000, 2018) y Viñao (2002) sobre la tradición y sentido de las reformas, a fin de enmarcar mejor el análisis de la reforma en la instrucción en análisis. El presente trabajo explora algunas motivaciones y características de la reforma de 1892/1893, focalizando las permanencias e las dislocaciones en el campo de formación de los profesores, a través de las escuelas normales. En este caso fue posible observar una formación con mayor extensión, de 4 años, segregada desde el punto de vista de los sexos, con una estratificación de los saberes, destacando los más regulares y con lecciones diarias, los menos regulares, con 3 clases semanales e, finalmente los que podían ser ofrecidos de modo opcional. En lo que se refiere a los saberes más regulares, son incluidos la Gramática castellana (durante dos años), Aritmética, Algebra, Geografía e Mecánica (un año para cada uno), Pedagogía (los 3 últimos años) e Labores de mano (4 años). Para los saberes menos regulares, está la disciplina de Dibujo (4 años) y ejercicios gimnásticos (4 años). En este último, la marca de la segregación por sexo está más presente, ya que la ley establece que *las normalistas* deberían tener un aula de “Gimnasia de salón” en lugar de los ejercicios gimnásticos, estos destinados exclusivamente a los futuros *maestros*. En lo que dice al respecto de las “lecciones de alternativas”, la reforma prevé la enseñanza de la Música y Canto. Por fin, se trata de una matriz diseñada y articulada con la ciencia, estrategia considerada necesaria para formar los/las maestros/as de Honduras, teniendo en vista que “los maestros no pueden improvisarse” (Lopez, 1895, p. 3)

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Keywords: Reforma educativa em Honduras, Escola Normal em Honduras, história da educação no século XIX



School Reforms in the Mexican Pedagogical Press of the 19th Century ***Las Reformas Escolares en la Prensa Pedagógica Mexicana del Siglo XIX***

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During the second half of the 19th century, the so-called “pedagogical press” proliferated in Mexico. It was a type of publication, with a varied format and periodicity, that had instruction and/or education at the center of its concerns (Mora, 2022). This kind of press has its origins in the gazettes and/or magazines AIMED to moralize and edify children that circulated in Germany, Great Britain, France and Spain at the end of the 18th century, as part of a new conception of childhood, inherited from the Enlightenment, in which peculiar ways of seeing, thinking and feeling were recognized, along with their willingness to become citizens (Aristizábal, 2018). New functions were also added to the expansion of titles and audiences that accompanied the diffusion of this increasingly widespread journalistic practice. For the Mexican case, it is verified that it was the means through which different innovations and/or reforms in school matters were promoted, discussed and/or disseminated (Galván, 2000, 2005; Torres Aguilar, 2013; Galván, 2013).

Within the process of centralization of an educational system with democratic aspirations in Mexico, the administration of the educational services was in the hands of the municipal governments, perhaps supervised by the state governments. Parliamentary discussions and legislation set some guidelines, but there was no consensus or uniformity in the way of implementing them, which, in practice, implied great differences throughout the country. In the midst of this context, politicians, intellectuals, teachers and publishers, among other actors interested in education, found in the press a means to promote and discuss their concerns in educational terms.

This paper studies a corpus of 89 newspapers produced throughout the country between 1870 and 1900, which have been identified historiographically as “pedagogical press”. Through an analysis of the papers’ contents, it seeks to identify the theme of school reforms in its pages, that is: how were the different reforms of the time treated in the newspapers? What elements were sought to be modified or reformed? Who were the actors that participated in this practice and what were the relationships between them? What laws, reforms or innovations were disseminated through their pages? What discussions in the press transcended the pedagogical Congresses and/or legislative provisions? What proposals were imported from other societies and how were they treated in the educational press?

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, proliferó en México la denominada “prensa pedagógica”. Se trató de un tipo de publicaciones, de formato y periodicidad variada, que tenía en el centro de sus preocupaciones la instrucción y/o educación (Mora, 2022). Esta clase de prensa tiene sus orígenes en las gacetas y/o revistas para moralizar y edificar infantes que circularon en Alemania, Gran Bretaña, Francia y España a finales del siglo XVIII, como parte de una nueva concepción de la infancia, heredada de la Ilustración, en la que se le reconoció formas peculiares de ver, pensar y sentir, así como su disposición para transformarse en futuros ciudadanos (Aristizábal, 2018). A la ampliación de títulos y públicos que acompañó la difusión de esta práctica periodística cada vez más extendida, también se le agregaron nuevas funciones. Para el caso mexicano/estudiado, se constata que fue el medio a través del cual se



promovieron, se discutieron y/o se difundieron distintas innovaciones y/o reformas en materia escolar (Galván, 2000, 2005; Torres Aguilar, 2013; Galván, 2013).

Y es que, en el proceso de centralización de un sistema educativo de pretensiones democráticas en México, la administración de este rubro estuvo en manos de los gobiernos municipales, acaso supervisados por los gobiernos estatales. Las discusiones parlamentarias y las legislaciones marcaban algunas directrices, pero no había consenso ni uniformidad en la manera de implementarlas lo que, en la práctica, implicaba grandes diferencias en todo el país. En medio de ese contexto, políticos, intelectuales, profesores y editores, entre otros actores interesados en la instrucción, encontraron en la prensa un medio para promover y discutir sus inquietudes en términos educativos.

En el presente trabajo se estudia un corpus de 89 periódicos producidos en todo el país entre 1870 y 1900, que han sido identificados bajo la etiqueta de "prensa pedagógica". A través de un análisis de sus contenidos, se busca identificar el tema de las reformas escolares en sus páginas, es decir: ¿Cómo fueron tratadas las distintas reformas de la época en los periódicos? ¿Qué elementos se buscaron modificar o reformar? ¿Quiénes fueron los actores que participaron de esta práctica y cuál fue su relación? ¿Qué leyes, reformas o innovaciones se difundieron a través de sus páginas? ¿Qué discusiones en la prensa trascendieron a los Congresos pedagógicos y/o disposiciones legislativas? ¿Qué propuestas se importaron de otras sociedades y cómo fueron tratadas en la prensa pedagógica?

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Keywords: school reforms, pedagogical press, 19th century Mexico



The Contribution of Female Educationists to the New Public Examinations Designed by the Provisional Republican Government in Spain (1931–1933)

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The first three years of the popularly proclaimed Second Spanish Republic (1931–1936) meant a major upheaval in terms of educational reform. It specially involved a profound revision of primary education, hitherto monopolized by the Catholic Church. Seeking to both counterbalance this monopoly and overcome the high rates of general illiteracy, the Provisional Republican Government ordered a series of decrees to improve the provision of state elementary education: declaring education as free, coeducational and secular, building new primary schools and restoring old ones, increasing the number of civil servants primary teacher vacancies, raising their salary, and offering new training courses for them. This training was accompanied by newly designed public examinations, which, unlike the former memory-driven oral exams, involved a 3-month holistic theoretical and practical lifelong education program. Taking this educational reform scheme as historical background, this paper will explore the extent to which 4 female managers of educational institutions implemented these new public examinations: Josefa Úriz Pi, headmistress of the coeducational Normal School of Lleida, Genoveva del Pino, headmistress of the coeducational Normal School of San Sebastián, María Guadalupe del Llano Armengol, headmistress of the Women's Normal School of Zaragoza, and Ana Mayayo Salvo, headmistress of a Zaragoza girls' primary school where local teachers-in-training conducted their teaching internships. At the crossroads of tradition, tensions and transitions between the old right-wing regime and the new republican one, this paper will tease out the contribution of these female educationists to the republican educational project as teachers, pedagogues and managers of educational institutions. Our goal is to assess their historical legacy as women in a context of significant social change vis-a-vis the conception of "feminine" nature, the social role of women and their civic rights.

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Keywords: Second Spanish Republic, cursillos de selección profesional, Josefa Úriz Pi, Genoveva del Pino, María Guadalupe del Llano Armengol, Ana Mayayo Salvo



New Public Management and the Changes in the Educational Administration in Greece: The Case of the Educational Executives

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This study sought to explore the New Public Management (NPM) influences upon the education executives' roles and responsibilities in the educational administration system in Greece, in the last four decades. Educational institutions have been globally modifying their goals, objectives and priorities, in order to be aligned with the NPM-induced trends initially launched by 1980s neoliberal governance. These trends stemming from transnational organisations' reform agendas, like the OECD and EU, have generated new governance configurations that have affected bureaucratically organized educational systems as well. In this context, Greece which has a long-lasting centralized and bureaucratic educational administration has also adopted policies mirrored the administrative duties of the Directors of Primary and Secondary Education.

For the purpose of this study, the legislative and institutional texts issued by the Greek Ministry of Education in the 1982–2023 period were examined following the qualitative content analysis. Data analysis revealed that during the period under consideration, the roles and priorities of Educational Directors were changed. Based on the institutional framework, in the first two decades (1982–2000), Educational Directors were initially entitled to perform mostly predetermined bureaucratic tasks and to bridge the gap between the central and the school administrative levels. However, from the 2000s onwards, they undertook additional administrative responsibilities which demanded further organizational skills on their own part. As far as their selection process was concerned, specific managerial qualifications were also demanded. In the 2010–2014 period, Educational Directors had to fulfil assessment-oriented tasks as well. In parallel, managerial accountability started to be related to e-governance tools used in the Greek system of educational administration, which were associated with aspects of the NPM and Governance. Since 2018, according to a new legislation, Educational Directors were to be involved in educational decision-making and to undertake initiatives (Law 4547/2018). Furthermore, in the 2019–2023 period, a newly institutionalized multi-dimensional educational evaluation has been put into force following the suggestions of the OECD and EU. In this context, Educational Directors have been deemed responsible for organizing the school evaluation process and the teachers' performance appraisal.

Summing up, this study pointed out the changes in the Educational Directors' roles and responsibilities and the impact of NPM upon them. It can be claimed that the evolving nature of Educational Directors' post was gradually influenced by NPM focusing on managerial priorities, new modes of accountability and transparency in decision making and applying e-governance practices in the educational administration in Greece. The findings of this study have a historical and comparative interest and might contribute to the on-going discourse about educational governance worldwide.

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Keywords: new public management, educational administration, educational executives, changes, Greece



Innovation as a Dispute: A Tension Between Tradition and Modernity in Education Policy

La Innovación Como Disputa: Una Tensión Entre Tradición y Modernidad En La Política Educativa

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The demands of a world in constant change, of an accelerated world attracted by the new, have awakened in recent decades a special interest in the concept of innovation. This interest cannot hide the longing that was hidden in the story of modernity when it announced the permanent advance of humanity towards emancipatory objectives, although, paradoxically, current innovations are inclined towards proposals that seem to approach a certain apathy towards knowledge itself, giving hegemony to technology and the need for permanent change. This discourse has permeated the school environment and some peripheral actors in education systems, where narratives and proposals coexist that seem to generate contradictions and tensions that need to be analysed, and which have a full impact on a theoretical dispute between the real scope of modernity and post-modernity in education.

For this reason, this paper aims to analyse the conceptual history of the very concept of innovation, with the aim of reviewing its meaning and determining the possible relations that these conceptual changes entail with the pedagogical discourses of the educational reforms of each moment. As Vilanou expresses, “conceptual history wishes to discover the meaning of concepts, scrutinising the strata of time that give meaning to their different meanings” (Vilanou, 2006, p. 188).

With this, the aim is to show the correspondences between social uses, terms and the concepts they conceal, which are always loaded with ideologies. Moreover, in the words of Viñao, genealogical analysis is “especially fertile for capturing and understanding aspects and processes that the current reality conceals” (Viñao, 1990, p. 9).

In short, the aim is to rethink the concept of educational innovation arising from multiple analyses, since it should not be forgotten that, in past times, there have been many authors and educational practices that have contributed to the improvement of education, perhaps thinking of something not so different from what we call educational innovation today. The educational panorama has been witness to discourses and proposals that illustrate the dispute between the interest to conserve and the eagerness to transform, between maintaining and renewing or, in general terms, between restoring outdated models and modernising at dizzying rates. An incessant panorama that expresses a clear disaffection with politics which, with the impulse of post-modern approaches, places educational reforms in front of the showcase of the intentions of international organisations led by neo-liberal stances. Moreover, not only will there be a disaffection with the political, but as Ball notes, “the state supports the development of novel political narratives and encourages the development of new strategies of accumulation” (Ball, 2014, p. 12). This neoliberal framework of education implies an isolated idea of knowledge, immersed in technology and the

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Las exigencias de un mundo en constante cambio, de un mundo acelerado y atraído por lo nuevo ha despertado en las últimas décadas un especial interés por el concepto de innovación. Este interés no puede esconder el anhelo que escondía el relato de la modernidad cuando anunciaba el avance permanente de la humanidad hacia objetivos emancipadores, aunque, paradójicamente, las innovaciones actuales se inclinan por propuestas que parecen acercarse a cierta apatía por el



saber mismo, dando hegemonía a la técnica y a la necesidad del cambio permanente. Dicho discurso ha calado en el ámbito escolar y en algunos actores periféricos de los sistemas educativos, donde conviven narrativas y propuestas que parecen generar contradicciones y tensiones que hay que analizar, y que inciden plenamente en una disputa teórica entre el alcance real de la modernidad y la post-modernidad en educación.

Por ello, dicha comunicación pretende abordar un análisis de la historia conceptual del concepto mismo de innovación, con el objetivo de revisar su significado y determinar las posibles relaciones que comportan estos cambios conceptuales con los discursos pedagógicos de las reformas educativas de cada momento. Tal y como expresa Vilanou, «la historia conceptual desea descubrir el significado de los conceptos, escudriñando los estratos del tiempo que dan sentido a sus diferentes significados» (Vilanou, 2006, p. 188). Con esto, se pretenden mostrar las correspondencias entre los usos sociales, los términos y los conceptos que esconden, siempre cargados de ideologías. Además, en palabras de Viñao, el análisis genealógico resulta «especialmente fértil para captar y comprender aspectos y procesos que la realidad actual oculta» (Viñao, 1990, p. 9).

En suma, se pretende repensar el concepto de innovación educativa que surja de un análisis múltiple, ya que no conviene olvidar que, en épocas pretéritas, han sido muchos los autores y las prácticas educativas que han realizado su aportación para la mejora de la educación, quizás pensando en una cosa no tan diferente a lo que hoy denominamos innovación educativa. El panorama educativo ha sido testimonio de discursos y propuestas que ilustran la disputa entre el interés para conservar y el afán para transformar, entre mantener y renovar o, en términos generales, entre restaurar modelos caducos y modernizar a ritmos vertiginosos. Un incesante panorama que expresa una clara desafección de lo político que, con el impulso de los planteamientos posmodernos, sitúan a las reformas educativas frente al escaparate de los propósitos de organismos internacionales dirigidos por posicionamientos de talante neoliberal. Además, no solo se dará una desafección de lo político, sino como recoge Ball «el Estado respalda el desarrollo de *narrativas políticas novedosas* y propiciar el desarrollo de nuevas estrategias de acumulación» (Ball, 2014, p. 12). Este marco neoliberal de la educación implica una idea aislada del saber, sumida en la técnica y la instrumentalización. Como recoge Giroux, supone una declaración de guerra al legado de la Ilustración, en pro de extender una ignorancia colectiva y promover el imaginario capitalista, que no deja de prosperar «gracias a los registros interrelacionados de consumo, privatización y despolitización» (Giroux, 2018, p. 253).

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Keywords: innovation, educational policy, modernity, postmodernity



The trips of Amanda Labarca and Alberto Méndez Bravo to Mexico and the configuration of ruralist pedagogy in Chile (1928–1948)
Los viajes de Amanda Labarca y Alberto Méndez a México y la configuración de una pedagogía ruralista en Chile (1928–1948)

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In Chile, compared to other Latin American countries such as Mexico or Brazil, rural education has yet to be studied from a historical point of view. The present proposal constitutes an effort to explore unpublished and diverse primary sources that allow the insertion of Chilean rural primary education of the 20th century in the national historiographical agenda.

This proposal is based on research on rural pedagogies (Alfonseca, 2014; Civera, 2011, 2014; Civera & Costa, 2018; Reisin, 2019, 2020).

Also called pedagogical ruralism, this analytical construct alludes to the initiatives, ideas, and representations that nurtured the development of policies aimed at rural areas from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century.

In Chile, between 1928 and 1948, a reform process to Chilean rural education was carried out. During these decades, various initiatives to transform rural primary education were promoted, discussed, and implemented to highlight its pedagogical specificity and differentiate it from urban primary education (Pérez Navarro, 2018, 2020, 2021).

Within this framework, this paper has the general objective of analysing the educational discourses and transfers that allowed the development of a ruralist pedagogy in Chile between 1928 and 1948. Specifically, we will examine the role played by the teacher Alberto Méndez Bravo and the educator Amanda Labarca in the reform of rural primary education. The trips made by educators to Mexico – in 1928 and 1931, respectively – contributed to the configuration of the Chilean ruralist pedagogy.

Various primary sources (documentary, newspaper, and visual) stored in national archives, such as the Archivo Nacional de la Administración, Biblioteca Nacional, and the Archivo Central Andrés Bello, were reviewed and analyzed. Likewise, archives belonging to old rural schools located in the central valley of Chile were examined.

Based on these historical sources, the contents, actions, and discourses of the Mexican experience will be studied, which nourished the configuration process of ruralist pedagogy in Chile.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

En Chile, en comparación con otros países latinoamericanos como México o Brasil, la educación rural ha sido escasamente estudiada desde un punto de vista histórico. Lo anterior contrasta con la creciente producción intelectual en el campo de estudio de historia de la educación y con la diversificación de perspectivas de investigación que han sido desarrolladas en los últimos años en el país (Orellana, 2019; Silva, 2015). La presente propuesta constituye un esfuerzo orientado a explorar fuentes primarias inéditas y diversas que permitan insertar a la educación primaria rural chilena del siglo XX en la agenda historiográfica nacional.

El conjunto de esta propuesta se sustenta en la línea de investigación sobre pedagogías ruralistas (Alfonseca, 2014; Civera, 2011, 2014; Civera y Costa, 2018; Reisin, 2019, 2020). También llamado ruralismo pedagógico, este constructo analítico alude a las iniciativas, ideas



y representaciones que nutrió el desarrollo de las políticas dirigidas a las zonas rurales desde fines del siglo XIX hasta mediados del siglo XX. La base de estas políticas fue un conjunto de consideraciones orientadas a reformular el rol de la escuela en las zonas rurales y el papel del campo a nivel nacional.

En Chile, en el período comprendido entre 1928 y 1948, se llevó a cabo un proceso de reforma a la educación rural chilena. Durante estas décadas, se promovieron, discutieron e implementaron diversas iniciativas de transformación de la educación primaria rural (tanto aquella destinada a niños como también a adultos) tendientes a relevar su especificidad pedagógica y diferenciarla de la educación primaria urbana (Pérez Navarro, 2018, 2020, 2021). Lo anterior configuró una pedagogía ruralista.

En este marco, esta ponencia tiene como objetivo general analizar los discursos y transferencias educacionales que permitieron el desarrollo de una pedagogía ruralista en Chile entre 1928 y 1948. Específicamente, examinaremos el rol jugado por el maestro Alberto Méndez Bravo y la educadora Amanda Labarca en la reforma a la educación primaria rural. Los viajes realizados por ambos educadores a México -en 1928 y 1931, respectivamente- aportaron en la configuración de la pedagogía ruralista chilena.

Para lograr este propósito, se revisaron y analizaron de una variedad de fuentes primarias (documentales, hemerográficas y visuales) que se encuentran resguardadas en archivos nacionales, como el Archivo Nacional de la Administración, la Biblioteca Nacional de Chile y el Archivo Central Andrés Bello de la Universidad de Chile. Asimismo, se examinaron archivos pertenecientes a antiguas escuelas rurales localizadas en el valle central de Chile.

Con base en estas fuentes históricas, se profundizará en los contenidos, acciones y discursos de la experiencia mexicana que nutrieron el proceso de configuración de una pedagogía ruralista en Chile.

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Keywords: educación rural, pedagogía ruralista, Amanda Labarca, Alberto Méndez, Chile



**The Political Participation Of The Movimiento Cooperativo De Escuela Popular (MCEP)
During The Transition To Democracy**
***La Participación Política Del Movimiento Cooperativo De Escuela Popular (MCEP) Durante El
Periodo De Transición Democrática***

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In Spain, in the mid-1970s, the teachers who followed the Freinet techniques regrouped around the *Asociación para la Correspondencia y la Imprenta Escolar* or ACIES. From the beginning, ACIES teachers were directly nourished by Célestin Freinet's popular school proposal, but, at the same time, its history and development were also the result of a very specific socio-political context that allowed pedagogical renewal and political and social participation. Thanks to that, in 1977, the Freinet movement was able to change its name to replace it with another that better represented its interests: *Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular* or MCEP. These new acronyms revealed the true identity of the group and its objectives: «(I) *Por un lado, la renovación puramente pedagógica [...]. (II) Por otro lado, la transformación de la sociedad en que está inmersa la escuela [...]*» (MCEP, 1977, p. 3).

The debates on the public schools accompanied the development of the popular school project of the MCEP. From MCEP's perspective, the public school needed a political-administrative reform where a different way of understanding education and school practice were proposed. In addition, it was necessary for the group of teachers to be involved, since a new conception of the school and pedagogical practice necessarily required the participation of the teachers (ACIES, 1977). Thus, progressively, the MCEP teachers began to get involved in the educational policy of the moment and to carry out an anti-establishment professional practice that challenged it.

The MCEP channelled its political participation using two main media: the bulletin *Colaboración* – as a relevant means of communication and expression –, and *Escuela Moderna's* congresses – held annually. These two platforms served to detect the main failures of educational policy, as well as to share different pedagogical practices that made it possible to test democracy both inside and outside the classroom.

This research questions the political participation of the MCEP and proposes two things. In the first place, to identify the main political debates that took place, either in the bulletin *Colaboración*, or in *Escuela Moderna's* congresses. And, secondly, to determine what actions were launched by the MCEP to challenge the educational policy of that moment. For this, the bulletin *Colaboración* and the dossiers of *Escuela Moderna's* congresses will be consulted. Both are original bibliographic sources published by the MCEP.

Among other things, it can be affirmed that the political participation of the MCEP served to launch a direct criticism against the educational reforms and, very specifically, against the emptying of political and social content that had occurred in the school. More or less organized, the MCEP practices were part of an *underground* pedagogical that resisted different educational laws and the attempts of the Public Administration to repress, ignore or absorb this kind of experience. All this was part of the transition process towards democracy in Spain and, in part, contributed to its success.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)



En España, a mediados de la década de los '70, los maestros seguidores de las técnicas Freinet se reagruparon en torno a la Asociación para la Correspondencia y la Imprenta Escolar o ACIES. Desde el inicio, los maestros de ACIES se nutrieron directamente de la propuesta de escuela popular de Célestin Freinet, pero, al mismo tiempo, su historia y desarrollo fueron también fruto de un contexto sociopolítico muy específico que permitió la renovación escolar y la participación política y social. En parte, gracias a esto, en el año 1977, el movimiento Freinet pudo cambiar su denominación para sustituirla por otra que representara mejor sus intereses: *Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular o MCEP*. Estas nuevas siglas revelaron la verdadera identidad del grupo y sus objetivos: «(I) Por un lado, la renovación puramente pedagógica [...]. (II) Por otro lado, la transformación de la sociedad en que está inmersa la escuela [...]»(MCEP, 1977, p. 3).

Los debates sobre la escuela pública acompañaron el desarrollo del proyecto de escuela popular del MCEP. En su opinión, la escuela pública necesitaba una reforma político administrativa donde se planteara una forma diferente de entender la educación y la práctica escolar. Además, era necesario que el colectivo de docentes se implicara, pues una nueva concepción de la escuela y práctica pedagógica pasaba, necesariamente, por la participación de los enseñantes (ACIES, 1977). Así, progresivamente, los maestros del MCEP comenzaron a involucrarse en la política educativa del momento y a llevar a cabo una práctica profesional contestataria que la desafiara.

El MCEP canalizó su participación política utilizando dos plataformas principales: el boletín *Colaboración*, órgano principal de comunicación y máxima expresión del MCEP, y los congresos de Escuela Moderna, celebrados anualmente. Estas dos plataformas sirvieron para detectar los principales fallos de la política educativa, así como para compartir distintas prácticas pedagógicas que posibilitaran el ensayo de la democracia tanto dentro como fuera del aula. Esta investigación se interroga sobre la participación política del MCEP y propone dos cosas. En primer lugar, identificar cuáles fueron los principales debates políticos que ocurrieron, bien en el boletín *Colaboración*, bien en los congresos de Escuela Moderna. Y, en segundo lugar, determinar qué acciones se pusieron en marcha para desafiar la política educativa de aquel momento. Para ello, se recurrirá a la consulta del boletín *Colaboración* y los dosieres de los congresos de Escuela Moderna. Ambas son fuentes bibliográficas inéditas y originales publicadas por el MCEP.

Entre otras cosas, se puede afirmar que la participación política del MCEP sirvió para lanzar una crítica directa contra las reformas educativas y, muy específicamente, contra el vaciado de contenidos de tipo político y social que se había producido en la escuela. Más o menos organizadas, las prácticas del MCEP formaron parte de un *underground* pedagógico que resistió a distintas leyes educativas y los intentos de la Administración Pública por reprimir, ignorar o absorber esta clase de experiencias. Todo ello integró el proceso de transición hacia la democracia en España y, en parte, contribuyó al éxito de la misma.

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Keywords: MCEP, transición democrática, educación, políticas, participación.



Rondas Escolares and Physical Education: Between Traditions and Transitions in the Innovative Pedagogical Proposal of Music and Movement (Argentina, 1910)

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This research aims to investigate the pedagogical proposal of the “Rondas Escolares” (school rounds), an Enrique Romero Brest initiative as part of his Argentine System of Physical Education. This idea was developed especially during the 1910s, based on analyzing the book “Elementos de Gimnástica Fisiológica” (1911) and the *Revista de la Educación Física* in 1912. Despite being an innovative proposal in physical education and education in general, and appealing for its articulation of musical techniques with body techniques that condensed powerful discourses about the body and subjectivities, it did not significantly transcend beyond the tasks carried out by Romero Brest himself or his disciples.

How can music be used to educate the body? How does artistic movement techniques harmonize with those of physical exercises? How to conceive of a physical culture that embodies gymnastics, games, and dance? These are some of the questions that this proposal would seem to answer. Consequently, we will briefly analyze its structure, the use of sequenced images for its explanation, and the production of differentiated discourses around the introduction of childhood to a world of work, entertainment, and recreation.

These are physiological classes adapted to childhood, “special exercises grouped in the form of a circle and accompanied by songs” (Romero Brest, 1911, p. 506) that pursue hygienic, educational, aesthetic, physiological, and psychic objectives. Its structure always follows the same scheme: all classes must last 20 minutes and are made up of three moments. One in which slow marches must be developed, with varied evolutions until forming a circle, followed by the moment of the round itself where the song appears, the movements (mainly maintaining a circle), and the song of childhoods. Finally, a third moment of completion, in which slow marches and a series of deep breaths are made. Each movement is stipulated in advance in each round and is directed under the voice of command of the teacher.

The use of sequenced images to graphically explain the rounds is also an innovative aspect of the time. Some show generality and others individuality, but all record body movements for educational purposes. Childhoods – mostly female – who fictionalise for the camera, temporally and spatially fixing a way of moving (Pereyra & Galak, in press).

Finally, two types of discourses are identified: one that demonstrates the introduction of childhoods to the world of work of the dominant Argentine agro-export model at the time, and the other that does not. As if the singing, the music, and the movements also had the objective of dramatizing – like a story, with happy and heroic tones – the activities carried out by, for example, the carpenter, the fireman, the sailor, the day labourer who works in the tannery, and the peasant at work. At the same time, and to a lesser extent, there were those aimed at recreation, entertainment, and games, such as “A Jugar”, “Los juegos” and “El Lobo”.

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Keywords: pedagogical innovation, rondas escolares, physical education, musical techniques, bodies



Reforms and Debates about the Internationalization of Education: Perspectives From the Ministry of Empire Affairs (1870–1875)

Reformas e Debates sobre Internacionalização do Ensino: Perspectivas do Ministério dos Negócios do Império (1870–1875)

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In the second half of the 19th century, the Brazilian imperial government developed several measures to reform teaching. The production of projects with this purpose signalled a kind of failure of the rules in course and was associated with the perception of the strategic character of the formation of the people in a nation that postulated civilized status. The public authorities questioned: how to enter the reduced concept of polished nations without spreading education to everyone?

Between 1870 and 1875, João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira served as minister in the Ministry of Imperial Affairs, the institution responsible for primary and secondary education at the Court and for higher education throughout the country. The Executive Branch, under his management, made plural movements in the organization, systematization, inspection, administration and regulation of education, whose guiding device was the *modus operandi* of advanced countries. The "reform culture" was part of the political agenda, as a government solution to deal with the social and educational challenges intensified from the 1870s on. In order to fulfil this agenda, the state maintained a communication network with various countries in America and Europe. In this network, information circulated about several areas of the educational field that showed how the schooling process worked in other countries. Traces of the internationalization of educational projects, reforms and actions of the Ministry of the Business of the Empire and countries such as: Portugal, the United States, Italy, Germany and Portugal, for example, can be found in the archives of the Historical and Diplomatic Museum of Itamaraty, in Rio de Janeiro. There you will find documents that show the context we define as the internationalization of projects, experiences and debates about the education system in Brazil and in several other countries. Besides these sources, the visibility of the actions, projects, and educational reforms of the Ministry of the Imperial Affairs can be observed in the Reports of the Minister of the Empire, in the Annals of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate, and in the press, which frequently reported the actions of the Cabinet.

With the analyses of these materials, the objective of the study was to observe how the relationship between the Brazilian State, European and American countries, worked as a "force" and mechanism to reform popular education and legitimize the political project in the analysed period. In this process, the education reforms were included in specific subjects, such as: legislation, maps, reports, books, furniture, teachers' and students' trips. The perspective is that this study contributes to understand how the public power conducted popular education having as model the national education system in comparison with "civilized" countries, in order to execute projects and models of more modern and efficient instruction, elements of the educational scenario of the 19th century, essential to understand the current education, its issues and problems.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Na segunda metade do século XIX, o governo imperial brasileiro elaborou diversas medidas para reformar o ensino. A produção de projetos com esta finalidade, sinalizava uma espécie de falência das regras em curso e estava associada à percepção do caráter estratégico da formação do povo em uma nação que postulava *status* de civilizada. O poder público problematizava: como ingressar no reduzido conceito das nações polidas, sem derramar a instrução sobre todos? Entre 1870 e 1875, João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira ocupou o cargo de ministro no Ministério dos Negócios do Império, instituição responsável pelo Ensino Primário e Secundário na Corte e do Ensino Superior em todo o país. O Poder Executivo, sob sua gerência realizou movimentos plurais na organização, sistematização, inspeção, administração e regulação do ensino, cujo dispositivo norteador foi o *modus operandi* de países avançados. A “*cultura da reforma*” fez parte da agenda política, como solução de governo para lidar com os desafios sociais e educacionais intensificados a partir da década de 1870. Com o objetivo de cumprir esta agenda o Estado mantinha uma rede de comunicação com vários países da América e da Europa. Nesta rede circulavam informações sobre diversas áreas do campo educacional que davam a ver o funcionamento do processo de escolarização de outros países. Traços da internacionalização de projetos, reformas e ações educacionais do Ministério dos Negócios do Império e países como: Portugal, Estados Unidos, Itália, Alemanha e Portugal, por exemplo, podem ser localizados nos arquivos do Museu Histórico e Diplomático do Itamaraty, no Rio de Janeiro. Neles encontram-se documentos que evidenciam o contexto que definimos como internacionalização de projetos, experiências e debates sobre o sistema de ensino brasileiro e de diversos países. Além dessas fontes, a visibilidade das ações, projetos e reformas educacionais do Ministério dos Negócios do Império pode ser observada nos Relatórios do Ministro do Império, Anais da Câmara dos Deputados e do Senado e na imprensa, que noticiavam com frequência as ações do Gabinete. Com as análises desses materiais o objetivo do estudo foi observar como a relação entre o Estado brasileiro, países da Europa e da América, funcionava como “força” e mecanismo para reformar a formação popular e legitimar o projeto político no período analisado. Neste processo as reformas de ensino estavam inclusas em assuntos/temas específicos, como: legislação, mapas, relatórios, livros, mobílias, viagem de professores e alunos. A perspectiva é que este estudo contribua para compreender como o poder público conduziu a instrução popular tendo como modelo o sistema de ensino nacional em comparação com países “civilizados”, a fim de executar projetos e modelos de instrução mais modernos e eficientes, elementos do cenário educativo do século XIX, essenciais para compreender a educação atual, suas questões e problemáticas.

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Keywords: educational reform, Imperial State, João Alfredo Corrêa de Oliveira, internationalization of education



The Figure of the Teacher in the Discourse of the New School in a Transnational Perspective Between Brazil and Europe

A Figura do Professor no Discurso da Escola Nova em Uma Perspectiva Transnacional Entre Brasil e Europa

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This is a work about how the teaching function is described in the pedagogical discourse of Brazilian educators from the New School and how they made use of the foreign discourse. From the 19th to the 20th century in Europe, the opposition between two fundamental epistemologies for the educational field emerged: the science and the experiences. These opposing ideas created a scenario of appreciation and prescription of science in education, which characterized the New School. These studies were incorporated in Brazil in the 20th century in a context that saw education as a key element for social progress and the teacher as one of its main agents.

Therefore, this work does a Foucault's discourse analysis that characterizes the Brazilian New School discourse on teachers and how it seizes upon the European discourse to support its ideas, identifying the criticisms, prescriptions and projections made for the teaching profession. Firstly, it analyses Brazilian works, presenting the use of foreign New School discourses on the transformation of the teaching function. Then, it points out similarities and differences between the Brazilian and foreign materials that founded the European New School.

The paper analyses the following New School's works: "Introduction to the Study of the New School" (1929) by Lourenço Filho, "Teachers of tomorrow" (1962) by Anísio Teixeira, "A life in the magistry" (1962) by Botyra Camorim, "Initiation to intellectual and motor activity through educational games" (1914) by Jean-Ovide Decroly and Eugénie Monchamp, "Scientific Pedagogy" (1909) by Maria Montessori and "Tailor-made School and two complementary studies: The new educational conceptions and their verification from experience and The reason for educational sciences" (1901) by Édouard Claparède. The three Brazilian works demonstrate the seizing of the New School discourse in three ways: the first is a book that was used in teacher training, the second is a speech given at an international education conference and the third deals with autobiographical reports of a teacher at the elementary school. The European ones represent the founding theories of the New School and are justified by being references in the educational field to the present days.

As a result, the work shows how the New School criticized teachers. It was based on the conviction that teacher training should be supported by Science and Psychology, with didactic prescription and devaluation of the teachers' professional knowledge. In addition, it shows a theoretical use of the European New School in Brazil that based the development of the Brazilian public education system and prescribed the work of teachers in elementary education. It transformed their function and the centrality of education that ceased to be "the teacher's teaching" in order to become "the student's learning".

With this analysis, it is intended to advance in the understanding of the paradox of the (de)valuation of the teaching profession in which the teacher is seen as an important subject for human and social development, but also their practices and knowledge may be underestimated.



*This work had the support of CNPq, National Council for Scientific and Technological Development - Brazil.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Este é um trabalho sobre o modo como a função docente é descrita no discurso pedagógico dos educadores brasileiros da Escola Nova e de que forma eles se apropriaram do discurso estrangeiro.

Na passagem do século XIX para o XX na Europa emerge a oposição entre duas epistemologias fundamentais para o campo educacional: a da ciência e a das experiências. Essa contraposição criou um cenário de valorização e prescrição das ciências na Educação, que caracterizou a Escola Nova. Tais estudos escolanovistas foram incorporados no Brasil no século XX em um contexto que encarava a educação como elemento-chave para o progresso social e o professor como um dos agentes principais desse progresso.

Sendo assim, este trabalho faz uma análise do discurso foucaultiana com o objetivo de caracterizar o discurso escolanovista brasileiro sobre os professores e o modo como ele se apropria do discurso europeu para fundamentar suas ideias, identificando as críticas, prescrições e projeções feitas à profissão docente. Primeiramente, analisa as obras brasileiras, apresentando a apropriação dos enunciados escolanovistas estrangeiros nas reflexões sobre a transformação da função docente. Em seguida, aponta semelhanças e diferenças entre as obras brasileiras e as estrangeiras fundantes do escolanovismo europeu.

O trabalho analisa as seguintes obras escolanovistas: Introdução ao Estudo da Escola Nova (1929) de Lourenço Filho, Mestres de amanhã (1962) de Anísio Teixeira, Uma vida no magistério (1962) de Botyra Camorim, Iniciação à atividade intelectual e motora pelos jogos educativos (1914) de Jean-Ovide Decroly e Eugénie Monchamp, Pedagogia científica (1909) de Maria Montessori e Escola sob medida e dois estudos complementares: As novas concepções educativas e sua verificação pela experiência e O porquê das ciências de educação (1901) de Édouard Claparède. As três obras brasileiras demonstram a apropriação do discurso escolanovista em três vias: a primeira é um livro que foi utilizado na formação de professores, a segunda é um discurso proferido em um conselho internacional de educação e a terceira trata de relatos autobiográficos de uma professora do ensino básico. Já as europeias representam as teorias fundantes do escolanovismo e justificam-se por serem referências no campo educacional até os dias atuais.

Como resultado, o trabalho mostra a crítica que os escolanovistas faziam aos professores da época, a convicção da formação docente amparada na Ciência e na Psicologia, a prescrição didática e a desvalorização dos saberes profissionais dos professores. Além disso, evidencia uma apropriação teórica do escolanovismo europeu no Brasil que fundamentou pedagogicamente o desenvolvimento do sistema público de ensino brasileiro e prescreveu o trabalho dos professores na educação básica, transformando a sua função e a centralidade da educação que deixara de ser do ensino do professor e passara a ser do aprendizado do aluno. Com esta análise, pretende-se avançar na compreensão do paradoxo da (des)valorização da profissão docente em que ora o professor é visto como um sujeito importante para o desenvolvimento humano e social, ora tem suas práticas e seus saberes desqualificados.

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Keywords: teacher, pedagogical discourse, New School, pedagogical knowledge, future



The ABC Tests In Brazil: Analysis Of Pedagogical Discourses On The Most Suitable Age For Learning To Read And Write/Literacy

Os Testes ABC No Brasil: Análise Dos Discursos Pedagógicos Sobre A Idade Mais Indicada À Alfabetização

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Such communication¹ aims at contributing to the understanding of how the controversy over the right age for beginning to learn how to read and write was historically formulated in pedagogical discourses directed to teachers. From the perspective of Foucault (2012) on discourse analysis, and Frago (1995) on school culture, Lourenço Filho's (2008) prescriptions are examined regarding the application of the ABC Tests in elementary schools and their effects on pedagogical practice, based on the writings of educators between 1940 and 1970.

According to Lourenço Filho, learning to read and write required maturity, which did not exactly correspond to the child's chronological age, which is why setting a school age was inappropriate as a principle for organizing literacy classes. In order to assess the degree of maturity and make it possible to divide the classes according to this criterion, the educator formulated the ABC Tests. In School Practices according to the teaching practice program in the regular course and with the guidance of elementary education (D'Ávila, 1940), Writing in Elementary School (Marques, 1950); Reading in Elementary School: Guide for Teacher Training Students and Elementary Teachers (Silveira, 1966) and Teaching the Child: Guide for Elementary Teachers (Marcozzi, Dornelles & Rêgo, 1970), Lourenço Filho appears as an exponent of the New School in Brazil and the ABC tests as a resource aligned to educational innovation for the country's progress. This is because teachers would be given the condition of getting to know their students from a psychology standpoint, and students would have the opportunity to be taught how to read and write according to their abilities.

The theory that literacy assumes the child's maturity was maintained in pedagogical discourses, but the ways of stating the rejection of tradition about school age took on another contour among the New Schools supporters. Works published between 1940 and 1950 show that, during this period, the application of the ABC Tests was optional, while the organization of classes according to the child's age group remained mandatory. The deadlock required adapting the teaching contents according to the stage of child development in order to promote the necessary maturity for learning. In the 1960s and 1970s, the child's maturity had to be identified by the teacher from an observation sheet. The material that simplified the ABC Tests by dismissing an application manual did not end the discursive transformation, since it provided for homogenization from different groupings for students in the same class and, preferably, in the same age group (7 years old). In this way, the law setting the school age was mixed with norms created at school about how the child's development and learning should occur, and the controversy over the most appropriate age for literacy was formulated when the pedagogical discourses intended to prove that that was not possible.

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Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Esta comunicação [1] visa contribuir para a compreensão de como se formulou historicamente a controvérsia sobre a idade certa para o início da alfabetização nos discursos pedagógicos destinados aos professores. Sob a perspectiva de Foucault (2012) sobre a análise do discurso, e de Frago (1995) sobre a cultura escolar, examinam-se as prescrições de Lourenço Filho (2008) acerca da aplicação dos Testes ABC nas escolas primárias e os efeitos disso na prática pedagógica, a partir dos escritos de educadores(as) entre 1940 e 1970. Conforme Lourenço Filho, a aprendizagem das letras requeria maturidade, a qual não correspondia exatamente à idade cronológica da criança, razão pela qual era inadequada a fixação da idade escolar como princípio para a organização das classes de alfabetização. Para avaliar o grau de maturidade e tornar viável a divisão das classes por esse critério o educador formulou os Testes ABC. Em *Práticas Escolares de acordo com o programa de prática do ensino no curso normal e com a orientação do ensino primário* (D'Ávila, 1940), *A Escrita na Escola Primária* (Marques, 1950); *Leitura na Escola Primária: Guia para normalistas e Professores de Curso Primário* (Silveira, 1966) e *Ensinando à criança: Guia para o professor primário* (Marcozzi, Dornelles & Rêgo, 1970), Lourenço Filho comparece como expoente da Escola Nova no Brasil e os Testes ABC como um recurso alinhado à inovação educacional para o progresso do país. Isso porque aos professores seria dada a condição de conhecer os seus alunos a partir dos saberes da psicologia, e aos alunos a oportunidade de serem alfabetizados conforme as suas capacidades. A teoria de que a alfabetização pressupõe a maturidade da criança manteve-se nos discursos pedagógicos, mas os modos de enunciar a rejeição à tradição sobre a idade escolar assumiu outro contorno entre os escolanovistas. As obras divulgadas entre 1940 e 1950, evidenciam que nesse período a aplicação dos Testes ABC era facultativa, enquanto a organização das turmas pela faixa etária da criança permanecia obrigatória. O impasse exigia a adequação dos conteúdos de ensino segundo à etapa do desenvolvimento infantil para promover a maturidade necessária à aprendizagem. Nas décadas de 1960 e 1970, a maturidade da criança deveria ser identificada pelo professor a partir de uma ficha de observação. O material que simplificava os Testes ABC por dispensar um manual de aplicação não findava a transformação discursiva, visto prever a homogeneização a partir de agrupamentos distintos para alunos de uma mesma classe e, preferencialmente, na mesma faixa etária (7 anos). Desse modo, a lei de fixação da idade escolar se misturava às normas fabricadas na escola sobre como deveria ocorrer o desenvolvimento da criança e a sua aprendizagem, e a controvérsia sobre a idade mais indicada à alfabetização formulou-se quando pretendiam os discursos pedagógicos comprovar que isso não era possível.

[1] Texto produzido com apoio da CAPES - Código de Financiamento 001. E compõe o eixo "Inovação e Tradição Pedagógicas: fugas e contrapontos", vinculado ao Projeto Saberes e Práticas em Fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810-...) - USP (FAPESP - Processo: 2018/26699-4).

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Keywords: teacher training, literacy, history of education, school culture, pedagogical practice



**Medical Discourses about Brazilian Education at the beginning of the 20th Century:
Analysis based on the Revista Educação e Pediatria.**

Os Discursos Médicos acerca da Educação Brasileira no início do Século XX: Análise a partir da Revista Educação e Pediatria

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From the 16th century onwards in Europe, and from the 18th century on, in Brazil, care for children's health and education became the subject of handbooks for dissemination to families, and discussions in the scientific field. In view of the high rates of infant mortality, as well as the epidemics that affected the Brazilian population, childhood was central to the concerns of the country's rulers.

The control of the public sphere over childhood intensified in Brazil in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, due to the orientation of doctors and legal professionals and the understanding of the problem of infant mortality as an indicator of national delay. In this context, social reformers joined paediatricians and childcare professionals to solve the "childhood problem", which began to play an important role in political projects.

Doctors conquered a scientific position in society, directing their clinical gaze to childhood and schools, occupying space in families, educating adults and children. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, the efforts of paediatricians gave childcare the status of medical education dedicated to reforming maternal and childcare promoting a preventive medical-social culture, which should be extended to the whole of society, mainly, to women and mothers, with a view to replacing the traditional attire of caring for young children.

A relevant means of disseminating these oriented speeches are the magazines, as an important space for discussion and eager for knowledge. In this sense, I propose to present and analyse the speeches of specialists in the health area of a Brazilian periodical representative of its time: the magazine *Educação e Pediatria*, published between 1913 and 1915 in Rio de Janeiro. This had its first volume – out of a total of 13 – published in June 1913, in the context of the newly proclaimed republican regime and the growing concern with the issue of childhood in the country. It was organized by two owner-directors: journalist Franco Vaz, director of Escola Premonitória 15 de Novembro, and pediatrician Dr. Álvaro Reis, hygiene teacher at the same school. The journal was directed to various issues of teaching, education, hygiene of children, diseases, and their treatments, and established itself as a protester in the face of the high rate of infant mortality in the country. The characterizations of these speeches were made for a survey of the trajectory of the normalization processes of childcare, in matters of hygiene and schooling, and the understanding of how society articulated itself to culturally structure these pillars.

The ideals of a civilized republic are at all times permeating the discourses printed in *Education and Pediatrics*, which reveals how much their owners were immersed in that time and space, joining efforts to build the nation, wielding the flag of education as a primordial instrument, together with to medicine (paediatrics and hygiene). It seeks to present the central issues disclosed about childhood health, the main concerns, and the reforms carried out in the field of school hygiene.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O cuidado com a saúde e a educação das crianças, a partir do século XVI na Europa, e do século XVIII no Brasil, passaram a ser temas de manuais de divulgação às famílias, e de discussões no campo científico. Diante dos altos índices de mortalidade infantil, bem como de epidemias que acometiam a população brasileira, a infância ocupou centralidade nas preocupações dos governantes do país.

O controle da esfera pública sobre a infância se intensificou, no Brasil, na segunda metade do século XIX e início do século XX, devido ao surgimento de especialidades médicas e jurídicas voltadas para esta faixa etária e pelo entendimento do problema da mortalidade infantil como um indicador de atraso nacional. Nesse contexto, os reformadores sociais juntaram-se aos pediatras e puericultores para resolver o “problema da infância”, que passou a cumprir relevante papel nos projetos políticos.

Os médicos conquistaram uma posição científica na sociedade, direcionando seus olhares clínicos à infância e às escolas, ocupando espaço nas famílias, e educando, portanto, adultos e crianças. Ao longo da primeira metade do século XX, o empenho dos pediatras conferiu à puericultura o status de especialidade médica dedicada a reformar os cuidados materno-infantis e promover uma cultura médico-social preventiva, que deveria se estender para toda a sociedade, sobretudo, para as mulheres e para as mães, tendo em vista substituir os costumes tradicionais de cuidados com as crianças pequenas.

Um relevante meio de veiculação desses discursos de cunho orientador são as revistas de grande imprensa, como um importante espaço de discussão e propagação de saberes. Neste sentido, proponho-me a apresentar e analisar os discursos de especialistas da área da saúde de um periódico brasileiro representativo de seu tempo: a revista *Educação e Pediatria*, publicada entre 1913 e 1915 no Rio de Janeiro. Esta teve seu primeiro volume - de um total de 13 - publicado em junho de 1913, no contexto do regime republicano recém proclamado e da crescente preocupação com a questão da infância no país. Foi organizada por dois diretores-proprietários: o jornalista Franco Vaz, diretor da Escola Premonitória 15 de Novembro, e o médico pediatra Dr. Álvaro Reis, professor de higiene na mesma escola. O periódico era direcionado a diversas questões de ensino, educação, higiene das crianças, doenças e seus tratamentos, e se instaurou como manifestante diante da alta taxa de mortalidade infantil no país. As caracterizações desses discursos contribuem para um levantamento da trajetória dos processos de normalização dos cuidados à infância, nas questões de higiene e escolarização, e do entendimento de como a sociedade se articulou para estruturar culturalmente esses pilares.

Os ideais de uma república civilizada estão a todo momento permeando os discursos impressos na *Educação e Pediatria*, o que revela o quanto seus proprietários estavam imersos naquele tempo e espaço, unindo esforços para construção da nação, empunhando a bandeira da educação como instrumento primordial, junto à medicina (pediatria e higiene). Busca-se apresentar as questões centrais divulgadas acerca da saúde da infância, as preocupações primordiais, e as reformas realizadas no âmbito da higiene escolar.

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Keywords: paediatrics, education, infancy



Teacher Formation at Normal School Caetano De Campos: A Gender Look About the Traditions in Women's Formation
Formação De Professoras Na Escola Normal Caetano De Campos: Um Olhar De Gênero Sobre As Tradições Na Formação Da Mulher

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Studying the history of education allows us to reflect about the reforms and traditions that have passed until we reach the present time, so this research looks to a not-too-distant past: the pedagogical space of the former Normal School of São Paulo (Caetano de Campos). The research, still in progress, investigates the pedagogical practices of teachers from a gender perspective and works with the decree of law 5.884, enacted on April 21, 1933, which instituted an educational reform carried out by Fernando de Azevedo (1894–1974, educator and sociologist), who created the Childcare Center, attached to the Normal School, where teachers and students dedicated their time to caring for needy babies and guiding mothers.

In this way, it is understood how the Childcare Center was responsible for promoting a renewal of care practices with children, which started to be based on science and, simultaneously, create a tradition in relation to the work of the preschool teacher and the historical tensions that leads us to reflect on contemporaneity. On the one hand, the professionalization of teachers was sought, including in relation to the care of babies, on the other hand, the work of teaching young children acquired a maternalistic/caring character and reinforced the gender stereotype that women were born with a maternal instinct, they were always able to care and that her learnings were also a preparation for her future as a mother.

The researched sources can be found in the Historical Collection of the Caetano de Campos School (AHECC), under the administration of the Government of the State of São Paulo, such as the childcare photo album made by the teachers in 1933–1934, which aimed to record the school routine and, at the same time, instruct future students with practical and illustrative examples of what was considered the proper practice for a teacher.

We will also analyse a childcare notebook, a work carried out by a student of the Normal School in 1948, in which she recorded indications of good behaviour for mothers and childcare care for babies, according to what was taught in the classroom, guided by doctors.

Finally, two booklets used at school, the first entitled *The Mommy: Small Childcare Lessons* from 1941, by Guiomar Rinaldi and the other from 1954, in its eighth edition, entitled *The Moms Booklets*, the author is Dr. Martinho da Rocha.

The sources show us didactic teaching guidelines on how teachers should study to behave and act appropriately with their students, the objective of the research is to understand the historical processes and pedagogical tensions, questioning the gender stereotypes used to the woman as teachers and worker at the beginning of the 20th century in Brazil.

Therefore, at investigating these sources it helps to elucidate the tensions between traditions and renewals in the history of education and also relating aspects of pedagogical practices and school routine, always with the objective of narrating a story that also looks at the role of the woman as a teacher, a fundamental participant in the construction of Brazilian education.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Estudar história da educação nos possibilita refletir sobre as reformas e tradições que passaram-se até chegarmos no tempo presente, por isso essa pesquisa olha para um passado não muito distante: o espaço pedagógico da Antiga Escola Normal de São Paulo (Caetano de Campos). A pesquisa, ainda em andamento, investiga as práticas pedagógicas de professoras pela perspectiva de gênero e trabalha com o decreto de lei 5.884, sancionado em 21 de abril de 1933, que instituiu uma reforma educacional realizada por Fernando de Azevedo (1894–1974, educador e sociólogo brasileiro), que criou o Centro de Puericultura, anexo à Escola Normal, onde as professoras e alunas dedicavam seu tempo aos cuidados de bebês carentes e à orientação das mães.

Dessa forma, compreende-se como o Centro de Puericultura foi responsável por promover uma renovação das práticas de cuidado com as crianças, que passava a ser fundamentada na ciência e, simultaneamente, criar uma tradição em relação ao trabalho da professora de educação infantil e as tensões históricas que nos leva a refletir a contemporaneidade. Por um lado, buscava-se a profissionalização das professoras, inclusive em relação aos cuidados com os bebês, por outro lado, o trabalho da professora de crianças pequenas adquiriu caráter maternalista/assistencialista e reforçou o estereótipo de gênero segundo o qual a mulher nascia com um instinto materno, era sempre apta a cuidar e que sua formação era também uma preparação para seu futuro como mãe.

As fontes pesquisadas encontram-se no Núcleo de Memória e Acervo Histórico (NUMAH), que possui os materiais do Acervo Histórico da Escola Caetano de Campos (AHECC), sob administração do Governo do Estado de São Paulo, como o álbum de fotos de puericultura feito pelas professoras em 1933–1934, que teve como objetivo registrar o cotidiano escolar e, ao mesmo tempo, instruir as futuras alunas com exemplos práticos e ilustrativos do que era considerado a prática adequada a uma professora.

Também analisaremos um caderno de puericultura, um trabalho realizado por uma aluna normalista em 1948, em que ela registrou indicações de bons comportamentos para mães e cuidados de puericultura com os bebês, de acordo com aprendizagem em sala de aula, guiada por médicos.

Enfim, duas cartilhas utilizadas na escola, a primeira intitulada *A mamãezinha: pequenas lições de puericultura de 1941*, de Guiomar Rinaldi e a outra de 1954, em sua oitava edição, intitulada *Cartilha das Mães*, o autor é o médico Dr. Martinho da Rocha.

As fontes nos evidenciam prescrições, orientações didáticas de ensino sobre como as professoras deviam estudar para se portar e agir adequadamente com seus alunos, o objetivo da pesquisa é compreender os processos históricos e as tensões pedagógicas, questionando os estereótipos de gênero empregados à professora, mulher e trabalhadora no início do século XX, no Brasil.

Portanto, investigar essas fontes contribui para elucidar as tensões entre renovações e tradições na história da educação, relacionando aspectos das práticas pedagógicas e do cotidiano escolar, sempre com o objetivo de narrar uma história que olhe também para o papel da professora, participante fundamental na construção da educação brasileira.

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Keywords: formação, professora, gênero, tradição, escola.



Origin of the Federal Institute for Teacher Training: an innovation in teacher training policies (Mexico, 1944)

Origen Del Instituto Federal De Capacitación Del Magisterio: Una Innovación En Las Políticas De Formación De Docentes (México, 1944)

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The Project of nation emerged from the Mexican Revolution of 1910 had as one of its pillars the education of people, particularly, peasants. Elementary schooling was expanded along the territory of more than two million square kilometres. But trained teachers were not enough, that is why it was necessary to hire young people provided just with elementary schooling. Later, with the purpose of providing specialized teacher training, and given the dispersion of the “improvised teachers” from very distant places, an institution was designed to offer courses by correspondence, radio and face-to-face sessions during holidays. Among the most relevant programs were designed the so-called Correspondence School and the Oral School. Our paper would explain the socio-political context in which this institution arose, its historical backgrounds, its basic premises, its objectives, its strategies and means. We would give details about the circumstances in which the first training tasks began, in diverse situations of appropriation and resistances.

The history of the Federal Teacher Training Institute has been little studied and many question has to be answered. In our presentation we intend to show the importance that this institute represented for the managers of educational policies and especially for the novice teachers who lived in isolation from a job carried out in rural areas where they had been sent, without pedagogical knowledge, no plans or programs, no teaching means, no textbooks and in precarious conditions. Although the history of the institute covers a period of almost three decades, we will focus on the explanation of the conditions of emergence that originated and made it possible to achieve its finalities.

We will utilize first-hand sources mainly obtained from the General Archive of the Nation but as well reports from the Ministry of Education and, where possible, reports from state governments as well as statistics on schooling and secondary sources that will allow us to characterize the historical moment. Our work basically would be a historical-documentary analysis, framed in a complex conception of history, where actors would be a central place, determined by political, social, economic and cultural elements. Our research is part of a whole history of this institute from its origin in 1944 until 1971.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

El proyecto de nación surgido de la Revolución Mexicana de 1910 tuvo como uno de sus pilares la educación del pueblo, para lo cual se propuso expandir la escolarización elemental en el extenso territorio de más de dos millones de kilómetros cuadrados, incorporando a las zonas rurales e indígenas. Un gran número de nuevas escuelas fueron establecidas, pero ante la falta de profesores normalistas se contrató a jóvenes maestros que contaran con estudios primarios. Con la intención de dotar de capacitación adecuada y de formalizar los estudios de estos “maestros improvisados” mediante un título de profesor, y ante la dispersión de estos docentes en lugares muy lejanos, se diseñó una institución que ofreciera cursos por correspondencia, por radio y presenciales intensivos durante los periodos vacacionales. Entre



los programas más relevantes se diseñó la llamada Escuela por Correspondencia y la Escuela Oral. El propósito de la ponencia es explicar el contexto socio-político en que surgió esta institución, antecedentes históricos, premisas básicas, objetivos, estrategias y medios, y comprender las circunstancias en que se iniciaron las primeras labores de capacitación, en un contexto diverso de apropiación, de tensiones, y de resistencias.

La historia del Instituto Federal de Capacitación del magisterio ha sido poco estudiada y quedan muchas preguntas por responder. En este trabajo pretendemos mostrar lo importancia que dicho instituto representó para los gestores de las políticas educativas y sobre todo para los nóveles maestros que vivían en el aislamiento de un oficio desempeñado en las zonas rurales a donde habían sido enviados, sin conocimientos pedagógicos, sin planes y programas claros, sin medios de enseñanza, sin libros de texto y en condiciones precarias. Si bien la historia del instituto cubre un periodo de casi tres décadas en esta ponencia nos centraremos en la explicación de las circunstancias que lo originaron y que posibilitaron la realización inicial de sus objetivos. Para ello recurriremos a fuentes de primera mano principalmente obtenidas en el Archivo General de la Nación, informes de la Secretaría de Educación y, en lo posible, memorias de los gobiernos estatales, así como estadísticas sobre escolarización y fuentes secundarias que nos permitirán caracterizar el periodo. Nuestro trabajo consistirá básicamente en un análisis histórico-documental, enmarcado en una concepción compleja de la historia, por lo que consideraremos la centralidad de los actores, determinados por factores políticos, sociales, económicos y culturales. La ponencia es parte de una investigación que pretende reconstruir la historia de este instituto desde su origen en 1944 hasta 1971 en que fue sustituida por la Dirección General de Capacitación y Mejoramiento

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Keywords: teacher training, educational reforms, educational centralization, rural schools, distance education



**Teacher Training for Gender Issues in Brazilian Early Childhood Education: A Study of
Art Between 2000 and 2020.**

***Formação de Professores para as Questões de Gênero na Educação Infantil Brasileira: Um
Estudo da Arte Entre 2000 e 2020.***

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This communication presents the partial results of the investigations under development in the Graduate Program in Education - PPGE - Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences - FFC, São Paulo State University - UNESP/Marília Campus. The aim of this study is to identify, analyse and produce a State of the Art on teacher training for gender issues in Brazilian Early Childhood Education between years 2000 and 2020 (Serrano, 2022). The elaboration of this text was based, initially, on a theoretical framework constituted by the formulations of De Certeau (1979) about “place of speech”. Thereafter, it was possible to incorporate the formulations of Freire (2014) and Freire (2015), centrally his categories of concrete reality, dialogue and praxis. Based on the questioning that motivated the investigations, regarding the issues of welcoming diversity in the school, concerns that dialogue with the researchers’ ideas, that is, with “places of speech” quoted by the researchers responsible for this text.

Regarding gender issues, Pinto's (2015) theoretical formulations were incorporated. Through this theoretical framework, it was understood the need to develop investigations with a historical approach, bibliographical and documental, as for the sources, considering that the corpus of investigations consisted of 75 theses and dissertations on teacher training for gender issues in Early Childhood Education, selected between 2000 and 2020, and with the specialized bibliography on the subject. In the first stage of this study, data were produced through “a new cultural distribution” (De Certeau, 1979), that is, the theses and dissertations were retrieved from the theses and dissertations catalogue of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel - CAPES, available online, linking them to the bibliographic stage developed with the files of the Working Group - GT 23 of the National Association of Graduate Studies in Education – Anped, on “Gender, Sexuality and Education”. The search terms “teacher training”, “Childhood Education” and “Sex Education” were used. By the way, it is important to emphasize that literature and, therefore, searches in databases, for the most part, refer the term “gender” to studies on literary genres. Hence, it was necessary to use the term “Sex Education” instead of “Gender”. Then, the theses and dissertations were analysed based on Freire's categories already mentioned.

As a conclusion, the analysis reveals that teacher training in Brazil for gender issues in Early Childhood Education is highlighted as essential. Thereby, that knowledge offered to children so that they can, at school, articulate the elements of the community realities they experience. These realities show a lack of basic sanitation responsible for the most intense diseases, also economic and social injustices are observable in relation to people living in these peripheral areas. In the 75 theses and dissertations analysed, the childhood school was highlighted as a space for discussing between teachers and children about the demands of society, such as gender issues, in order to articulate elements of the curricular structure with scientific knowledge and with children's social empiricism.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Apresentam-se nesta comunicação os resultados parciais das investigações em desenvolvimento junto ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação – PPGE – Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências – FFC, Universidade Estadual Paulista – UNESP/Câmpus de Marília, que tem como objetivo central identificar, analisar e produzir um Estado da Arte sobre a formação de professores para as questões de gênero na Educação Infantil brasileira, entre 2000 e 2020 (Serrano, 2022). Para a elaboração deste texto, pautou-se num quadro teórico constituído, inicialmente, pelas formulações de De Certeau (1979) sobre "lugar de fala", a partir do que foi possível incorporar as formulações de Freire (2014) e Freire (2015), centralmente suas categorias de realidade concreta, diálogo e *práxis*, com base no questionamento motivador das investigações, quanto às questões do acolhimento à diversidade na escola, preocupações essas que dialogam com as preocupações dos pesquisadores, ou seja, com "lugares das falas" dos pesquisadores responsáveis por este texto. Sobre questões de gênero foram incorporadas as formulações teóricas de Pinto (2015). A luz desse quadro teórico compreendeu-se a necessidade de desenvolver investigações de abordagem histórica, e bibliográfica e documental, quantos às fontes, considerando que o *corpus* das investigações foi constituído por 75 teses e dissertações sobre formação de professores para as questões de gênero na Educação Infantil, selecionadas entre 2000 e 2020, e com a bibliografia especializada sobre a temática. Na primeira etapa da pesquisa, foram produzidos dados mediante "uma nova repartição cultural" (De Certeau, 1979), ou seja, as teses e dissertações foram recuperadas junto ao catálogo de teses e dissertações do Centro de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Ensino Superior – CAPES, disponível on-line, articulando-as à etapa bibliográfica desenvolvida junto aos arquivos do Grupo de Trabalho – GT 23 da Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação em Educação – Anped, sobre "Gênero, Sexualidade e Educação". Foram utilizados os termos buscadores "formação de professores", "Educação Infantil" e "Educação Sexual". A propósito, foi possível ressaltar que, ainda, a literatura e, portanto, as buscas em bancos de dados, remete o termo gênero, em sua maioria, aos estudos sobre gêneros literários. Assim, foram necessárias as buscas, utilizando-se o termo buscador "Educação Sexual" em substituição ao termo "Gênero". Posteriormente, realizou-se a análise das teses e dissertações, *corpus* das investigações, a partir das categorias freireanas mencionadas. Como conclusões tem-se que as teses e dissertações analisadas revelam que a formação de professores no Brasil, para as questões de gênero na Educação Infantil é ressaltada como essencial para que sejam ofertados conhecimentos às crianças para que elas possam, na escola, articular aos elementos das realidades comunitárias por elas vividas, onde há falta de saneamento básico responsável pelas doenças mais intensas, e onde são observáveis injustiças econômicas e sociais com relação às pessoas que vivem nessas áreas periféricas mais carentes. Nas 75 teses e dissertações analisadas, a escola da infância foi destacada como espaço para que sejam discutidas entre os professores e as crianças as demandas da sociedade, como as questões de gênero, de maneira a articular elementos da estrutura curricular com o conhecimento científico e com o empirismo social das crianças.

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Keywords: history of education, teacher training, trends and research results, gender in early childhood education.



Teaching in Medical Courses at the Faculty of Medicine of Marília-Sp-Brazil: Aspects of the Historical Trajectory

Docencia en Cursos de Medicina en la Facultad de Medicina de Marília-Sp-Brazil: Aspectos de la Trayectoria Histórica

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This communication presents results of investigations carried out with the aim of analyzing and interpreting aspects of the historical trajectory of teaching in medical courses at the Faculty of Medicine of Marília-SP-Brazil (FAMEMA) (Famema, 2008), based on the assumptions of analysis of the Cultural History and Oral History (De Certeau, 2002). FAMEMA is a higher education institution that uses Active Learning Methodologies as a teaching and learning method. The established time frame contemplates the years between 1967 and 1997. The objective in question emerges considering the importance of training health professionals who correspond to the challenges of modern society. For Tsuji and Aguilar-da-Silva (2010), in this learning methodology, the teacher acts as a mediator and facilitator, and the student as an active subject in the learning process, acquiring the ability to manage self-learning, learning to think and recognize the knowledge gaps, ask questions and search for answers. For Magalhães (2004), the history of educational institutions fulfills a triple register of knowledge that involves: the past, the problematization of the present and the perspective of the future. According to the same author, the concept of institution is related to the idea of permanence and systematicity, in addition to the idea of norm and normativity. In relation to historiography and the researcher's place of speech, De Certeau (1995) states that he must work in order to modify the space, and transform an object that had its status and role, into something that will function differently.

The idea, therefore, is the construction of a new cultural distribution, based on documents produced specifically by the institution, such as the Pedagogical Political Project, teaching plans, teachers' diaries and audiovisual materials that illustrate the period included in the established time frame. It is concluded that the historical trajectory of teaching at the Faculdade de Medicina de Marília went through several stages, mediated by political conflicts, student movements, teaching ideas and economic dichotomies, evidencing a period of diverse struggles in the process of transition of the teaching and learning method. In this way, new searches and analysis of documents are necessary, as well as meetings for dialogues with actors who were part of this transition process, so that it is possible to clarify conclusions that refer to the proposed objective, enabling the understanding of the main milestones that constituted this history, in addition to rescuing the identity of medical courses that, in the past, surrendered to structured and non-humanized practices.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Esta comunicación presenta resultados de investigaciones realizadas con el objetivo de analizar e interpretar aspectos de la trayectoria histórica de la enseñanza en los cursos de medicina en la Facultad de Medicina de Marília-SP-Brasil (FAMEMA) (Famema, 2008), a partir de los supuestos de análisis de la Historia Cultural y la Historia Oral (De Certeau, 2002).



FAMEMA es una institución de educación superior que utiliza Metodologías de Aprendizaje Activo como método de enseñanza y aprendizaje. El marco temporal establecido contempla los años comprendidos entre 1967 y 1997. El objetivo en cuestión surge considerando la importancia de formar profesionales de la salud que correspondan a los desafíos de la sociedad moderna. Para Tsuji y Aguilar-da-Silva (2010), en esta metodología de aprendizaje, el docente actúa como mediador y facilitador, y el alumno como sujeto activo en el proceso de aprendizaje, adquiriendo la capacidad de gestionar el autoaprendizaje, aprendiendo a pensar. y reconocer las lagunas de conocimiento, hacer preguntas y buscar respuestas. Para Magalhães (2004), la historia de las instituciones educativas cumple un triple registro de saberes que involucra: el pasado, la problematización del presente y la perspectiva del futuro. Según el mismo autor, el concepto de institución se relaciona con la idea de permanencia y sistematicidad, además de la idea de norma y normatividad. En relación a la historiografía y el lugar de discurso del investigador, De Certeau (1995) plantea que éste debe trabajar para modificar el espacio, transformar un objeto que tenía su estatus y rol, en algo que funcionará de otra manera. La idea, entonces, es la construcción de una nueva distribución cultural, a partir de documentos producidos específicamente por la institución, como el Proyecto Político Pedagógico, planes didácticos, diarios docentes y materiales audiovisuales que ilustren el período comprendido en el marco temporal establecido. Se concluye que la trayectoria histórica de la enseñanza en la Faculdade de Medicina de Marília pasó por varias etapas, mediadas por conflictos políticos, movimientos estudiantiles, ideas de enseñanza y dicotomías económicas, evidenciando un período de luchas diversas en el proceso de transición de la enseñanza y método de aprendizaje. De esta manera, se hacen necesarias nuevas búsquedas y análisis de documentos, así como encuentros de diálogo con actores que hicieron parte de este proceso de transición, de manera que sea posible esclarecer conclusiones que se refieran al objetivo propuesto, posibilitando la comprensión de los principales hitos que constituyeron esta historia, además de rescatar la identidad de carreras médicas que, en el pasado, se rindieron a prácticas estructuradas y deshumanizadas.

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Keywords: education, history of education, history of educational institutions, teaching history, cultural history



A Leitura Literária Nas Reformas Educativas Brasileiras: Entre Tensões Sociais E Demandas Estatais (1990–2014)

Literary Reading In Brazilian Educational Reforms: Between Social Tensions And State Demands (1990–2014)

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This paper aims to investigate how, in the everyday life of high schools, disputes over the legitimate reading of literary works are carried out. Based on practices related to language, a structuring aspect of school work, as indicated by Bernard Lahire (2008), we seek to situate the tensions experienced by teachers and students when appropriating the reforms that have occurred in the Brazilian education system since the 1990s. The period was marked by strong school expansion, accompanied by curricular reforms that have structured high school in recent years.

Regarding the methodological aspects, observations were conducted of Portuguese Language classes in two high schools located in the city of São Paulo in 2014 and analyzed the Portuguese Language curricula. A set of sources were constituted composed of field diaries, interviews with eight students and two teachers, curriculum proposals in force and those produced from the 1990s, seeking to understand the disputes for the legitimate relationship with language as it is configured in a period of strong expansion of the education network. Based on the theoretical framework from authors such as Dominique Julia (2001), Régine Sirota (1998) and Pierre Bourdieu (2013) we seek to constitute the school culture from practices that indicate different social positions, which tension the projects of state training. As a result, we noticed that from an appropriation of literature as a non-sacralized object, teachers and students demonstrated meanings different from those foreseen in the state prescriptions. The observation of the school daily life suggests a way to understand disputes for the most legitimate relationship with language in school at a time marked by educational reforms that sought to reconfigure the formative sense in a period of school democratization.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Esta comunicação objetiva investigar como, na cotidianidade das escolas de ensino médio, são efetivadas disputas pela leitura legítima de obras literárias. A partir das práticas relacionadas à linguagem, aspecto estruturante do trabalho escolar, como indica Bernard Lahire (2008), buscaremos situar tensões vivenciadas por professores e alunos ao se apropriarem das reformas ocorridas no sistema de ensino brasileiro desde os anos 1990. O período foi marcado por forte expansão escolar, acompanhada de reformas curriculares que estruturaram o ensino médio nos últimos anos. No que se refere aos aspectos metodológicos, realizamos observações das aulas de Língua Portuguesa em duas escolas de ensino médio situadas na cidade de São Paulo em 2014 e analisamos os currículos de Língua Portuguesa. Constatamos um conjunto de fontes composto por Diários de campo, entrevistas com oito alunos e duas professoras, propostas curriculares em vigência e aquelas produzidas a partir dos anos 1990, procurando compreender as disputas pela relação legítima com a linguagem como ela se configura em período de forte expansão da rede de ensino. A partir do referencial teórico advindo de autores como Dominique Julia (2001), Régine Sirota (1998) e Pierre Bourdieu (2013) procuramos constituir a cultura escolar a partir de práticas que indicam diferentes posições



sociais, as quais tensionam os projetos de formação estatal. Como resultado, notamos que a partir de uma apropriação da literatura enquanto objeto não sacralizado, professores e alunos demonstraram sentidos diversos daqueles previstos nas prescrições estatais. Ao se mostrarem em sala de aula, as representações de professoras e alunos entram em disputa e tensionam os ideais de formação estatal. A observação do cotidiano escolar sugere uma forma de compreender disputas pela relação mais legítima com a linguagem na escola em momento marcado por reformas educativas que buscaram reconfigurar o sentido formativo em período de democratização escolar.

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Keywords: reforms, school culture, school daily life, reading literary works, high school



Actors, Struggles and Tensions in the Configuration of Associativism in the Field of Argentine Physical Education, 1909–1936

Actores, Pujas y Tensiones en la Configuración del Asociativismo en el Campo de la Educación Física Argentina (1909–1936)

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The purpose of this paper is to investigate the configuration of the Asociación de Profesores de Educación Física (APEF), the Sociedad Amigos de la Educación Física (Society Friends of Physical Education) and the Asociación de Deportes Racionales (ADR), by analyzing the *Revista de la Educación Física* between 1909 and 1936.

All of them were founded and supported by the Instituto Nacional Superior de Educación Física n°1 “Dr. Enrique Romero Brest” of Buenos Aires, Argentina. They had different periods and levels of protagonism, working together at times. APEF and the Society of Friends were the main interlocutors between Romero Brest, the Institute and the national political-pedagogical scenario. In this sense, it is hypothesized that the emergence of these associative links responds in one sense to the Institute’s need to standardize, homogenize and federalize discourses and meanings around an official way of educating bodies and subjectivities, both inside and outside schools. But it also responds to struggles for improved working conditions and access, ways of promoting teaching and salary increases. Aspects that take relevance in a national epochal climate characterized by the configuration of associative and union links in the educational field – mainly during the late 19th and early 20th century – (Southwell, 2021), a fragmented, precarious and growing professional training in Physical Education (Aisenstein, 2006) and the constant development of Argentine physical culture (Archetti, 2005).

New scenarios that evidence new demands. Thus, on June 20, 1909, the APEF was founded “for the defence of its interests in School and Society” (Asociación de Profesores de Educación Física, 1909, p. 153). Initially presided by Romero Brest (1909–1911), it was in charge of federalizing the Argentine Physical Education System – the official system since 1905 –, consolidating regional and interregional links among its members, providing teacher training and defending their labour rights. It positioned itself, until the mid-1920s, as a central actor in the selection of proposals regarding national physical culture (Scharagrodsky, 2013).

Secondly, due to ideological differences and economic problems, on October 30, 1919, the Society Friends of Physical Education, the Cooperative of the Institute, was founded. Originally presided over by Pablo Armando Pizzurno (1919–1922) and composed of families, students, teachers, former students and former teachers, it was mainly concerned with economic issues in order to “contribute to the better and faster realization of the ultimate goals of the Institute” (Sociedad Amigos de la Educación Física, 1922, p. 175).

Finally, on October 28, 1922, the ADR was founded, presided from the beginning by Antonio Caputo and integrated by a group of students and teachers of the Institute. It thus functioned as a “school of education and fellowship, practicing and stimulating rational sport – as a factor of physical perfection and as a means of strengthening bonds of solidarity – without ever neglecting the cultural aspect” (Griemberg, 1924, p. 297).



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

El propósito de este trabajo es indagar la configuración de la Asociación de Profesores de Educación Física (APEF), la Sociedad Amigos de la Educación Física y la Asociación de Deportes Racionales (ADR), a partir de analizar la *Revista de la Educación Física* entre los años 1909 a 1936. Todas fundadas y respaldadas por el Instituto Nacional Superior de Educación Física n°1 “Dr. Enrique Romero Brest” de Buenos Aires, Argentina. Las mismas tuvieron distintos periodos y niveles de protagonismo, trabajando por momentos en conjunto. Principalmente la APEF y la Sociedad de Amigos se constituyeron como las principales interlocutoras entre Romero Brest, el Instituto y el escenario político-pedagógico nacional. En este sentido, se tiene como hipótesis que el surgimiento de estos vínculos asociativos responde en un sentido a la necesidad desde el Instituto por normalizar, homogeneizar y federalizar discursos y sentidos en torno a una forma *oficial* de educar los cuerpos y las subjetividades, tanto dentro como por fuera de las escuelas. Pero también, responde a luchas por mejoras de las condiciones y accesos laborales, los modos de promoción de la enseñanza y aumentos salariales. Aspectos que toman relevancia en un clima épocal nacional caracterizado por la configuración de vínculos asociativos y sindicales en el ámbito educativo -principalmente durante finales del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX – (Southwell, 2021), una formación profesional en Educación Física fragmentada, precaria y en crecimiento (Aisenstein, 2006) y al constante desarrollo de la cultura física argentina (Archetti, 2005).

Nuevos escenarios que evidencian nuevas demandas. Con lo cual, el 20 de junio de 1909 se fundó la APEF “para la defensa de sus intereses en la Escuela y en la Sociedad” (Asociación de Profesores de Educación Física, 1909, p. 153). Presidida inicialmente por Romero Brest (1909–1911) se encargó de federalizar el Sistema Argentino de Educación Física -Sistema oficial desde 1905-, consolidar los vínculos regionales e interregionales entre sus asociadas/os, brindar capacitaciones docentes y defender sus derechos laborales. Posicionándose, hasta mediados de la década de 1920, como un actor central a la hora de seleccionar propuestas en torno a la cultura física nacional (Scharagrodsky, 2013).

En segundo lugar, a causa de diferencias ideológicas y problemas económicos, el 30 de octubre de 1919 se fundó la Sociedad Amigos de la Educación Física, la Cooperadora del Instituto. Presidida originariamente por Pablo Armando Pizzurno (1919–1922) y compuesta por familias, estudiantes, profesoras/es, ex-estudiantes y ex-profesoras/es, se ocupó principalmente de cuestiones económicas para “contribuir a la mejor y más rápida realización de los fines últimos del Instituto” (Sociedad Amigos de la Educación Física, 1922, p. 175).

Por último, el 28 de octubre de 1922 se fundó la ADR, presidida desde un principio por Antonio Caputo e integrada por un grupo de estudiantes y profesoras/es del Instituto. Funcionó así como una “escuela de educación y compañerismo, práctica y estimula el deporte racional-como factor de perfección física y como medio de estrechar vínculos solidarios -sin descuidar nunca la parte cultural-” (Griemberg, 1924, p. 297).

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Keywords: association, physical education, professional training, bodies, Romero Brest



Emergence of the Educational Aspect in Public Policies for Children Under Three Years of Age

Surgimiento Del Aspecto Educativo en Las Políticas Públicas Para Niños Menores de Tres Años

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This paper reports part of the results of my doctoral thesis “Public policies for the education of children under three years of age”. As part of it, I made a historical reconstruction of the measures that were implemented in the city of Buenos Aires, federal capital of the Argentine Republic, from the 18th century to the present and I was able to determine that most of the time they were more sanitary than educational.

The educational aspect was slowly emerging (and to this day it is very timid). Here, it is reported how socialist positions and hygienism influenced this emergence. In particular, it is analysed the project presented at the end of 1921 by the socialist councillors Giusti and Castiñeiras and the studies carried out by Carreño and Slech in the Infant Dispensary No. 16 whose results they published in 1936.

The socialist critique of the elitist conceptions that underpinned state interventions was based on eugenic notions where the idea of children’s rights began to appear timidly. He disapproves of the concept of “charity” that supported then prestigious institutions which they described as “old” pointing out that the concept of social assistance is a transformation and expansion of it. The project of the congressmen explained strong criticisms of the teaching practices of the time and made explicit an interesting and strikingly informed and updated pedagogical position. It also valued the training of teachers for this age group.

Carreño and Slech, by including psychological evaluation in routine medical checkups and linking it to the environment and education, went one step further in the transition from health to educational practices.

The population issue defined in hygienist terms involved the need for preventive controls and eventually led; enabled the circulation of psychological assessment instruments and these linked to the educational issue. The mental hygiene program, which included the care of normal development, the influence of the environment and prevention, led to what would later be studies related to the education of the youngest children.

In this context, where interest in the conditions of development and the incidence of the environment was finding its place next to the care of the organic health of childhood, is where medicine was related to psychological knowledge. Later, the mastery of psychological techniques contributed to deepening the consolidation of children’s medicine as a profession dedicated to the psychological and organic health care of children. Education begins to enter public policies for children under three years of age.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Este trabajo reporta parte de los resultados de mi tesis de doctorado “Políticas públicas para la educación de los niños menores de tres años”. Como parte de ella hice una reconstrucción histórica de las medidas que se implementaron en la ciudad de Buenos Aires, capital federal de la república argentina, desde el siglo XVIII hasta la actualidad y pude determinar que la mayor parte del tiempo fueron más sanitarias que educativas. El aspecto educativo fue surgiendo lentamente (y hasta el día de hoy es muy tímido).



Aquí reportaremos cómo influyeron en este surgimiento las posiciones socialistas y el higienismo. En particular analizamos el proyecto presentado a fines de 1921 por los concejales socialistas Giusti y Castiñeiras y los estudios que realizaron Carreño y Slech en el Dispensario de Lactantes N° 16 cuyos resultados publicaron en 1936.

La crítica socialista a las concepciones elitistas que sustentaban las intervenciones estatales se apoyaban en nociones eugenésicas donde empezaba a aparecer tímidamente la idea de los derechos de los niños y niñas. Desaprueba el concepto de “beneficencia” que sustentaban instituciones entonces prestigiosas al que calificaron de “viejo” señalando que el concepto de la asistencia social es una transformación y ampliación de aquel. El proyecto de los diputados explicitaban fuertes críticas a las prácticas docentes de la época y explicitaba una interesante y llamativamente informada y actualizada posición pedagógica. También valorizaba la formación de las docentes para esta franja etaria.

Carreño y Slech, al incluir la evaluación psicológica en los controles médicos de rutina y vincularla con el ambiente y la educación, avanzaron un paso más en la transición desde las prácticas sanitarias a las educativas. La cuestión poblacional definida en términos higienistas involucraba la necesidad de controles preventivos y con el tiempo condujo; habilitó la circulación de instrumentos de evaluación psicológica y estos enlazaron con la cuestión educativa. El programa de la higiene mental, que contemplaba el cuidado del desarrollo normal, la influencia del ambiente y la prevención, traccionó lo que mucho más adelante serían estudios relativos a la educación de las niñas y niños más pequeños. En este contexto, donde el interés por las condiciones del desarrollo y la incidencia del ambiente iba encontrando su lugar junto al cuidado de la salud orgánica de la infancia, es donde la medicina se relacionó con el saber psicológico. Más adelante, el dominio de las técnicas psicológicas contribuyó a profundizar la consolidación de la medicina infantil como profesión dedicada al cuidado psicológico y orgánico de la salud de las niñas y niños. La educación empieza a entrar a las políticas públicas para los niños y niñas menores de tres años.

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Keywords: educación, políticas públicas, menores de 3 años



**The History of Mathematic's Teaching in a Public School in São Paulo State – Brazil
(2000–2020): Contributions From University Extension**

***A História Do Ensino De Matemática Numa Rede Pública Do Estado De São Paulo-Brasil
(2000–2020): Contribuições Da Extensão Universitária***

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This paper presents the results of investigations whose objective was to develop and analyze aspects of the History of Mathematics Teaching in a public-school network in São Paulo State hinterland, Brazil, in the time framework of 2000 and 2020, when the processes of municipalization of teaching occurred, with the contributions of extension activities developed by the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences of Marília-SP-Brazil (Rodrigues, 2022). The research results have as theoretical-methodological framework the theoretical formulations of De Certeau (1979), on the relation of the researcher with the object and his situated knowledge, and of Chervel (1990), on the history of Mathematics Teaching in Elementary I (1st to 5th grade), on what was prescribed and what was daily materialized. Researches developed within the scope of history of education are a valuable instrument insofar as they contemplate interdisciplinarity and establish connections with different manifestations of culture in distinct times and realities. According to Souza Junior and Galvão (2005, p. 393) "[...] this research has contributed, in a significant way, to a better understanding of the role played by the school and other social instances in defining what, over time, has been considered essential in the formation of new generations." This field of study has been better developed within the history of education, with the denomination of history of school subjects. It is, according to Souza Junior and Galvão (2005, p. 393) a "multidisciplinary approach that, for some decades now, has been developed by researchers from several countries in the world." Facing this context, the investigations focused on issues arising from the relationship between university and society, as well between teaching, research and extension, meeting the academic trajectory of the researchers, in other words, from a "place" (De Certeau, 1979). In the first moment, through specific bibliography, we sought to understand aspects of the historical trajectory of the functions and social, political and educational dimensions of the University, important to reflect, according to Serrano (2011). Then, by means of documents about the mathematics teaching extension projects in a public-school network of a city in the interior of the State of São Paulo, in Brazil, between 2000 and 2020, we required to understand the results of the development of these projects. Therefore, bibliographical and documental research were used in this historical research as methodological approaches. We conclude that the extension projects on math's teaching in the public school network in focus, the history of this teaching, between 2000 and 2020, was being constituted considering peculiarities of the students' reality in understanding the mathematics' contents, an element that refers to the real function and condition of existence of university extension, offering with mediation of more experienced partners and considering the social and educational demands, the most adequate means and instruments to promote the human development in all its capabilities.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Apresentam-se resultados das investigações desenvolvidas com o objetivo de analisar aspectos da História do Ensino de Matemática numa rede pública de ensino do interior do Estado de São Paulo, no Brasil, no recorte temporal de 2000 e 2020, em que ocorre os processos de municipalização do ensino, com as contribuições das atividades de extensão desenvolvidas pela Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências de Marília-SP-Brazil (Rodrigues, 2022). Trata-se de resultados de investigações que tem



como quadro teórico-metodológico as formulações teóricas de De Certeau (1979), na relação do pesquisador com o objeto e o seu lugar de fala, e de Chervel (1990), sobre a história do Ensino de Matemática no Ensino Fundamental I (1º ao 5º ano), sobre aquilo que foi prescrito e aquilo que foi materializado cotidianamente. Pesquisas desenvolvidas no âmbito da história da educação são um valioso instrumento na medida em que contemplam a interdisciplinaridade e estabelece conexões com diferentes manifestações de cultura em tempos e realidades distintas. Segundo, Souza Junior e Galvão (2005, p. 393) “[...] essas pesquisas têm contribuído, de maneira significativa, para um melhor entendimento do papel desempenhado pela escola e por outras instancias sociais na definição daquilo que, ao longo do tempo, tem sido considerado essencial na formação de novas gerações.” Esse campo de estudo tem se desenvolvido melhor no interior da história da educação, com a denominação de história das disciplinas escolares. Trata-se, segundo Souza Junior e Galvão (2005, p. 393) de uma abordagem “multidisciplinar que, já há algumas décadas, vem sendo desenvolvida por pesquisadores de vários países do mundo.” Frente a esse contexto, as investigações foram voltadas para questões decorrentes da relação universidade e sociedade, ou seja, entre o ensino, a pesquisa e a extensão, ao encontro da trajetória acadêmica dos pesquisadores, ou seja, a partir de um “lugar” (De Certeau, 1979). No primeiro momento, por meio de bibliografia específica, buscou-se compreender aspectos da trajetória histórica das funções e dimensões sociais, políticas e educacionais da Universidade, importantes para refletir, conforme Serrano (2011). Após, por meio de documentos sobre os projetos de extensão de ensino de Matemática numa rede pública de ensino de uma cidade do interior do Estado de São Paulo, no Brasil, entre 2000 e 2020, buscou-se compreender os resultados do desenvolvimento desses projetos. Portanto, tratou-se de pesquisa histórica, quanto à abordagem, e bibliográfica e documental, quanto às fontes. Conclui-se que, com os projetos de extensão sobre o Ensino da Matemática, na rede pública de ensino em foco, a história desse ensino, entre 2000 e 2020, foi se constituindo considerando as potencialidades dos elementos da realidade dos alunos na compreensão dos conteúdos da Matemática, elemento esse que remete à própria função e condição de existência da extensão universitária que é a de oferecer, com a mediação de parceiros mais experientes e considerando as demandas sociais e educativas, os meios e instrumentos mais adequados, para a promoção do desenvolvimento humano, em todas as suas potencialidades.

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Keywords: history of education, history of mathematics teaching, contributions of the teaching’s municipalization



“Independence of Instruction”: Freedom of Teaching in the Reform of Brazilian Primary Education (1883)

“Independência da Instrução”: A Liberdade de Ensino na Reforma do Ensino Primário Brasileiro (1883)

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The Brazilian imperial period was marked by significant discussions in the educational field about conceptions of learning, teacher training, teaching methods, evaluation, knowledge, textbooks and funding. In this period, there was an intensified need for the creation and implementation of new educational policies, such as the reform of primary education. Thomaz Espindola, Ruy Barbosa and Ulysses Vianna, both Liberal Party deputies, were appointed by the House of Representatives to compose the commission that would discuss the project of modernization of education for the country through a broad organization in education, described as chaotic or in total abandonment, diverging entirely from the advances achieved by countries abroad. The objective was to consolidate a more scientific educational project, based on a national and international repertoire, known from newspapers, books, trips and visits by foreigners, which guided the discussions and decisions of educational policies. There was a permanent concern for the school to be updated in relation to the recent scientific discoveries.

To establish (new) rules for the functioning of the school was one of the main measures to curb the “ignorance” of the country. One of the most discussed issues was the compulsory nature of education, which was already provided for by law, but had not come into force. Associated with compulsory education, the principle of gratuity would have the State as the sole funder of public education, also responsible for creating and maintaining schools. To substantiate the pedagogical innovations, the evaluators used a wide international bibliographic reference, addressing historical, social, economic, cultural and educational experiences of cities and countries, mostly European. Among these cases, the document “Reform of primary education and various complementary institutions of public instruction” (1883) exposes the establishment of freedom of education as a right of all citizens in the light of advocates of the French Revolution, as the philosopher and mathematician Condorcet (1989, p. 29), by advocating that “the independence of instruction is in some way part of human rights”. In Brazil, freedom of education is recognised as a right in the Federal Constitution of 1988 (art. 206, II) and in the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education of 1996 (art. 3, II), which grants everyone “freedom to learn, teach, research and disseminate culture, thought, art and knowledge”.

Therefore, from the documentary analysis of the laws in force in Brazil and the primary reform of 1883, which has become an important instrument to problematise the practices of teaching and learning, I reflect in this article the principles of freedom of teaching reflected by the referees associated with the theoretical contributions of the authors’ Boto; Souza (2021), Rohling; Valle (2021) and Silva (2020), who evidenced in their studies the implications of the restructuring of the school curriculum from the recognition of education as a right and the significant investments in the qualification of the teaching staff and adequacy to new teaching and learning methods considered effective for the development of youth, in order to contribute to the development of arts, sciences and letters of the country.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O período imperial brasileiro foi marcado por significativas discussões no campo educacional sobre concepções de aprendizagem, formação de professores, métodos de ensino, avaliação, saberes, livros didáticos e financiamento. Neste período, intensificou-se a necessidade de criação e execução de novas políticas educacionais, como a reforma do ensino primário. Thomaz Espindola, Ruy Barbosa e Ulysses Vianna, ambos deputados do partido Liberal, foram nomeados pela câmara dos deputados para compor a comissão que discutiria o projeto de modernização da educação para o país por meio de uma ampla organização no ensino, descrito como caótico ou em total abandono, divergindo integralmente dos avanços obtidos pelos países do exterior. O objetivo era consolidar um projeto educacional mais científico, fundamentado em um repertório nacional e internacional, conhecido por jornais, livros, viagens e visitas de estrangeiros, que orientavam as discussões e decisões das políticas educacionais. Era permanente a preocupação para que a escola estivesse atualizada em relação às recentes descobertas científicas. Traçar (novas) regras para o funcionamento da escola era uma das principais medidas para frear a “ignorância” do país. Uma das questões mais discutidas era a obrigatoriedade do ensino, que já estava prevista em lei, mas não tinha entrado em vigor. Associado à obrigatoriedade, o princípio de gratuidade teria como o único financiador da instrução pública, o Estado, também responsável por criar escolas e mantê-las. Para fundamentar as inovações pedagógicas, os pareceristas utilizaram uma ampla referência bibliográfica internacional, abordando experiências históricas, sociais, econômicas, culturais e educacionais de cidades e países, em grande parte europeus. Dentre esses casos, é exposto no documento da “Reforma do ensino primário e várias instituições complementares da instrução pública” (1883) a instauração da liberdade de ensino como um direito de todos os cidadãos à luz de defensores da Revolução Francesa, como o filósofo e matemático Condorcet (1989, p. 29), ao advogar que “a independência da instrução é de certa forma parte dos direitos humanos”. No Brasil, a liberdade de ensino é reconhecida como um direito na Constituição Federal de 1988 (art. 206, II) e na Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional de 1996 (art. 3, II), a qual confere a todos “liberdade de aprender, ensinar, pesquisar e divulgar a cultura, o pensamento, a arte e o saber”. Portanto, a partir da análise documental das leis vigentes no Brasil e da reforma primária de 1883, a qual se tornou um importante instrumento para problematizar as práticas de ensino e aprendizagem, reflito neste artigo os princípios da liberdade de ensino refletidos pelos pareceristas associados aos aportes teóricos dos autores Boto; Souza (2021), Rohling; Valle (2021) e Silva (2020), que evidenciaram em seus estudos as implicações da reestruturação do currículo escolar a partir do reconhecimento da instrução como um direito e os expressivos investimentos na qualificação do corpo docente e adequação aos novos métodos de ensino e aprendizagem considerados eficazes para o desenvolvimento da juventude, com o fim de contribuir para o desenvolvimento das artes, ciências e letras do país.

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Keywords: Brasil Imperial, Reforma do Ensino Primário, Liberdade de ensino



The Brazilian Secondary School Textbooks and the Education for the Progress of Society
Os Livros Didáticos do Ensino Secundário Brasileiro e a Educação Para o Progresso da
Sociedade

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The textbook is an important source for the History of Education, which reveals school practices of a particular historical period and indicates a set of pedagogical, didactic, social and political motivations of a given society. As an exponent of school culture (Bittencourt, 2008; Escolano, 2009), this artefact conveys knowledge, attitudes and behaviours considered essential to the younger generations (Choppin, 2004). Based on the study of textbooks, the aim of the present study is to investigate the purposes of the school subject Portuguese in Brazilian secondary schools between 1930 and 1971. In 1930, the Ministry of Education and Public Health was created, and increased state control over education and the production of textbooks was perceived. The Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education (Law 5692/1971) caused significant changes in Brazilian education.

The methodological approach adopted in this research is based on bibliographic studies and document analysis. The studies of the History of School Subjects, specifically with Chervel (1990), Julia (2001) and Viñao Frago (2008) contributed to the data analysis. An attempt was made to shed light on the contents of primary and secondary school textbooks for the subject of Portuguese, revealing similarities among the two education levels. Available in the Biblioteca do Livro Didático of the Faculty of Education of the University of São Paulo (BLD-FEUSP), the documents provided relevant traces of the practices in the classroom, partially clarifying the social, historical, and pedagogical context of the period in question. We concluded that primary education reached a wider audience and aimed to give social cohesion to a diverse and unequal country, establishing common values and standards of behaviour, and secondary education provided its privileged students with a convenient criterion to justify the existing hierarchy and social stratification. The teaching of the mother tongue, within the schooling process, was thought of and mobilized as an ally to a civilizing project that intended to inculcate certain values and behaviours considered essential to the nation.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O livro didático é uma importante fonte à História da Educação, que revela as práticas escolares de um dado momento histórico e indica um conjunto de motivações pedagógicas, didáticas, sociais e políticas de determinada sociedade. Enquanto expoente privilegiado da cultura escolar (Bittencourt, 2008; Escolano, 2009), este artefato veicula saberes, atitudes e comportamentos considerados essenciais às gerações mais jovens. (Choppin, 2004). A partir do estudo de livros didáticos, o presente texto tem como objetivo investigar as finalidades assumidas pela disciplina escolar Português no ensino secundário no período entre 1930 e 1971 no Brasil. O marco inicial é 1930, ano em que foi criado o Ministério da Educação e Saúde Pública, e em que se percebeu um progressivo controle estatal sobre a educação e sobre a produção de livros didáticos no país. A data final é a Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação (Lei 5692/1971), uma vez que provocou mudanças significativas no ensino básico. A partir dos fundamentos teórico-metodológicos da História das Disciplinas Escolares, especificamente com Chervel (1990), Julia (2001) e Viñao Frago (2008), buscou-se lançar luz sobre os discursos



presentes nos livros escolares da disciplina Português adotados no ensino primário e no secundário, evidenciando aproximações de cada etapa. Disponíveis na Biblioteca do Livro Didático na Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo (BLD-FEUSP), os livros escolares forneceram relevantes indícios sobre as práticas em sala de aula, de maneira a esclarecer em parte o contexto social, histórico e pedagógico do período em questão. Foi possível concluir que a educação primária alcançava um público mais amplo e visava dar coesão social a um país diverso e desigual, estabelecendo valores e padrões de comportamento comuns, a educação secundária fornecia ao seus privilegiados alunos um critério conveniente para justificar a hierarquia e estratificação social existente. Nesse sentido, o ensino da língua materna, dentro do processo de escolarização, era pensado e mobilizado como aliado a um projeto civilizatório que visava a inculcação de certos valores e comportamentos considerados fundamentais à nação.

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Keywords: school subjects, Portuguese, textbook, civilization



Legislation, Teaching Practice, and Educational Innovation: Perception of Portuguese Teachers About Teacher Education (1974–2022)

Legislação, Prática Docente e Inovação Educativa: Percepções de Professores Portugueses Sobre a Formação Profissional (1974–2022)

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Teacher education in Portugal has occupied a prominent place in debates on education, both through initial/professional training and teaching practice. We can infer that changes in the scope of legislation on teacher training since 25th April 1974, changed practices in daily school life. Currently, there are at least 30 Degree courses in Basic Education in Portugal, 14 public Polytechnic Institutes, and eight private ones (including Graduate Programs) offering Master in Education (qualification for Basic Education). Therefore, we raise the following questions: Does current training qualify teachers for educational innovation? How far is the gap between training and practice? Do undergraduate and master's degrees in education have a curriculum that enables teachers to be critical and reflective professionals? In order to answer these questions, we analyze the dialectic relationship between the official documents that guide the courses of the teaching training profession and the perspective of those who carried out initial/professional training in some of these institutions.

The present proposal focuses on the period between 1974 and the present and aims to discuss the perceptions of Portuguese teachers about their formation. We also desire to analyse the most relevant legislation within the scope of teacher training, known as Law n° 46/86 (Base Law of the Education System and its amendments – Laws n° 115/97, n° 49/2005 and n° 85/2009); Decree-Law n° 95/97 (specialized training of kindergarten teachers and primary and secondary education teachers); Decree-Law n° 41/2012 (Teaching Career Statute); and Decree-Law n° 79/2014 (professional qualification for teaching in preschool education, primary, secondary and further education). Thus, in addition to the legislation, semi-structured interviews were carried out with eight teachers who work in three schools considered “innovative” and that work in Basic Education. We also surveyed the activities for teacher education carried out at/by the Institute of Educational Innovation (1987–2002).

This paper intends to examine the theme historically and develop from the context relating to pedagogical innovation, teaching life history, pedagogical practices, and teacher education in Portugal. Our goal is to contribute to current discussions about more qualified teacher education and teacher appreciation. For this purpose, four moments will be inserted: the first deals with a brief history of teacher education in Portugal; the second will address, through legislation, how post-April 25 teacher education is thought of legally and politically; the third, the perceptions of teachers who work at “alternative” schools; and, finally, the relationship between legislation and practice.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A formação de professores em Portugal tem ocupado lugar de destaque nos debates sobre a educação, tanto pela formação inicial/profissional quanto pela prática docente. Infere-se que as alterações no âmbito da legislação sobre a formação docente que ocorreram desde o período pós 25 de abril de 1974 alteram as práticas no cotidiano escolar. Há hoje ao menos 30 cursos de Licenciatura em Educação Básica em Portugal, 14 Institutos Politécnicos públicos e 8 privados (incluindo Escolas Superiores de Educação) que ofertam Mestrado em Educação (habilitação para 1º e 2º Ciclos) e as perguntas que se colocam são: a formação atual qualifica o professor para a



inovação educativa? Qual a distância entre a formação e a prática? As licenciaturas e os mestrados em ensino possuem um currículo que possibilita a formação de profissionais críticos e reflexivos? Para tentar responder a essas questões, analisa-se a relação dialética entre os documentos oficiais que orientam a formação da profissão docente e o olhar de quem realizou a formação inicial/profissional em algumas destas instituições.

A presente proposta tem como foco o período compreendido entre 1974 até os tempos atuais e possui como objetivo debater as percepções de professores portugueses sobre a formação e a legislação mais relevante no âmbito da formação de professores, nomeadamente: Lei nº 46/86 (Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo e suas alterações – Leis nº 115/97; nº 49/2005 e nº 85/2009); Decreto-Lei nº 95/97 (formação especializada de educadores de infância e de professores dos ensinos básico e secundário); Decreto-Lei nº 41/2012 (Estatuto da Carreira Docente); Decreto-Lei nº 79/2014 (habilitação profissional para a docência na educação pré-escolar e nos ensinos básico e secundário). Para tanto, além da legislação, foram realizadas entrevistas semiestruturadas a oito professores, inseridos em três escolas consideradas “inovadoras” e que atuam no Ensino Básico, também foi realizado um levantamento sobre as atividades para formação de professores realizadas no/pelo Instituto de Inovação Educacional (1987–2002).

Esta comunicação pretende um olhar histórico sobre o tema e desenvolve-se a partir do contexto que relaciona a inovação pedagógica, a história de vida docente, as práticas pedagógicas e a formação de professores em Portugal. Almeja-se apresentar contribuições para os debates atuais em torno de uma formação docente mais qualificada e da valorização do professor e para tal serão inseridos quatro momentos: o primeiro versa sobre um breve histórico sobre a formação de professores em Portugal; o segundo irá abordar, por meio da legislação, a forma como é pensada jurídica e politicamente a formação docente pós 25 de abril; em terceiro as percepções dos professores que atuam em escolas “alternativas” e, por fim, a relação entre a legislação e a prática.

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Keywords: teacher education, educational innovation, legislation, teaching practice



Policies and Practices for Extending the School Day in Brazilian Public Schools: An Analysis of Academic Discourse (2014–2022)
Políticas e Práticas de Ampliação da Jornada Escolar Das Escolas Públicas Brasileiras: Uma Análise da Discursividade Acadêmica (2014–2022)

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This work aims to present an analysis of the most recurrent arguments found about the policies of extension of the school day in Brazilian public schools.

It is possible to see that, for those who elaborate policies in contemporary times, the *learning society* is the horizon on which they frame their governmental instruments (Simons & Masschelein, 2011). Such society is characterized by the creation of an infrastructure capable of making its inhabitants lifelong learners.

The evidence of these recent ways of thinking about the forms of government of citizens and the elaboration of public policies highlighted the importance of questioning the ways in which the current proposals for extending the school day of the Brazilian public schools could be serving to trigger a *pedagogized life* (Ball, 2013).

Based on the premise that what has been designated nowadays as a *learning society* is related to a specific way of understanding ourselves as subjects for whom learning would be a natural force to live this life, we see that expanding understanding about the forms of truth production of discourses in support of the duty of citizens to become *full-time students* is necessary to think about ourselves and the world.

Thus, in order to understand how the current Brazilian academic discussions related to the extension of the school day of Brazilian public schools are presented, a mapping of the ideas of the academic productions (from 2014 to 2022) was carried out; assuming the perspective of Michel Foucault, that what is said about something is riddled with knowledge, practices, in short, vectors of power that cross it, regulate it and, ultimately, create it (Foucault, 2005, 2014).

The search for articles and theses based on the keywords *integral education* and *full-time education* in journals search portals such as: *USP Theses Bank*, *Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD)* and *Capes Periódicos*, made it possible to highlight the persistent increase in scientific production on policies to extend the school day, since 1984, when Ribetto and Maurício (2009) undertook the first survey on the subject.

The bibliographic review carried out also revealed that most of the theses and articles (total of 121 articles obtained through the *Capes Periódicos* portal), produced from 2014 to 2022, deal with research that analysed policies or experiences of extending the school day that had already been implemented in municipalities or states.

Arguments were found that vary between those used to justify the full-time school proposals underway in Brazilian public education and those that seek to question uncritical adherence to educational reforms, their conceptions of full-time schooling and its destination.

Through the analysis of these arguments, this work intends to raise questions that expand the reflexive field around the theme of full-time schools in Brazil.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Este trabalho visa apresentar uma análise das argumentações mais recorrentes encontradas acerca da ampliação da jornada das escolas públicas brasileiras na atualidade.

É possível constatar que, para aqueles que elaboram políticas na contemporaneidade, a *sociedade da aprendizagem* seria o horizonte sobre o qual enquadram seus instrumentos governamentais



(Simons & Masschelein, 2011). Tal sociedade seria caracterizada pela criação de uma infraestrutura capaz de tornar seus habitantes aprendizes ao longo da vida.

A evidência desses modos recentes de pensar as formas de governo dos cidadãos e a elaboração de políticas públicas ressaltou a importância de questionar os modos pelos quais as atuais propostas de ampliação da jornada da escola pública brasileira poderiam estar servindo para acionar uma vida *pedagogizada* (Ball, 2013).

Partindo da premissa de que aquilo que na atualidade tem sido designado como *sociedade da aprendizagem* estaria relacionado a uma maneira específica de nos compreendermos como sujeitos para os quais a aprendizagem seria uma força natural para se viver esta vida, entende-se que ampliar a compreensão sobre as formas de produção de verdade dos discursos em defesa do dever de tornarmos-nos alunos em *tempo integral* é necessária para pensar sobre nós mesmos e sobre o mundo.

Assim, com intuito de compreender de que modo se apresentam as discussões acadêmicas brasileiras atuais relacionadas à ampliação da jornada das escolas públicas brasileiras, realizou-se o mapeamento das ideias que povoam a rede discursiva das produções acadêmicas de 2014 a 2022; assumindo a perspectiva de Michel Foucault, de que aquilo que é dito sobre algo é crivado de saberes, práticas, em suma, vetores de poder que o atravessam, regulamentam e, em última instância, o criam (Foucault, 2005, 2014).

A busca de artigos e teses a partir das palavras-chave *educação integral* e *tempo integral* nos portais de busca de teses, artigos e periódicos: *Banco de Teses da USP*, *Biblioteca Digital Brasileira de Teses e Dissertações (BDTD)* e *Capes Periódicos*, possibilitou evidenciar o persistente o aumento das produções científicas sobre as políticas de ampliação da jornada escolar, desde 1984, quando Ribetto e Maurício (2009) empreenderam o primeiro levantamento sobre a temática.

A revisão bibliográfica realizada também permitiu constar que a maioria das teses e dos artigos (total de 121 artigos obtidos por meio do portal *Capes Periódicos*), produzidos no período de 2014 a 2022, versam sobre pesquisas que analisaram políticas ou experiências de ampliação da jornada escolar que já haviam sido implantadas em municípios ou estados.

Foram encontrados argumentos que variam entre aqueles utilizados para justificar as propostas de escola de tempo integral em curso nas redes de ensino público do país e aqueles que procuram questionar supostas adesões acríticas às reformas educacionais, suas concepções de escola de tempo integral e a sua destinação.

Por meio da análise desses argumentos, este trabalho pretende suscitar questões que ampliem o campo reflexivo em torno da temática das escolas de tempo integral no Brasil na atualidade.

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Keywords: learning society, policies, school day, Brazilian public school



**Secularism and Reformism in Brazil Republic: The Educational Ideals of the Newspaper
A Lanterna: Anticlerical Combat Newspaper (1909–1916)**

***Laicidade e Reformismo na República Brasileira: o Ideário Educativo no Jornal A Lanterna:
Folha Anticlerical de Combate (1909–1916)***

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The republican regime, installed in Brazil from 1889, brought with it several ideals, among them the secularization of customs, combined with the modernization of the country that called for the need for an orderly and harmonious society, following the principles postulated by Positivism. All this set of ideas was present in the pages of the Brazilian press, which sometimes expressed agreement, sometimes in disagreement with established society (Martins & Lucca, 2008). More expressively, a current of thought was formed whose ideas differed from those proposed by conservative sectors, such as the clergy; thus, we can conceive of the newspaper A Lanterna: anticlerical combat sheet, which circulated from 1901 to 1935 and was published in the city of São Paulo.

In this research, the objective was to analyze how the aforementioned newspaper presented its proposal to reform the conservative ideology, which emerged in the Brazilian empire, but which left traces, above all, from the religious perspective. It was also sought to verify how the journal contributed to the dissemination of ideas that wanted to conform a libertarian conscience based on a new educational model, seen as more modern and rational. In the analysed period, from 1909 to 1906, the newspaper was headed by the anarchist journalist Edgard Leuenroth, who was responsible for inserting into the journal pages the revolutionary principles that were being disseminated in the diffusion centers (E.g. schools and universities) of the new republic, (Oliveira, 2008). "A Lanterna" defended a rationalist teaching and learning model that employs the pedagogical optimism that emerged at that time (Nagle, 1974). The newspaper was in favor of the entry of new means that could renew everything from the pedagogical method to teacher training. To this end, the expansion of schools beyond the capital was favorable, as well as the expansion of those that would have access to especially children.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O regime republicano, instalado no Brasil a partir de 1889, trouxe consigo diversos ideais, dentre eles destacava-se a laicização dos costumes, aliado a modernização do país que clamava pela necessidade de uma sociedade ordeira e harmoniosa, seguindo os princípios postulados pelo Positivismo. Todo este ideário se fez presente nas páginas da imprensa brasileira, que ora se manifestava em concordância, ora em discordância com a sociedade estabelecida (Martins & Lucca, 2008). De modo mais expressivo, formou-se uma corrente de pensamento cuja as ideias destoavam daquelas propostas por setores conservadores, a exemplo do Clero; assim, podemos conceber o jornal *A Lanterna: folha anticlerical de combate*, que circulou de 1901 a 1935 e era publicado na cidade de São Paulo. Nesta pesquisa, objetivou-se analisar como o referido jornal apresentou sua proposta para reformar o ideário conservador, que surgiu ainda no Brasil império, mas que deixou resquícios, sobretudo, a partir da perspectiva religiosa. Buscou-se, ainda, verificar como o periódico contribuiu na disseminação de ideias que queriam conformar uma consciência libertaria a partir de um novo



modelo educativo, visto como mais moderno e racional. No período analisado, de 1909 a 1906, o jornal tinha frente o jornalista anarquista, Edgard Leuenroth, responsável por inserir, nas páginas do periódico, os princípios revolucionário que corriam nos centros de difusão da nova república, como por exemplo, nas escolas e universidades (Oliveira, 2008). A Lanterna defendia um modelo de ensino racionalista, empregando concordava com o otimismo pedagógico que surge naquele momento (Nagle, 1974). O jornal era favorável a entrada de novos meios que pudessem renovar desde o método pedagógico até a formação de docentes. Para tanto, era favorável a expansão de escolas além da capital, bem como a ampliação daqueles que teriam acesso a sobretudo das crianças.

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Keywords: Brazil Republic, history and press, secularism, modernisation



The Unfinished Educative Reform of Argentine Popular Nationalism in 1973–1974
La Reforma Educativa Inconclusa del Nacionalismo Popular Argentino en 1973–1974

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This paper considers “popular nationalism” as a pedagogic trend that had a strong impact in Argentina in the sixties and the seventies of the 20th century. It will be argued that around 1970, a new generation of educators articulated some previous experiences and the work of their “founding fathers” with other innovative lines of thought, such as Dependency Theories and Paulo Freire’s pedagogical contributions. With the return of Peronism to the power in 1973, this articulation gave rise to an attempted Educative Reform which remained unfinished.

The paper reworks pioneer experiences of pedagogical popular nationalism, such as FORJA in the thirties and the work of intellectuals like Arturo Jauretche and Juan José Hernández Arregui. It also tackles the “Cátedras Nacionales” (national chairs) of the end of the sixties to then focus on the spaces in which the pedagogical transformations between 1973 and 1974 were implemented, namely, adults’ education and the university. Documents from the Ministry of Culture and Education and from the University of Buenos Aires that show this hybridisation of political-intellectual traditions and their expression in terms of an education proposal will be analysed. Lastly, the paper addresses the end of this experience, due the replacement of public officials in the educational field, following Perón’s death in mid-1974. It will be argued that the new orientation was that of a catholic and elitist nationalism that had been operating as constitutive outside in the formation of the popular nationalism.

The paper includes a theoretical consideration of the importance of an account of unsuccessful, defeated, or unfinished educational reforms. As such, these are usually left aside in the historiography of education, but their reposition allows us to contemplate pedagogical projects and discourses that reemerge, under new forms, in other periods in time. The research is based on different sorts of sources: interviews, institutional documents, journals, and graphic press of national circulation, among others.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La ponencia parte de considerar al nacionalismo popular como corriente pedagógica que en la Argentina tuvo un fuerte desarrollo durante los años 60 y 70 del siglo XX. Nutriéndose de experiencias previas y de la obra de sus “padres fundadores”, se argumentará que una nueva generación de educadores/as a comienzos de los 70 articularán esas matrices teóricas con otras más novedosas, como las teorías de la dependencia y los aportes pedagógicos de Paulo Freire. Fue esa articulación de tradiciones la que dará lugar a un intento de reforma educativa con el retorno del peronismo al gobierno en 1973 y que resultará inconclusa.

El trabajo repasa experiencias pioneras del nacionalismo popular pedagógico, como FORJA en la década del 30 y la obra de intelectuales como Arturo Jauretche y Juan José Hernández Arregui. También se detiene en las Cátedras Nacionales de finales de los años 60 para luego concentrarse en espacios donde se impulsaron transformaciones pedagógicas entre 1973 y 1974, como la educación de adultos y la universidad. Serán analizados documentos del Ministerio de Cultura y Educación y de la Universidad de Buenos Aires que muestran esa hibridación de tradiciones político-intelectuales y su particular expresión en términos de una propuesta educacional. Por último, se visualizará el final de la experiencia tras el recambio del elenco de funcionarios del área educativa luego de la muerte de Perón a mediados de 1974.



Se argumentará que la nueva orientación será la de un nacionalismo católico y elitista, que de alguna manera había operado como exterior constitutivo en la conformación del nacionalismo popular.

La propuesta incluye una reflexión teórica sobre la importancia de atender a reformas educativas no exitosas, derrotadas o inconclusas. Como tales, suelen ser dejadas de lado por la historiografía de la educación, pero su reposición permite recuperar proyectos y discursos pedagógicos que resurgen, bajo nuevas formas, en otros períodos. El trabajo se nutre de diferentes tipos de fuentes: entrevistas, documentos institucionales, publicaciones periódicas, prensa gráfica de circulación nacional, entre otras.

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Keywords: nacionalismo popular, peronismo, reforma educativa



Obedience, Convergences, and Dissidences in the Face of the New Regulations in Higher Education

Obediencias, Convergencias Y Disidencias Ante Las Nuevas Normativas En Educación Superior

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Throughout history, there have been different reactions to proposals for regulatory change in higher education. We understand that visualising the patterns of the reactions that have taken place in the face of profound historical change helps us to think about how to anticipate the proposals for change that are currently being put forward, on the occasion of the introduction of more global, more technically demanding and more complex parameters at the level of processes, but with still uncertain results (Reimagining our futures together: a new social contract for education; executive summary). With a perspective of history for the present (Grosvenor, 2021), the communication presents the results of an interdisciplinary work that unites knowledge from contemporary history, social psychology, international pedagogy and artistic action in the proposal. We understand, along the lines initiated by the HEC (<https://historyofeducationalecologies.wordpress.com>), that all history is full of complexities and that it is through the interaction of different knowledge that we can unravel it and get its manifest density (Van Gorp et al., 2022).

Origins of the proposal: The initial concern was to carry out a case study of contemporary history with the aim of understanding what elements intervene in obedience, convergence and dissent in the face of proposals for change, centred on the question of what mechanisms of adhesion, accommodation and rejection took place in the implementation and monitoring of the Bologna plan at the University of Vic (1999–2019). The underlying intention was twofold: on the one hand, the aim was to recover the recent memory of the institution and make it available to the university community and, on the other hand, it was considered that, based on a controlled case study, we could begin to visualise the patterns of reactions.

Communication proposal: The methodology, the study process and the results of the study will be presented. The conceptual bases that guided the proposal for change based on the comparative study between international and national regulations and the changes that had to be made will be described. The categories of analysis, on this occasion coming from social psychology, explain how in the face of a social influence (either as an order or as a recommendation) we can react with disobedience (through different strategies) or by obeying and adapting our behaviour to what we believe will be the majority behaviour, either through normative social influence (we do not want to be excluded), or through informative social influence (we do not have enough information to have a critical attitude of defiance). The categorised analyses of the interviews conducted with people with responsibilities in the management of change, as well as with teachers and students who promoted and participated in the protests against the new Plan will be shown.

Intentionality: This paper seeks to create a space for debate as an opportunity to better understand the institutions in which we work on a situation that affected the different European universities based on the idea of governance (Lawn & Novoa, 2013) introduced by the European Union.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A lo largo de la historia, ante las propuestas de cambio normativo en educación superior, se han dado diferentes reacciones. Entendemos que visualizar los patrones de las reacciones que tuvieron lugar ante un cambio profundo histórico nos ayuda a pensar como anticipar las propuestas de cambio qué se están planteando en la actualidad, en ocasión de la introducción de parámetros más globales, más técnicamente exigentes y más complejos a nivel de procesos, pero con resultados aun inciertos (Reimagining our futures together: a new social contract for education; executive summary). Con una perspectiva de la historia para el presente (Grosvenor, 2021), en la comunicación se plantean los resultados de un trabajo interdisciplinar que une en la propuesta conocimientos provenientes de la historia contemporánea, de la psicología social, de la pedagogía internacional y de la acción artística. Pues, entendemos, en la línea iniciada por el HEC (<https://historyofeducacionalecologies.wordpress.com>), que toda historia está revertida de complejidades y es través de la interacción de diferentes conocimientos que podemos desgranarla e introducirnos en su densidad manifiesta (Van Gorp et al., 2022).

Orígenes de la propuesta: La inquietud inicial era la de realizar un estudio de caso de historia contemporánea con la finalidad de comprender qué elementos intervienen en la obediencia, convergencia y disidencias ante las propuestas de cambio, centrado en la pregunta sobre qué mecanismos de adhesión, acomodación y rechazo tuvieron lugar en la implementación y seguimiento del plan Bolonia en la Universidad de Vic (1999–2019). La voluntad subyacente a la misma era doble: por un lado, se quería recuperar la memoria reciente de la institución y ponerla a disposición de la comunidad universitaria y, por el otro, se consideró que, a partir de un estudio de caso controlado, se podía empezar a visualizar los patrones de las reacciones.

Propuesta de comunicación: Se presentarán tanto la metodología y el proceso de estudio, como los resultados de este. Así se relatarán las bases conceptuales que orientaron la propuesta de cambio a partir del estudio comparativo entre la normativa internacional y nacional y los cambios que necesariamente habían de realizarse. Las categorías de análisis, provenientes en ésta ocasión de la psicología social, explican como ante una influencia social (ya sea como orden o como recomendación) podemos reaccionar con la desobediencia (mediante distintas estrategias) o bien obedeciendo y adaptando nuestro comportamiento al que creemos que será el comportamiento mayoritario, ya sea por influencia social normativa (no queremos quedar excluidos), o bien a través de la influencia social informativa (no tenemos información suficiente para tener una actitud crítica de desafío). Se mostraran los análisis categorizados de las entrevistas realizadas tanto a personas con responsabilidades en la gestión del cambio, como profesores y a estudiantes que impulsaron y estuvieron en las protestas de rechazo al nuevo Plan.

Intencionalidad: Con la presente se busca crear un espacio de debate como oportunidad para comprender mejor las instituciones en las que trabajamos sobre una situación que afectó a las distintas universidades europeas en base a la idea de gobernanza (Lawn & Novoa, 2013) introducida por la Unión Europea.

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Keywords: university plan, activism, reactions, reforms



The First Public School Library of Brasília and the New School Thinking
A Primeira Biblioteca Escolar Pública de Brasília (Brasil) e o Pensamento da Escola Nova

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The research delves into the relation between the first school library of Brasília, founded in 1956, and the thinking of Anísio Teixeira, one of the most prominent educators of the New School movement in Brazil. The Brazilian Federal Capital was constructed by the decision to change the headquarters of the political power, previously located in Rio de Janeiro, in the coast of the country, to an inland place, at the centre of the territorial map. Although Brasília's official inauguration happened in 1960, years before the city had already started to be constructed, among the dust of the recently opened roads of the cerrado biome, the unique vegetation of the Brazilian region Central-West. The urban and architectural planning of the new Capital was traced by Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, respectively, bringing as a main characteristic the modernist lines. The design of the Educational Plan of the Federal District, in turn, was made by the educator Anísio Teixeira. The geographical change of Capital demanded great effort and brought thousands of workers who migrated to the Central-West region. These pioneer workers, also known as "candangos", needed to work for long hours and lived in camps with improvised tents, while the city was being built. In this context, the children of these workers initially did not have access to some rights, among them, school education. In order to meet the increasing demand for schools, in just twenty days, in 1956, the First Scholar Group of Brasília was created, subsequently being called Júlia Kubitschek School.

Therefore, the first school library of Brasília was created under the architectural design of Oscar Niemeyer, even before the city's inauguration. The school's building was designed to accommodate children in classrooms, library, kitchen, cafeteria, storeroom and covered playground. Our historical research focused on the library of the first built school in Brasília, being oriented by the qualitative approach, with a historical dialectic materialism theoretical base. The data construction happened through bibliographic and documental analysis. The examined bibliography refers to documents about Brasília's construction and Anísio Teixeira works. The research selected photographs and films are from the 1950s and belong to the Federal District Public Archive. The analysis was made within the categories contradiction, historicity and totality, and made the object approach possible. The Educational Plan created by Anísio Teixeira pointed out that libraries supported the idea of integral education, articulated to other school learning spaces. The quality of life of the first candangos took them away from the literate world, however, the school library has been established as a space for reading access. It was noted that the first school library of Brasília became a historical space of democratisation of access to cultural goods, by means of the books. Anísio Teixeira's philosophical, pedagogical and political conceptions were unveiled due to the importance of this space of democratisation of knowledge. Considering Anísio Teixeira's thinking, the school library printed in Brasília's history the knowledge democratisation as a significant value, not only educational, but mostly social and political.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

A pesquisa aborda a relação entre a primeira biblioteca escolar de Brasília, inaugurada em 1956, e o pensamento de Anísio Teixeira, um dos educadores mais proeminentes do movimento da Escola Nova no Brasil. A Capital Federal brasileira foi construída a partir de uma



decisão em mudar a sede do poder político, antes localizada no Rio de Janeiro, litoral do País, para um lugar interiorizado, no centro do mapa territorial. Apesar da inauguração oficial de Brasília ter ocorrido em 1960, anos antes a cidade já começara a ser construída, em meio à poeira das estradas recém-abertas no bioma cerrado, vegetação própria da região Centro-Oeste do Brasil. O planejamento urbanístico e arquitetônico da nova Capital foi traçado por Lúcio Costa e Oscar Niemeyer, respectivamente, caracterizando-se por linhas modernistas. O desenho do Plano Educacional do Distrito Federal, por sua vez, foi elaborado pelo educador Anísio Teixeira. A mudança geográfica da Capital exigiu esforços grandiosos e mobilizou milhares de trabalhadores que migraram para a região Centro-Oeste. Esses operários pioneiros, também chamados de candangos, eram submetidos a longas jornadas de trabalho e moravam em acampamentos com barracas improvisadas, enquanto a cidade era erguida. Nesse contexto, as crianças, filhas desses trabalhadores, inicialmente não tinham acesso a alguns direitos, dentre eles, a educação escolar. Para atender à demanda crescente por escolas, em apenas vinte dias, em 1956, ergueu-se o Primeiro Grupo Escolar de Brasília, posteriormente chamado de Escola Júlia Kubitschek. Assim, a primeira biblioteca escolar de Brasília foi criada sob os traços arquitetônicos de Oscar Niemeyer, antes mesmo da inauguração da cidade. O prédio da escola foi desenhado para abrigar crianças em salas de aula, biblioteca, cozinha, refeitório, almoxarifado e recreio coberto. Nossa pesquisa histórica enfocou a biblioteca da primeira escola edificada em Brasília, tendo se orientado pela abordagem qualitativa, com embasamento teórico do materialismo histórico-dialético. A construção dos dados realizou-se por meio de análise bibliográfica e documental. A bibliografia examinada refere-se a documentos sobre a construção de Brasília e obras de autoria de Anísio Teixeira. As fotografias e filmes selecionados para a pesquisa datam dos anos de 1950 e pertencem ao Arquivo Público do Distrito Federal. As análises foram tecidas por meio das categorias contradição, historicidade e totalidade e tornaram possível a aproximação com o objeto. O Plano Educacional elaborado por Anísio Teixeira indicava que as bibliotecas sustentavam a ideia de educação integral, articulado a outros espaços escolares de aprendizagem. As condições materiais de vida dos primeiros candangos afastavam-nos da inserção no mundo letrado, no entanto a biblioteca escolar firmou-se como um espaço de acesso à leitura. Percebeu-se, assim, que a primeira biblioteca escolar de Brasília se constituiu como um espaço histórico de democratização do acesso aos bens culturais, por meio dos livros. As concepções filosóficas, pedagógicas e políticas de Anísio Teixeira foram desveladas por meio da relevância desse espaço de democratização do saber. Considerando o pensamento de Anísio Teixeira, a biblioteca escolar imprimiu na história de Brasília a democratização do saber como um valor de significância, não apenas educacional, mas sobretudo social e político.

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Keywords: Anísio Teixeira, Escola Nova, infância, direito à educação



History of Education on the Net: An Analysis of the Hashtag #histed on Twitter ***História da Educação em Rede: uma análise da hashtag #histed no Twitter***

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In social networks, hashtags are used to identify and highlight topics under discussion. Referring to the area of history of education the recurrent hashtag is #histed. In this sense, what is the prominence and centrality of profiles and themes linked to the hashtag #histed on the social network Twitter? The analysis of the hashtag #histed on Twitter is a way to explore the behaviour of users in the area of the history of education. Thus, the aim of this work, in the context of the increasing use of social networks and expansion of digital humanities, is to analyse the prominence and centrality of profiles and themes linked to the hashtag #histed in the social network Twitter. The research data corpus used were all posts that mentioned the hashtag #histed in the years 2021 and 2022. The total balance of the collection was a total of 3,768 Tweets collected, 10,048 Retweets collected, and 1,854 unique users collected. The material was collected by the Twitter Monitor tool - <http://monitor.cgti.ibict.br/estatistica/64/>. Methodologically, discourse analysis was used. The digital history and theoretical discussions about the role of social networks support the study. The dissemination of content related to scientific events and publications in the area of history of education is prevalent; it is observed a predominance of profiles linked to educational institutions or scientific journals is recurrent; it is highlighted the greater frequency of the use of the hashtag #histed during the realisation of scientific events, for example, the editions of the ISCHE; the tweets with more likes are about scientific publications. The data mining techniques of the hashtag #histed allowed us to explore the relationships between users and the messages around the thematic history of education on Twitter.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Nas redes sociais as hashtags são utilizadas para identificar e realçar temas em discussão. Referindo-se à área da história da educação a hashtag recorrente é #histed. Neste sentido, qual é a proeminência e a centralidade de perfis e temas vinculados à hashtag #histed na rede social Twitter? A análise da hashtag #histed no Twitter é uma forma de explorar o comportamento dos usuários em relação a área da história da educação. Assim, o objetivo desse trabalho, em um contexto de uso cada vez maior de redes sociais e de ampliação das humanidades digitais, é analisar proeminência e centralidade de perfis e temas vinculados à hashtag #histed na rede social Twitter. O corpus de dados da pesquisa utilizado foram todos os posts que mencionaram a hashtag #histed nos anos de 2021 e 2022. O saldo total da coleta foi um total de Tweets 3.768 coletados, 10.048 Retweets coletados e 1.854 usuários únicos coletados. O material foi levantado pela ferramenta Twitter Monitor - <http://monitor.cgti.ibict.br/estatistica/64/>. Metodologicamente, fez-se uso da análise do discurso. A história digital e as discussões teóricas a respeito do papel das redes sociais dão suporte ao estudo. A divulgação de conteúdos referentes aos eventos científicos e as publicações na área da história da educação são prevalentes; observa-se predominância de perfis vinculados às instituições educacionais ou periódicos científicos como recorrentes; destaca-se a maior frequência do uso da hashtag #histed durante a realização de eventos científicos, a exemplo das edições do ISCHE; os twitter com mais curtidas são sobre publicações científicas. As técnicas de mineração de dados da hashtag #histed permitiu-nos explorar as



relações entre os usuários e as mensagens em torno da temática história da educação no Twitter.

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Keywords: history of education, digital history, social network



History of Education of women in postgraduate programs in Education of the North of Brazil

O Campo Dos Estudos da História de Educação de Mulheres em Programas de Pós-graduação em Educação do Norte do Brasil

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This study aims to investigate the condition of the knowledge developed in research and studies carried out on the history of women's education in theses and dissertations of Postgraduate Programs (PPG) in Education in the North Region of Brazil; its main themes, aims, epistemological approaches, findings and conclusions. The research will be carried out in the database of the Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations – BDTD and on the webpages of PPG. For analysis, we will use the thematic analysis methodology.

The aim is to be able to contribute to a better delineation of the field of study and its already consolidated contributions, as well as to point out gaps and needs for studies that have not yet been carried out or are not very robust. Mainly because the preliminary results indicate a small number of publications and approaches centered on the history of education designed for women and not on the role of women in the History of Education.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Resumo: Este estudo visa investigar o estado do conhecimento das pesquisas e estudos realizados sobre a história da educação de mulheres nas teses e dissertações dos Programas de Pós-Graduação – PPG's em Educação do Norte do Brasil – os principais temas, objetivos, abordagens epistemológicas, achados e conclusões já empreendidas. O levantamento será realizado no banco de dados da Biblioteca Digital de Teses e Dissertações – BDTD e nas páginas dos PPG's. Para análise empreenderemos a metodologia da análise temática. O intuito é poder contribuir para um melhor delineamento do campo de estudos e suas contribuições já consolidadas, como também apontar lacunas e necessidades de estudos ainda não empreendidos ou pouco robustos. Principalmente, porque resultados preliminares indicam para o número reduzido de trabalhos, e de abordagens centradas na história da educação pensada para mulheres e não sobre o protagonismo de mulheres na História da Educação.

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Keywords: history of women's education, state of knowledge, education, north region



Poor childhood education and the Farrapos War: the Provincial Revolt and the Offer of trade teaching

A educação da infância pobre e a Guerra Dos Farrapos: a Revolta Provincial e a Oferta do Ensino de Ofícios

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In the province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, the 1830s were marked by a troubled period, characterized by the Farrapos War, a provincial revolt driven by the interest of the charqueadora economy, which found little support for its products in the central government. Tensions built up in various regions of peripheral economy, which made possible the outbreak of provincial rebellions. The Farroupilha Revolution began in 1835 and lasted for ten years. Both the location of the province (on the border with the Oriental Republic of Uruguay and the Argentine Republic) and the conflicting situation that was established were elements that influenced the implementation of institutions for the formation of poor children.

The aim of this study is to reflect on the teaching crafts in the Province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul in the 1830s and 1840s. The sources are available in the Digital Hemeroteca of the National Library, as well as the monarchical regulations that dealt with the implementation of Arsenals of War in the different Brazilian provinces. In addition, bibliographical research was carried out to identify the authors who dedicated themselves to research on the teaching of crafts. The studies by Sani (2016), Cunha (2005), Batista (2021), Henriques (2022) and Santos (2018) were identified. Through the interlocution between the theoretical references and the sources, a document analysis was carried out, based on Cellard (2008).

It was verified that before the outbreak of the conflict, the province had the implantation of the War Arsenal. Such arsenals are regulated by the Decree of February 21, 1832, which gave the regulations for the Arsenal de Guerra da Côrte, Fábrica da Polvora da Estrella, Arsenals de Guerra and Warehouses for depositing war articles. The regency period was also marked by the attribution of a series of powers to provincial governments. According to paragraph 2 of art. 10, of the Additional Act of 1834, it was incumbent upon the provincial Assemblies to legislate on public instruction and on their own establishments to promote it. In this sense, the Legislative Assembly of the province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul enacted, in 1837, two laws that dealt with public education: Law 12, creating a College of Mechanical Arts and Law 14, Law of Primary Education. Like the workshops at the Arsenal de Guerra, the first set out to care for orphans, the exposed and children of indigent parents, who reached the age of ten. Enslaved boys were not admitted. It is considered relevant to point out that there is a welfarist conception of training for work, both in the Arsenal de Guerra that took place, and in the proposal to create the Colégio de Artes Mecânicas. It should be noted that enslaved children were not the object of such assistance, as the space they occupied was defined by the slave mode of production.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Na província de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, a década de 1830 foi marcada por um período conturbado, caracterizado pela Guerra dos Farrapos, uma revolta provincial movida pelo interesse da economia charqueadora, que encontrava no poder central, pouco respaldo para seus produtos. Tensões acumulavam-se em diversas regiões de economia periférica, o que viabilizou a eclosão de rebeliões provinciais. A Revolução Farroupilha iniciou-se em 1835 e



perdurou por dez anos. Tanto a localização da província (fronteiriça com a República Oriental do Uruguai e com a República Argentina) e a conjuntura conflituosa que se estabeleceu, foram elementos que influenciaram a implantação de instituições para a formação da infância pobre. O objetivo deste estudo é refletir sobre o ensino de ofícios na Província de São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul nas décadas de 1830 e 1840. Para a realização desta investigação, foram pesquisados os Relatórios Provinciais, os quais se encontram disponíveis na Hemeroteca Digital da Biblioteca Nacional, bem como os regulamentos monárquicos que versaram sobre a implantação dos Arsenais de Guerra nas diferentes províncias brasileiras. Além disso, foi realizada uma pesquisa bibliográfica, para identificar os autores que se dedicaram à pesquisa acerca do ensino de ofícios. Identificou-se os estudos de Sani (2016), Cunha (2005), Batista (2021), Henriques (2022) e Santos (2018). Através da interlocução entre os referenciais teóricos e as fontes, levou-se a cabo uma análise documental, com base em Cellard (2008), verificou-se que antes da eclosão do conflito, a província contou com a implantação do Arsenal de Guerra. Tais arsenais são regulamentados pelo Decreto de 21 de Fevereiro de 1832, o qual dava os regulamentos para o Arsenal de Guerra da Côrte, Fábrica da Polvora da Estrella, Arsenais de Guerra e Armazéns de depósitos de artigos bélicos. O período regencial foi marcado, também, pela atribuição de uma série de poderes aos governos provinciais. Conforme o parágrafo 2.º do art. 10, do Ato Adicional de 1834, competia às Assembleias provinciais legislar sobre a instrução pública e estabelecimentos próprios para promovê-la. Nesse sentido, a Assembleia Legislativa da província do São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul promulgou, em 1837, duas leis que versavam sobre a instrução pública: a Lei 12, criando um Colégio de Artes Mecânicas e a Lei 14, Lei de instrução primária. Assim como as oficinas do Arsenal de Guerra, o primeiro propunha-se a atender órfãos, expostos e filhos de pais indigentes, chegados a idade de dez anos. Meninos escravizados não eram admitidos. Considera-se relevante destacar que existe uma concepção assistencialista de formação para o trabalho, tanto no Arsenal de Guerra que se efetivou, como na proposta de criação do Colégio de Artes Mecânicas. Ressalta-se que as crianças escravizadas não eram objeto de tal assistencialismo, pois o espaço que ocupavam se encontrava definido pelo modo de produção escravista.

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Keywords: teaching of trades, war, poor childhood education



The Perception of the Austro-Hungarian Educational Model in the Russian Empire in the 1870s–1900s

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The subject of the current research work is focused on one of the little-studied topics in global historiography and is devoted to the perception of the German-based educational model through the reception of the Austro-Hungarian educational system in the Russian Empire in the 1870s–1900s.

The development of the educational system and the elevation of its quality is a particular process which has global significance. However, the qualitative content of education could be determined by national mentality, traditions and peculiarities of culture. That is why it is important to give comparative characteristics of the aforementioned phenomena which could provide an objective picture of the state educational systems in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires.

The purpose of the study is to analyse the main factors that affected the reforms in the Russian educational system with an orientation on the progressive experience of Western countries represented by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy during the ongoing industrialisation in the two states. The work combines a number of historical approaches such as the historical-comparative (Schieder, 1965) and the historical-systemic analysis (von Bertalanffy, 1968).

The main idea of the study is based on the characteristics of specialized pedagogical periodicals (Mikhailov, 1890–1917; Simashko, 1871–1888) and the assessment of the degree of frequency of occurrence in them such issues as professional educational themes, information about the literacy level in European states, the state of the pedagogical education abroad and experience of its organization, the organization of international congresses, seminars, discussions, collective exchange of opinions about the state and ways of developing the educational system. This study was also undertaken in order to present a picture of what was happening in national educational systems in this period in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, what kind of state policies were pursued in both countries and describe mainly the reflection of this policy in the journal pedagogical publications in the context of the ideas of official and unofficial paradigms of pedagogical education.

Additionally, attention will be paid to the description of comparative analysis of the teacher's life in the Dualistic Monarchy and Russian Empire in the 1870s–early 1900s, which shows different aspects of the teaching profession, its specifics, values and significance in the society. The study of the educational development in Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires in the 1870s–1900s from the perspective of the professionalisation approach (Schriewer, 2006), i.e., in the context of industrialisation in both states could determine the key factors, which were influenced this global process. The situation with the national education in this period was determined by a complex of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors: the increase of society's demand and the state's economy in the vocational education of non-privileged layers, the state of national schools and their needs in teachers' qualitative preparation, the mercurial activity of social and pedagogical movement particularly in the pages of published periodicals.

This research shows concrete examples of the introduction of Austro-Hungarian principles in the educational process in Russia such as the organization of pedagogical scientific communities, the implementation of teaching methodology, and the examination system.



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Keywords: educational reforms, Austro-Hungarian Empire, historic development, the last third of the 19th century



Modern Psychology and the Conceptualization of “Individuality”: A History of Educational Reforms in Republican China (1912–1937)

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Lu Xun, one of the several most influential intellectuals in 20th century China, published an article in 1907, in which he pointed out “there have been only three or four years since the word »individual« (*ge ren*) was introduced into China. Still, many of those who claim to be aware of the trend of our time consider it a great shame to talk about it. [...] [They are] misled into thinking that being an individual is only beneficial to himself and harmful to others. The truth is not so.” (Lu, 2001, p. 74, own translation)

Quoting Western philosophers, such as Schopenhauer, Kierkegaard, and Nietzsche, Lu’s article reads as a critique of rising consumerism in the West, to advocate that Chinese society “must respect individuality and open up the spirit” (Lu, 2001, p. 117). His advocacy for a ‘correct’ understanding of the individual is a testimony of China’s *Zeitgeist* at a time when many intellectuals turned to education to save the nation.

In the west, the emergence of individualism is considered a fundamental prelude to the rise of modernity (E.g. Lukes, 2006). Similarly, the formation of Chinese individualism, as a convergence of ideas from traditional heritage and the modern west with tension, can provide a crucial perspective to view China’s modernization, with in mind its urgency of nation-building (Cf. Yu, 2014; Qin, 2015). An example of this convergence is *Ren Xue* by Tan Sitong (1865–1898), which contributes to the intellectual foundation for the later 1911 Revolution and the New Culture Movement (Wang, 2014). Inspired by the Mind-cure movement, a spiritual trend in the US as named by William James, Tan blends it with Confucianist, Taoist, and Buddhist ideas by emphasizing individual “mental power” as a key to “breaking away from the snare [tradition].” It signifies an early employment of “western psychology” to advocate individualism even before the term is known in China and to promote social/educational reform.

Meanwhile, modern psychology, as a discipline and a way of thinking, has been introduced largely as a means to improve education. Individual differences in body, character, and IQ have been formulated into a “scientific” discourse for the first time. It is relevant and interesting to ask: What relationships can we observe between the introduction of modern psychology and the Chinese formation of its “individualism” in Republican China, a time of urgent need for educational reform and nation-building? What do that relationships mean for China’s educational reform and modernization in general (Cf. De Vos, 2013)?

This presentation will explore the period from the start of the Republic (1912) to the start of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) by using educational journals, important monographs, and activities by prominent educationalists. It will bring a new perspective to educational reforms through the lens of the relationships between the introduction of modern psychology and the Chinese formation of its “individualism.” It will also contribute to our understanding of the dynamic interplays between tradition and modernity, and between the west and the non-west (cf. post-colonial theories).

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Keywords: individualism, educational psychology, nation-building, social engineering, Republican China



The “Pedagogy of Listening”: the Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa and an Innovative Early Childhood Educational Approach

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After the Second World War, the historical and educational context in Italy was characterized by a network of different alternative pedagogical and educational experiences. The Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa (MCE) was born in 1951, inspired by Célestine and Elise Freinet’s popular pedagogy and cooperative techniques, promoting innovation and democracy in the scholastic system. In particular, the paper is focused on the educational approach and practices developed and applied in 0–6 educational services (*nidi* and *scuole d’infanzia*). The paper intends to trace the pedagogical values and the educational experiences and practices based on the “pedagogy of listening”, elaborated during the 70s by Alessandra Ginzburg, experimented and developed by many MCE teachers and educators. The “pedagogy of listening” combined Freinet’s techniques with an adult listening posture, based on a psychoanalytic approach, to legitimate childhood as a specific cultural group, to be respected and recognised. Educators were considered co-researchers supporting children’s hypothesis on reality, instead of forcing a monodimensional and dogmatic truth by using adult centric, univocal and imperturbable answers and explanations. Emotions and corporeity were considered indissociable parts of the entire children’s identity, to be listened to and understood. The adopted methodological techniques were children’s conversations transcript or recordings, wall newspapers made by children and adults, democratic assembly and other cooperative educational tools. Furthermore, the approach was adopted by two specific research groups, composed of teachers and educators, born in the Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa: the National childhood group [*Gruppo Nazionale Infanzia*] and the Nursery group of Rome [*Gruppo Asilo Nido di Roma*], that promoted an innovative way to work with children, through cooperative research and professional development trainings and workshops.

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Keywords: educational innovation, pedagogy of listening, early childhood education, Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa (MCE)



The British Comprehensive Education Movement: Brian Simon and the Labour Governments (1945–1979)

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Brian Simon, a Marxist historian and educationist in Britain, was a leading pioneer in the British comprehensive education movement. For Simon, the comprehensive school should be a school to which all children from a given locality would automatically proceed. Moreover, a common core of subjects as well as a general and all-round education should be provided to all up to the age of 15 or 16 (Simon, 1991). From 1945 to 1979, as member of the communist party and greatly influenced by Marxism, Simon had been insisting on his ideal of comprehensive education and criticising the educational policies of the three periods of Labour governments (1945–1951, 1964–1970 and 1974–1979) to hasten the pace of reform. Despite this, very few researches focused on Simon’s criticisms and actions in response to the Labour governments’ educational policies (McCulloch et al., 2023). To fill the gap, this paper will examine the Labour governments’ official documents, Simon’s books and papers in his personal Archives, and the Communist Party’s papers. In so doing, the current paper will help reveal the differences between Simon’s and the Labour Party’s approaches to secondary education reform.

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Keywords: Brian Simon, secondary education, socialism



Reframing the Invention of Photography: The Narrative of Photography History from the First State-owned Photography Museum in China

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As a locus of culture production, circulation, and consumption, the museum has been adopted as a vehicle of modernization in Asian countries, linked to discourses such as nation-states and decolonization. In China, with the urban regeneration and the boom of cultural industries, the establishment of museums has become a measure when the government needs to promote cultural construction. The China Lishui Museum of Photography, founded in 2007, is the first professional photography museum funded and operated by the government in China. It is also one of the few photography museums outside of European countries and the United States. China is not the birthplace of photography, nor is it where critical events in photography history took place. However, establishing a photography museum rather than a museum of traditional Chinese handicrafts has become a way for a Chinese city to build a cultural brand in the cultural economy.

The question of this research is how public museums integrate photography, a product of modern Western technology and art that came into China with the colonial invasion, into the narrative in the context of Chinese culture. This research adopts archives, collection, and artistic research method to discuss the multiple possibilities of knowledge production of photography. It accomplishes a series of photographic works titled "Reframing the Invention of Photography."

This paper discusses how the Lishui Museum of Photography constructs a set of Chinese narratives about photography in the context of national consciousness. The photographic works shift the focus of history from "things" to "people," looking back at the inventors of the Western products from the perspective of Western Other and reminds a neglected history of China photographic industry through a set of negative images of camera collection.

This paper contributes to the photographic archive and gaze literature by providing a compelling case: when the Western Others look back at the Western invention and examine its metaphor of modernity, how they integrate their national and cultural narrative patterns and weave a set of non-Western-centric discourse systems.

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Keywords: photography, historic narrative, archive, reenactment, public museum



Decolonising the Imperial Gaze: Rewriting the Photographic Archive in Chinese Contemporary Art

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Decolonisation of knowledge is a concept advanced in decolonial discourse that critiques the perceived hegemony of Western knowledge systems (Dreyer, 2017). It seeks to construct and legitimize other knowledge systems by exploring alternative epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies. (Dreyer, 2017). Photographic archives, especially those created by Western photographers during the imperial period, have played a critical role in knowledge production for the scholarly world.

From the large number of ethnographic portraits Marc Aurel Stein left behind him on several Silk Road trips between the late 19th and early 20th centuries to the photographs of the Yuanmingyuan in Beijing taken by the English photographer Felice Beato of the same period and the archives of French colonialists photographing the Yunnan-Vietnam Railway in the early 20th century, the imperial image in early Chinese photography is not only a representation of the Imperial gaze but also reveals to us that how knowledge and power have produced and exchanged in collision with Colonial Matrix of Power on Chinese society over the last one and half-century.

Over the past decade, Chinese art practitioners from the tangled photographic archives have unleashed the imperial gaze. Liu Yujia has excavated Stein's ethnographic portraits of Xinjiang people and integrated them into a "Treasure Hunt" (2020–2021) project, which centres on historical treasures buried deep underground and jade, a symbol of Eastern culture, in a narrative about expeditions and excavations.

Inspired by the historic photographs of Yuanmingyuan, Shi Yangkun used collodion glass negatives, the labour-intensive method used by many 19th-century photographers, to recreate the photography archive of Yuanmingyuan in his work "Forty Views of Yuanmingyuan" (2022). The recreation photographs of the Yuanmingyuan set are surreal and uncanny, prompting us to question how histories are told and the gaps that may occur when knowledge travels vast distances.

Meanwhile, Cheng Xinhao collected numerous photographic archives on the construction of the Yunnan-Vietnam Railway photographs by French colonialists at the beginning of the 20th century. He reproduced these archives as part of his long-term art project "To the Ocean", which aims to critically challenge the history of the colonisation of these two east-Asian countries, the modernization of the mountains in the southeast Asia area, and geographical imagination.

This paper focuses on the rich examples of contemporary Chinese decolonial art practice in which artists have drawn on the research, appropriation, and re-creation of imperial photography archives by drawing on the current context of decolonial art. It examines how practitioners use various artistic methods related to decolonial discourse has challenged the imperial gaze in China's early photographic archives.

This paper also aims to bridge the gap between the current decolonial art discourse and imperial gaze studies while providing an insight into how decolonial the imperial gaze takes place in contemporary Chinese art.



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Keywords: decolonising the imperial gaze, rewriting photographic archive, contemporary Chinese photography



Images of Disability – Analysis of a forgotten Collection

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The German pedagogue Hans Würtz (1875–1958) became in 1911 the education director at the “Berlin-Brandenburgische Krüppel-Heil- und Erziehungsanstalt” [Berlin-Brandenburg Home for Cripples] in Berlin-Kreuzberg. The institution expanded, moved to Berlin-Dahlem and became as Oskar-Helene-Heim [Oskar-Helene-Home] a “model institution” in Germany and Europe providing medical care and education for “crippled” children and adults. Next to his duties concerning the institution’s education department Würtz became a collector extraordinaire and amassed approx. 4000 images of people with disabilities. He was unfortunate to be a collector at the same time as the Nazi rise to power in Berlin, to which he and his collection ultimately became a victim, leading to his emigration and a temporary break up of one of the largest archives of its type. The collection comprises lithographic prints, engravings, drawings and paintings portraying individuals with disabilities, novels featuring disabled protagonists and pieces of sculpture. Würtz published in 1932 the book “Zerbrecht die Krücken” [Break the Crutches], an inventory of the vast collection of images and sculptures of “cripples” assembled by Würtz. He based his explorations on new categories for various forms of deviations from the norm: “Wuchskrüppel” [Below-and above-average height] , “Misswuchskrüppel” [disproportion], “Andeutungskrüppel” [disfigurement] and “Hässlichkeitskrüppel” [ugliness]. These different types were connected with specific psychological dispositions (“Soul of the Cripple”) and led to a dated, physiognomic concept of special education (Musenber, 2013). But Würtz made disability also a current artistic, cultural and scientific topic and his work represents a very early example of an interdisciplinary approach, no matter how different from contemporary Art, Disability Art, Cultural and Disability Studies.

Our current international cooperation project (UK, Germany, Czech Republic) “Images and Imagination of Impairment and Disability in Hans-Würtz-Collection” (AHRC/DFG) is a contribution to a collections-based history of Knowledge and Culture and aims to digitally reinstate the collection (Müller & Noack, 2021) and to reorganize and interpret the images combining disability art/art historical and historical contextualization and Iconology (Millett-Gallant & Howie, 2016; Panofsky, 1980; Purgar, 2019; Siebers, 2010) with a reconstructive, qualitative approach of Image Interpretation (E.g. Bohnsack, 2008). After a brief outline of the collection and the current state of work of the project, we would like to present and discuss our methodological approach and its relevance for the History of Knowledge and Education.

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Keywords: collection, visual culture, disability, disability studies, special education



The evolution of higher education in Romania 1980–2000. Directions and strategies

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Education is one of the key elements of personal development and social progress in the modern world (Barro & Lee, 2015; UNESCO-IESALC, 2020). With the generalization of primary education and massive expansion of secondary education in most parts of the world in the second half of the 20th century, tertiary education is becoming the main element of differentiation in the 21st century.

Higher education in Romania in the period 1980–2000 goes through two completely different periods. In the 1980s, the communist regime in Romania established the directions of study and the number of students, the Revolution of December 1989 led to a liberalization of higher education, allowing rapid development, including the emergence of private universities.

Post-communist Romania has participated in this process of enlarging access to higher education. This enlargement was determined by system change, i.e. by the shift from the system of centrally-planned allocation of a limited number of study places per field of study to a system combining the allocation of a more generous number of state-funded study places per university with the opportunity for would-be students to study for moderate fees in private as well as in public universities. Progress was notable, especially in the first two decades of the post-communist transition. Overall, the number of enrolled students trebled from 164.507 students in the academic year 1989/1990 to 490.350 students in the academic year 2020/2021. Yet, in European comparison, Romania is still lagging behind

In this presentation, the political involvement in the evolution of education over the past 20 years will be analysed. Also, the transformations of the fields of specialization would be investigated, in the conditions in which the Romanian society and economy were in a continuous transformation. The documentation is based on sources from the Ministry of Education archive, public data from the Statistics Institute and the Government's public policies.

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Keywords: higher education, communism, post-communism, politicisation, polytechnic, massification



Crisis in Higher Education During 1970s: Naxalite Movement in the State of West Bengal, India

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Around two centuries ago, the State of Bengal (presently known as West Bengal) in India was considered a pioneer in education. It was also known as one of the most progressive and advanced states in India till independence (in 1947). In the last seven decades, many complex interplays of the political, economic, and social movements took place that led to significant structural changes in West Bengal. One such movement, 'The Naxalite Movement in India' originated in West Bengal in 1967. This movement in West Bengal had a profound and lasting impact on the state's education system. The Naxalite insurgency, inspired by Maoist ideology and aimed at overthrowing the government and establishing a communist society, targeted schools and universities as symbols of the state and as institutions that perpetuated the class-based oppression they sought to end.

During the 1970s, Naxalite rebels frequently targeted higher institutions through vandalism, arson, or other forms of violence, causing them to close down. This closing down of institutions resulted in students being unable to attend regular colleges and universities, which had an adverse impact on their futures. In addition to that these rebels also intimidated professors and other educational personnel. Professors who refused to support the Naxalite cause were threatened and, in some cases, physically harmed. This created a climate of fear and insecurity in the affected areas, and many teachers fled their schools and universities, further exacerbating the educational crisis. Additionally, students whom the Naxals did not actively recruit may have been indirectly impacted by the conflict, as they were exposed to violence and insecurity, which can have a severe effect on their mental and emotional well-being. This article investigates the dual aspect of the Naxalite movement, first, why such kind of movement originated in the State of West Bengal and second, how this movement impacted the state's higher education during the 1970s. Methodically, content analysis is applied to the available archival information in the form of newspaper articles, books and research papers. From the preliminary investigation, it was found that the Naxalite movement in the State of West Bengal almost destroyed the efficient functioning education system in the 1970s. The adverse impact of the movement was so severe that the deterioration in education in West Bengal can be easily traced to the present time.

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Keywords: Naxalite movement, higher education, West Bengal, impact



Identity And Singularity: Tensions Between Two European Paradigms Throughout Education

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Since 1998, our Continent is involved in a complex transformation of its higher education: the Bologna Process started with the Sorbonne Declaration, is an ambitious project for creating and reinforcing the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), a framework rooted in international collaboration of 49 countries with different political, cultural, and academic traditions. The institutional architecture of Bologna Process and European Higher Education Area deploys its action on two different levels: a) 'technical level' – the implementation of a more coherent higher education system across Europe, to facilitate student and staff mobility, to make higher education more inclusive, accessible, attractive and competitive worldwide; b) 'cultural-ethical level' – the emphasis on common key values– such as freedom of expression, autonomy for institutions, independent student unions, academic freedom, free movement of students and staff. These two levels show a constitutive tension between a) the tentation of freezing an 'ideal' portrait of European higher education – and, then, of European culture – for founding a strong identity and b) the dynamic inquiry of plural singularity with contradictions and fractures in time and space. The fundamental polarization between identity and singularity is a key element of the field of education, especially when its horizon encompasses the international landscape (Cowen, 2014, 2017).

Using the intellectual tools of comparative education (Carney & Madsen, 2021; Wodak, 2021) and with an approach rooted in the Italian tradition of this field of study (Cappa, 2018), the contribution aims to question this tension in the problematic juncture of our time, when we are running the risk of drawing an impoverished image of our identity, forgetting the never-ending transformation of European singularity.

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Keywords: Europe, comparative education, higher education, humanism



Adolescents as Metaphors for Reform: The Legacy of Louisa May Alcott and Mark Twain

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In her essay *Twain, Alcott, and the Birth of the Adolescent Reform Novel* (2007), American scholar Roberta Seelinger Trites discusses novels that might be identified as adolescent reform novels. Trites' aim is to demonstrate how Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* use adolescence as a platform from which to write about reform (Trites, 2007). Both Twain and Alcott, who wrote two of the most enduring novels about adolescence, relied on adolescents as metaphors for reform; they wrote social critiques relying on adolescents – namely, Huckleberry Finn and Jo March – whose need to grow paralleled the moral needs of their nation. In Alcott's and Twain's novels, growth is thus depicted as a shift from some level of solipsism to an increased social awareness. "If Jo March serves as Alcott's metaphor for the need for Americans to develop gender equality, Huckleberry Finn serves as Twain's metaphor for the need for Americans to outgrow their racism" (Trites, 2007, p. 50).

On the basis of Trites' research, which also traces the influence that Alcott's and Twain's reform-minded adolescent protagonists have had on youth literature in the United States, this contribution will analyse four contemporary youth novels written in the traditions established by Alcott and Twain, using a methodology centred on an evidence-based, hermeneutic, and comparative approach. Being part of a body of youth literature with an ideological investment in reform, the youth novels *Stargirl* (Spinelli, 2002), *A Northern Light* (Donnelly, 2003), *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), and *These Shallow Graves* (Donnelly, 2015) share most of the features of adolescent reform novels, depicting non-conformist, rebel adolescent characters who live in a culture that does not appreciate them as they are. These young characters all experience moral conflicts, turning finally from self-absorption to an orientation which is concerned with others, therefore implicating that adolescence is a time of greater potential for change than any other stage of life. The characters' growth is eventually a sign that the society, in which they live might also grow and change.

A masterful opportunity for growth and change is also Anne Frank's *Diary* (1942–1944), a literary work written by its author while still in her adolescence (13 to 15 years). Transcending her society by her self-reliance and greater ethical qualities, Anne Frank functions actively as a reformer, communicating readers that "social change is possible for those who are educated and aware and who believe in the possibility of change" (Trites, 2007, p. 112), as she does. The *Diary* will accordingly be a guide through which to discuss the potential for change and reform of adolescents. Combining the narration of a real adolescent's life with the ones of fictional adolescent characters, this contribution will shed light on adolescence as a changing time that implies the social possibility of hope, moral change, and growth. The implied message for a world in crisis being that the young can make a difference in improving the world for others (Trites, 2007).

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Keywords: adolescents, adolescent reform novel, social criticism, rebellion, reform.



Early Childhood Education in Italy and the Gentile Reform (1923): The Relationship Between Reform Theories and Pedagogical Practice

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Exactly a century ago, the Mussolini government launched a sweeping reform of the Italian school system that had been drawn up by the then-Minister of Education, the philosopher Giovanni Gentile (Ostenc, 1980; Charnitzky, 1994). Informed by the theoretical principles of neo-idealism, this reform had a profound impact on the history of Italian education (Tomasi, 1969). It also represents an interesting case study within the history of Western educational culture, due to its radical break with the positivist culture that had dominated up to that point. Although Gentile's education system was primarily designed to train the elite class, the minister also focused on pedagogically enhancing elementary schooling and boosting early childhood education (3–6 years). The disadvantaged and primitive conditions of Italian infant schools had been criticized from many quarters for decades. The previous lack of political interest in infant schools – which were legally classified as charitable institutions – and their staff had meant that their aims were primarily welfare-oriented and that they were under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, accorded marginal status compared to the other levels of education (Catarsi, 2000). Now, for the first time in Italy, thanks to the Gentile Reform, early childhood education became part of the school system as “preparatory” to elementary education. The infant school, now referred to as the “scuola materna”, was defined as an “instructional and educational” institution and to ensure that kindergarten teachers received training suited to this new purpose, a dedicated teacher education programme was set up. The new curricula for kindergartens, drawn up by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, an authoritative exponent of neo-idealist pedagogy, adopted a perspective on education and teaching that was based on a new vision of pupil, teacher and method (Lombardi, 1970). In part akin to some of the ideas of the New Schools movement (the value of children's spontaneous initiatives, the parallels between school and everyday life), Lombardo Radice's pedagogy was nonetheless underpinned by a romantic-poetic rather than an empirical-experimental view of childhood.

In line with the most recent approaches in historical-educational research (Sani, 2016), this study investigated whether the theoretical principles of the Gentile Reform translated into concrete change in the early childhood education sector and true innovation in teaching practices. To this end, sources that have not yet been fully exploited by history of education research were critically examined. Specifically, the analysis focused on two of the most authoritative early childhood education magazines of the period («La Voce delle Maestre d'Asilo» and «Pro Infanzia») and evaluation studies conducted by the Ministry of Education over the decade following the introduction of the new legislation (1923–1933). This documentation was scrutinized to assess the extent of the gap between developments in academic educational theory and research and the effective implementation of the new recommendations in the everyday life of infant schools.

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Keywords: early childhood education, Gentile reform, education journals, Italy, 20th century



From Traditional Jewish School to Modern Jewish School: the "Revised Cheder"

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For the Jews of Europe, the 19th century is the century of reforms, particularly in the field of education. Equality of rights is an invitation to leave the ghetto and to integrate fields of activity previously forbidden to Jews. The school, whose main role is to prepare the future generation for the life of tomorrow, must also take on a new face.

Following the sharp criticism of the Jewish Enlightenment intellectual about the Traditional Cheder - the elementary school in Eastern Europe for hundreds of years - a new framework of study was established in the late 19th century: the Revised Cheder. This framework sought to preserve the foundations of traditional education and incorporate modern pedagogic principles about teaching and learning.

The information about the *Revised Cheder* that historians have is primarily based on polemical literature and fragments of memoirs. It would seem that these sources are subjective, reflecting an ideological context and they do not correctly translate the reality, even if they have a historical core.

This paper intends to bring a new research tool to the workshop of the historian: an image from a Jewish textbook used at the *Revised Cheder* in Vilna (A. Temkin, *Hatora ve-Hasafa*, Vilna 1898). This image shows a representation of the external form of this institution, even though it has elements that have been idealized, as in any illustration. A closer look at this picture reveals not only the pedagogical innovations that were used in the *Revised Cheder*, but also its world of values.

This picture gives us an opportunity to visit the *Revised Cheder*, and to find it as the mirror of a social and ideological reality in which both the old and the new coexist.

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Keywords: Jewish education, textbooks, modernity, picture



Research on the Implementation and Influencing Factors of Family Moral Education in Ancient China

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In ancient China, the goal of moral education in the family was to cultivate a moral gentleman. The content of moral education mainly included ambition, serving the country and helping the people; filial piety, respect for elders, love clans; uniting brothers and treating friendly neighbours. Indifferent to fame and wealth, industrious and thrifty; the five items of self-cultivation, reason and morality. The implementation means of moral education in ancient family education can be studied from the family rules, the poems and songs handed down, and the records of various ritual and educational activities. The main factors that affect the implementation of family moral education are the moral education concept that parents pay attention to, the excellent moral and cultural quality of parents, the specific living conditions and ways of families, the interpersonal relationship and culture of family courtesy, and the humanistic and natural environment around families.

If we only look at the living family moral education from the literal perspective of family instructions, we can only tap its static moral education content, but can not understand the whole process of ancient family moral education, nor can we achieve a comprehensive understanding of the current reality of family moral education.

In ancient China, great importance was attached to ethics, and the goal of family moral education was to cultivate a moral gentleman who could achieve benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and trust. As for the content of family moral education. Although the content of moral education in each family is different and has some emphasis, it can be summarized in the following five aspects.

As for the research on the means of implementing moral education in ancient Chinese families, most of them focused on the obvious “family training”. In fact, in addition to the family training, there were many ritual and educational activities in ancient families, rhythmic chants handed down by word of mouth and local conventions. In the long-term exploration and practice of ancient Chinese family moral education, combined with the traditional Chinese culture and the reality of ancient society, three types of moral education methods, namely, family discipline, poetry and song formula, and ritual activities, were mainly formed to pass on the ethics and mainstream values of ancient society to the descendants. From the perspective of the historical process, the moral education effect of using these moral education means is remarkable, which not only cultivates many upright men and people with lofty ideals, but also is widely adopted by later generations.

The implementation of family moral education is restricted by many factors, and the differences between family and parents are objective. When carrying out moral education in ancient Chinese families, parents' family moral education concepts, parents' moral and cultural qualities, family living conditions and ways, family interpersonal relationships and culture, and the surrounding humanistic and natural environment will have a certain impact on the effect of moral education, which should be explored one by one.

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Keywords: family education, ancient family instructions, traditional culture, implementation of moral education, to establish virtue and cultivate people



Recreate Female: a Study on the Evolution of Chinese Girls' Readers during Qing Dynasty (1644–1911)

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Traditional Chinese classics and ethics permanently value female education (Lei et al., 1993). However, there were no readers specifically for girls until the writing of *Xiao Xue for Girls* (Yun, 1504. Based on Confucian feminism (Li, 2000), gender theory (Scott, 1986), and the existing literature on girls' education (Jiang & Zhang, 2017; Du et al., 1999; Chen, 2015; Li, 1988), twelve popular girls' readers in the Qing dynasties are selected. It was found that, based on the illustrations and short sentences, the Chinese girls' readers are easy to understand and memorize. Most readers explore the girls' learning steps based on their age and emphasize girls' reading, counting, and practicing abilities.

The history of Chinese girls' readers during the Qing dynasty can be divided into three phases: the traditional readers' phase, the reformed readers' phase, and the textbooks' phase:

Three Characters Classic for Girls (Zhu, 1900) represents the traditional readers' phase. Inheriting the spiritual theme of traditional female education – “three obediences and four virtues”, the educational dimensions are divided into virtue, speech, manner, and merit, and the educational content combines the codes of conduct and female biographies.

Reformed Girls' Enlightenment Required Book (Chong, 1906) represents the reformed readers' phase. Some traditional codes of conduct for females are broken. The female external image changes from encouraging foot binding to prohibiting it. The gender hierarchy changes from the male being superior to the female to become gender equality. Both female models from China and foreign countries are included. The girls' educational places expand from home to girls' schools and women can go outside.

Chinese Textbook for Girls' Primary Schools (Volume 1) (the Ministry of Education in Qing Dynasty, 1910) represents the textbook stage: subvert traditional female education. Educational form changes from one classical girls' reader to multiple volumes; Educational content changes from female behavioural norms to subject knowledge such as geography and science; Educational concept changes from requiring girls to obey rules to respecting girls' personalities.

There are multiple forces for the evolution of girls' readers:

1. The political changes. The Qing government faces internal and external troubles after 1840. The country needs to cultivate healthy women to defend their homeland, which promotes changes in girls' readers.

2. The social and cultural changes. The traditional society with the same structure of family and country centered on filial piety, ancestor worship, and family bloodline continuation (Rosenlee, 2006) was broken, and it became a semi-open modern society. The value of females changes from urging women to go out and undertake social functions, which requires girls' readers' updating.

3. Women's self-growth. When the hierarchical relationship and the order of internal and external division of labour between genders have changed, women seek to achieve self-identity actively, promoting the girls' readers' reformation.

Above all, social transition and educational reform influence each other. The social and cultural transition drives the rewrite of girls' readers. At the same time, the rewriting of girls' readers



means the reconstruction of social-gender relations, which leads to the reconstruction of females and the changes in the social order.

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Keywords: recreate female, girls' readers, historical evolution, Qing dynasty



A Study on Reform of the Selecting Mechanism School Principals in the Late Qing and Early Republic of China

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The selection mechanism is one of the important links of the principal management system. The improvement of the selection mechanism for primary and secondary school principals plays an important role in the development of China's basic education. The selection mechanism of primary and secondary school principals in China originated in the late Qing Dynasty and took shape in the early Republic of China. Under the traditional mode of centralization, it presents a dynamic development path. Most of the existing studies have combed the selection mechanism from the perspective of legal qualifications and policy changes but few have explored the historical division and the reasons for the change of the formation stage of the selection mechanism.

The formation of the primary and secondary school headmaster selection mechanism has undergone a transformation from scratch and from the old to the new, which is the result of the internal and external contradictory movement and game between the external environment and the policy itself. From the perspective of external motivation, social demands and educational problems lead to frequent changes in school system. From the perspective of internal motivation, the change of ruling thinking and the development of educational ideas have promoted the continuous improvement of the selection mechanism. Taking time as the clue, taking history and sociology as the research perspective, this paper comprehensively combs the generation, development and transformation of the mechanism for selecting primary and secondary school principals at the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China by comparing the changes in the qualifications, methods and procedures in the relevant school systems and laws. At the same time, the original historical materials such as newspaper editorials and archives were collected to build a relatively complete social environment and historical background for the formation of the principal selection mechanism. It is expected to provide effective historical reference for the improvement of the current primary and secondary school principal appointment system, and provide historical reference for accelerating the formation of a systematic primary and secondary school principal appointment system with Chinese characteristics.

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Keywords: primary and secondary school principals, selection institution, institutional reform



Beyond Rest: Reform and Evolution of School Holidays in Modern China, 1862–1945

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While the arrangement of school holidays constitutes an integral part of the whole education system, the Chinese academia has conducted very limited research on its implementation and improvement measures, especially lacking of relevant investigations of its historical evolution. The late Qing dynasty and the Republican China were both critical periods for the overall modern transformation of Chinese society, during which Chinese education also experienced significant reforms and thus deserves due academic attention.

This research focuses on the school holidays in modern China, attempting to provide in-depth research on relevant issues from the establishment of the School of Combined Learning (1862) to the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1945). In order to investigate the reforms of this special holiday system in a broad social and cultural context, this research comprehensively applies methods of literature analysis, case study and comparative study. Going beyond the textual analysis of policy documents, the author also collects relevant concrete materials to deeply reveal the specific implementation of the policies and the students' real emotional experiences. On this basis, this research analyses the whole process of reform and evolution of school holidays in modern China, from its establishment to its gradual improvement, and then explores its functions, historical limitations and contemporary implications.

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Keywords: school holidays, education system, educational reform, modern China



An Educational Innovation Called Kindergarten: Adoption and Adaptation of Federico Froebel's Pedagogical Model in Mexico City, 1903–1928

Una Innovación Educativa Llamada Kindergarten: Adopción y Adaptación Del Modelo Pedagógico de Federico Froebel en la Ciudad de México, 1903–1928

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The creation of specific institutions for the care and education of children under 6 years of age dates back to the late 19th century in Mexico City. In the 1880s, 4 nursery schools were founded based on the Froebelian pedagogical method; however, they adhered closely to the precepts of primary schools. In 1903, these schools were reorganised based on a different understanding of Froebel's methodology, influenced by studies made abroad by pioneering women teachers. In this way, the *Kindergarten* project was born in the country's capital, led by Justo Sierra, Estefanía Castañeda and Rosaura Zapata.

This paper aims to analyse the adoption and adaptation of Froebelian pedagogy in establishments for young children in Mexico, a subject very little studied in the historiography of national education, in the period from 1903 to 1928, from a historical perspective of educational reforms. This approach (Viñao, 2000, 2002), distinguishes between educational reforms and innovations: the first refers to global changes promoted from the political spheres; therefore, they modify educational policies at the national level. Instead, innovations can be promoted or hindered by educational reforms, they imply more concrete and limited transformations covering the contents to be taught, methods, materials, and evaluation, among others. In this period, *Kindergarten* in Mexico was an innovation, limited to Mexico City and implemented by agents of both civil society and local government, although decades later it would give rise to a reform at the national level. The study begins in the early years of the 20th century, when a new understanding of Froebelian pedagogy was developed, and concludes in 1928, the year in which another transformation was officially proposed as a result of the influence of educational currents different from that of the German pedagogue. The questions that guide this work are: How were Froebelian pedagogical ideas adopted and adapted in the *Kindergärten* of Mexico City? What factors influenced these transformations? What processes allow us to think of these changes as an educational innovation? How were children conceived in these transformations?

From the theoretical-methodological approach of the cultural history of education (Viñao, 1996, 2000, 2002) aims to identify how the *Kindergarten* project in Mexico City represented an educational innovation that served as a prototype for similar institutions within the same district and in the rest of the country. To reflect on the adaptation of the Froebelian system, I will draw on transnational education studies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). The empirical universe is made up of programmes, periodical publications, texts and biographies of pioneering teachers, Bulletins of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Bulletins and Memoirs of the Ministry of Public Education.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La creación de instituciones concretas para el cuidado y educación de las infancias menores de 6 años data de finales del siglo XIX en la ciudad de México. En la década de 1880 se fundaron 4 escuelas de párvulos sustentadas en el método pedagógico froebeliano; sin embargo, se ciñeron estrechamente a los preceptos de las escuelas primarias. En 1903 dichos establecimientos fueron reorganizados con base a una comprensión distinta de la metodología de Froebel influida por los estudios en el extranjero que realizaron diversas maestras pioneras. De esta manera, nació el proyecto de *Kindergarten* en la capital del país, liderado por Justo Sierra, Estefanía Castañeda y



Rosaura Zapata. Esta ponencia se propone analizar la adopción y adaptación de la pedagogía froebeliana en los establecimientos para la niñez pequeña en México, un tema muy poco estudiado en la historiografía de la educación nacional, en el periodo de 1903 a 1928, desde una perspectiva histórica de las reformas educativas. Este enfoque (Viñao, 2000, 2002), distingue entre reformas e innovaciones educativas: las primeras refieren a cambios globales promovidos desde las esferas políticas, por lo tanto, modifican las políticas educativas a nivel nacional; en cambio, las innovaciones pueden ser promovidas o entorpecidas por reformas educativas, implican transformaciones más concretas y limitadas abarcando los contenidos a enseñar, métodos, materiales, evaluación, entre otros. En este periodo el *Kindergarten* en México constituyó una innovación, limitada a la ciudad de México e implementada por agentes tanto de la sociedad civil como del gobierno local, si bien décadas más tarde daría origen a una reforma a nivel nacional. El estudio inicia en los primeros años del siglo XX, cuando se gestó un nuevo entendimiento de la pedagogía froebeliana, y concluye en 1928, año en que oficialmente se propuso otra alteración producto de la influencia de corrientes educativas distintas a la del pedagogo alemán. Las preguntas que guían este trabajo son: ¿cómo se adoptaron y adaptaron las ideas pedagógicas froebelianas en los *Kindergärten* de la ciudad de México?, ¿qué factores influyeron en estas transformaciones?, ¿qué procesos permiten pensar a estos cambios como una innovación educativa?, ¿de qué manera se concibió a los niños en dichas transformaciones?

Desde el enfoque teórico-metodológico de la historia cultural de la educación, específicamente de las culturas escolares (Viñao, 1996, 2000, 2002), se pretende identificar cómo fue que el proyecto del *Kindergarten* de la ciudad de México representó una innovación educativa que sirvió como prototipo para instituciones semejantes dentro de la misma demarcación y en el resto del país. Para reflexionar en torno a la adaptación del sistema froebeliano, me basaré en los estudios de educación transnacional (Steiner-Khamsi, 2002). El universo empírico está conformado por programas, publicaciones periódicas, textos y biografías de maestras pioneras, Boletines de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, Boletines y Memorias de la Secretaría de Educación Pública.

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Keywords: kindergarten, reforma educativa, Federico Froebel, infancias, México



“Un pueblo de deportistas”. Propaganda and sports in Perón’s Argentina (1946–1955)

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Argentina’s political processes during Juan Domingo Perón’s two presidencies, between 1946 and 1951 and 1952 and 1955, meant both a strong incentive to participate in sports and a sustained intervention for public policies that had sport as their object (Pons, 2010; Orbuch, 2020). A continuous effort was even made to incorporate sports into daily school life, especially as physical education content but also through school competitions (Almada, 2019).

In this direction, three pieces of informative documentary film produced by the Secretary of Press and Diffusion of the Nation are analyzed: *Perón y los deportes*, developed in 1951 on the occasion of the First Pan American Games that took place that year in Buenos Aires, *El Deporte con Perón*, from 1954 and made up of images from cinematographic newsreels that narrated sports successes, and *Perón deportista* (no year), a piece for the dissemination of the Argentine industry and the skills of the President.

These are three short films between 6 and 19 minutes long, pieces of informative documentaries in which archive images are combined with montages of competitions, with a rhetoric of the announcer strongly identified with the ruling political party and with happy music, and even, playing in the background, the Peronist march “Los muchachos peronistas”.

This set of informative documentaries can be framed in the idea that it was totalitarian non-fascist transnational propaganda (Galak, 2022), which included official and unofficial productions, to disseminate institutionalized sports practice as a work of government. Defined as political sports documentaries, these three short films expose a dialogue between the ways of recording motion pictures (from playing with the montages, shots, and frames) with bodies in motion, exhibiting an interesting analogy between cinematographic techniques, and body techniques (Mauss, 1996). Part of a rhetoric of the time that exponentially linked sports and nationalism, moving images allow the unfolding of a collective dream, as Walter Benjamin (2006) puts it, making us replace imagination with the magic of the exposed image, and thus incorporate the enunciated speeches. As the explicit phrase said by Perón about sports: “I wish a country made by athletes, educated their souls and strengthened their bodies”.

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Keywords: Peronism, physical culture, film, propaganda



The Educational Reform 5.692/71 – An Education Project For Capital
A Reforma Educacional 5.692/71 – Um Projeto De Educação Para O Capital

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This work is inserted in the research of history and historiography of education, in the light of the historical-dialectical materialist method, it conceives the links historically established between the Armed Forces and Education. In the historical context, understanding this connection, education was subjugated by the Armed Forces to comply with bourgeois guidelines.

Education in the dictatorial period assumed a terminal and technocratic character, serving the growth of those sectors allied with the military coup plotters, the industrialists, landowners and the national bourgeoisie. The reforms employed aimed at a prerogative of eradicating illiteracy and access to study. The agenda followed the Theory of Human Capital (Schultz, 1971), which aimed at a human development that would enable a social change in the individual, that is, the study would produce a change in social class.

The poor population was far from schools and literate culture, it was in fact prevented from having a social life and dignified work. In 1971, approximately 30% of children from 7 to 14 years old had not attended school boards, evasion and failure had alarming numbers, of every thousand children who entered the 1st grade in 1961, less than half (446) would have academic success and reach 2nd grade. And, of these, only 56 would get a place in Higher Education. That is, the loss rate reached 76% only in the 1st grade (Passarinho, 1985).

In addition, education was used as a way to pass on military hegemony, which would occur through the implementation of the discipline of Moral Education and Civility, designed to spread dictatorial ideals (Germano, 2005). The EMC had a character impregnated with military ideology, making education and the school become ideological arms of the State. Decree-Law No. 869 states which ideals are guaranteed by EMC in its Article 2.

In this way, 1st-grade education was referred to as only the first three grades of primary education, and in 1984, it appears that 60.6% of the economically active population was in a context of never having studied or having attended only three years of school.

The educational reform of 1971 brought professional education to the center of teaching. A question that generates many discussions, as it links teaching and work. The utilitarian view was the educational agenda of High School, having as a reference the Theory of Human Capital. The end-of-life character of High School would be nothing more than, after completing High School, the student would be able to enter the job market.

The character employed in the reform of the Secondary Education directly affected the containment of the flow to the universities. This was not enough, the minister of education reiterated his exclusionary thesis, saying that secondary education was a corridor to higher education, primary school had no support from the community and teaching was limited to four walls of the classroom. The ideological basis of dictatorial teaching was based on the National Security Doctrine, Human Capital Theory and conservative Christian thought.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Este trabalho está inserido na pesquisa de história e historiografia da educação, à luz do método materialista histórico-dialético, concebe os vínculos estabelecidos historicamente



entre as Forças Armadas e a Educação. No recorte histórico, compreendida essa ligação, a educação foi subjugada pelas Forças Armadas para cumprir as pautas burguesas.

A educação no período ditatorial assumiu um caráter terminal e tecnocrata, servindo para o crescimento daqueles setores aliados aos golpistas militares, os industriários, latifundiários e os burgueses nacionais. As reformas empregadas visavam a uma prerrogativa de erradicar o analfabetismo e acesso ao estudo. A pauta seguia a Teoria do Capital Humano (Schultz, 1971), que almejava um desenvolvimento humano que possibilitasse uma alteração social do indivíduo, isto é, o estudo produziria uma alteração na classe social.

A população pobre estava afastada das escolas e da cultura letrada, estava de fato impedida de ter uma vida social e um trabalho digno. Em 1971, aproximadamente 30% das crianças de 7 a 14 anos não haviam frequentado os quadros escolares, a evasão e reprovação possuíam números alarmantes, de cada mil crianças que adentrassem a 1ª série em 1961, menos da metade (446) teriam sucesso escolar e chegariam a 2ª série. E, destas somente 56 conseguiriam uma vaga no Ensino Superior. Ou seja, a taxa de perdas alcançava seus 76% somente no 1º grau (Passarinho, 1985).

Além disso, a educação foi utilizada como o modo de repassar a hegemonia militar, o que ocorreria através da implantação da disciplina de Educação Moral e Civismo, elaborada para difundir os ideais ditatoriais (Germano, 2005). A EMC possuía caráter impregnado de ideologia militar, fazendo que a educação e a escola se tornassem braços ideológicos do Estado. O Decreto-Lei N°869 afirmara quais os ideais assegurados pela EMC no seu Artigo 2º.

De tal modo, a educação de 1º grau se referenciou como apenas as três primeiras séries da educação primária, e em 1984, constata-se que 60,6% da população economicamente ativa encontrava-se em um contexto de nunca ter estudado ou ter frequentado apenas três anos da escola.

A reforma educacional de 1971 trouxe ao centro do ensino a educação profissional. Questão que gera muitas discussões, pois vincula ensino e trabalho. A visão utilitarista era a pauta da educacional do Ensino Médio tendo como referencial a Teoria do Capital Humano. O caráter de terminalidade do Ensino Médio seria nada mais que, após concluído o Ensino Médio, o estudante estaria habilitado a adentrar o mercado de trabalho.

O caráter empregado na reforma do Ensino Médio afetou diretamente a contenção de fluxo para as universidades. Não sendo suficiente, o ministro da educação reiterou sua tese excludente, dizendo que o ensino secundário era um corredor ao Ensino Superior, a escola primária não possuía apoio da comunidade e o ensino se limitava a quatro paredes da sala de aula. A base ideológica do ensino ditatorial esteve pautada na Doutrina de Segurança Nacional, Teoria do Capital Humano e no pensamento cristão conservador.

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Keywords: ditadura, reforma educacional, Desenvolvimento Econômico, teoria do capital humano



Trilingual Education in Kazakhstan and International Experience

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This paper intends to promote a discussion on the issue of trilingual education in Kazakhstan by analyzing the language situation in the country and drawing on international experience with various trilingual education models and approaches. The study involves the research method of literature review to assemble the relevant literature to identify the main peculiarities of Kazakhstani trilingual policy and dwell on the difficulties in the process of trilingual education implementation. The review adopts historical analysis of the origins of multilingualism in Kazakhstan, considering specific historical facts and events. Then, a comparative analysis is thematically conducted of each issue faced by Kazakhstani trilingual education with reference to successful models of multilingual education implemented in the European background.

The language situation in Kazakhstan was influenced by a number of historical, political, geographical and economic factors and reasons. For more than 70 years, the educational policy of Kazakhstan was part of the Soviet system, which was dominated by the policy of “Russification”. During the Soviet period, Russian remained the language of power and prestige in many areas, including education (Goodman & Karabassova, 2018). After the dissolution of the USSR and during the years of independence, the Kazakh language gained more importance as a language of ethnic identity, thus the proportion of students in schools with the Kazakh language of instruction increased. Nevertheless, Russian continues to be used as a communicative, administrative and authoritative language in Kazakhstan. Furthermore, Kazakhstan set a lofty goal of becoming one of the world’s top 50 most competitive countries, since without an extensive knowledge of the English language, it was difficult to talk about the real competitiveness of a nation (Nazarbayev, 2006). The First President Nazarbayev formed the concept of trilingualism and suggested to start a cultural initiative named “The Trinity of Languages”. The project’s goal was to develop the use of three languages in Kazakhstan: Kazakh as the state language, Russian as the language of interethnic communication and English as the language of integration into the global economy.

In Kazakhstan’s education, the Trilingual Policy entails teaching science subjects, namely Chemistry, Physics, Biology, and Computer Science in English, the History of Kazakhstan in Kazakh, and World History in Russian (MoES, 2014). However, the trilingual policy had been a contentious and controversial issue. It started in 2007 with the idea of “the Trinity of languages” and continued for over a decade as a discourse and top-down implementation, rather than as a distinct policy document with defined action plans (Karabassova, 2020). Based on this, one of the objectives of the study is to evaluate the debate around the problem of trilingual education in Kazakhstan, and to place that debate in a meaningful and useful context based on the international literature related to trilingual education policy. Thus, this paper will consider the best practices in implementing trilingual education in European countries and assess what can be taken and applied in the education of Kazakhstan.

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Keywords: trilingual education, language situation in Kazakhstan, globalisation



The Transnational Dissemination of Scientific Institutions and Knowledge: The Mechanics' Institute Movement from 1820s to 1850s

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At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, with the development of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, society had certain requirements for workers to learn mathematics, English, science, and mechanics, and to master technology. Industrial society needed to continuously improve the efficiency of industrial production to find useful knowledge and maintain Britain's industrial edge. In 1800, the Englishman George Birkbeck founded the Mechanics' Class and began a series of free lectures on mechanics and mechanical knowledge. Then, in 1823, Andrew Ure founded the first mechanics' institute in Glasgow, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute. Later, in the first half of the 19th century, other places followed and began to establish such institutes, resulting in the formation of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain. The establishment of the Mechanics' Institutes and the development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain effectively contributed to the development of science and technology in the first half of the 19th century, while enabling workers to become significantly more creative and productive. Based on this background, other countries such as the United States, Germany, Canada, Australia, and India began to establish similar institutes and systems in the middle of the 19th century. Although the names of the institutes used varied from country to country, the goal was to provide workers with a deeper understanding of science, master science and technology, and promote the development of their industries. As a result, the Mechanics' Institute Movement has shown a trend of transnational spread and global development over the course of half a century. The research that has been done has focused more on the movement specifically in individual countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, and the research on the transnational history of this movement was relatively lacking.

In this regard, the central question of this research is how did the Mechanics' Institute Movements spread and communicate across borders in the first half of the 19th century? This exploration attempts to break away from the traditional framework of interpreting the history of education in the nation-state space and place the Mechanics' Institute Movements in a broader interconnected space. Using transnational history as the research method and the three dimensions of "connection," "interaction," and "comparison" as the analytical framework, this research will explore the process of the global spread of the Mechanics' Institute Movements in the first half of the 19th century, reveal the reasons for the emergence of the Mechanics' Institute Movements in different countries, the connections between the Mechanics' Institute Movements in these countries, and the characteristics, impacts, and future fates of the Mechanics' Institute Movements in different countries. The purpose of the investigation of the transnational spread of the Mechanics' Institute Movements is to reveal how scientific and technical knowledge came to the global public through the spread of educational organizations in the 19th century.

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Keywords: mechanics' institutes, Mechanics' Institutes Movement, transnational dissemination, scientific institutions and knowledge



From Grünewald to the Forest in Sopron: The Forest School Movement in Hungary and the Forest School in Sopron

Von Grünewald zum Wald in Sopron: Die Waldschulbewegung in Ungarn um die Jahrhundertwende und die Waldschule in Sopron

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In the 20th century, forest schools (Waldschulen) became the defining school-type institutions of environmental attitude formation in Germany and many other countries. The first forest schools in Germany were founded in 1904 in Berlin-Charlottenburg and in 1906 in Mühlhausen. At the beginning of the 1930s, there were already more than seventy forest schools in Germany. When the first forest schools were established, health and social policy aspects were decisive. The Charlottenburg institution was aptly called the Freiluftschule by its founders. In the institutions established later, the shaping of environmental attitudes became important. Learning in the forest entailed gaining knowledge about the forest and nature in general. After the beginnings in Germany, the first forest schools were soon established in Hungary as well. In 1908, a forestry school was established in Mátyásföld and Szombathely. In 1909 in District VII. of Budapest, a garden civil school was founded. In 1918, a forest school was also opened in Sopron.

The first forest schools were established in Germany and Hungary at the turn of the century. The turn of the century was the period of development of life reform and reform pedagogic movements. Despite the original purpose of founding the forest schools, they can be considered one of the tendencies of the reform pedagogy movement. In the forest schools, many pedagogical endeavours were realized, which are generally typical of reform pedagogical trends. A break from the health-damaging air of big cities. Freeing children from the shackles of traditional school. Abandoning the in-seminating – soul-killing school. Teaching and education in the framework of life-like, practical activities. The entanglement of the forest school movement and domestic reform pedagogic efforts was also demonstrated by the First Hungarian Children's Studies Congress and Exhibition organized in 1913. Domestic and international representatives of the forest school movement were also able to present themselves at the large-scale event.

The purpose of my lecture is, on the one hand, to present the process during which forest schools spread in Hungary at the turn of the century. Another main goal is to show what basic reform pedagogical efforts characterized the operation of forest schools. I am particularly examining the social and educational activities carried out in the forest school in Sopron.

The basic method of the research will be document analysis. In addition to contemporary and more recent literature published in print, I also use archival sources to present the operation of the Sopron institution.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts wurden Waldschulen in Deutschland und vielen anderen Ländern zu den prägenden schulischen Einrichtungen der Umweltbildung. Die ersten Waldschulen in Deutschland wurden 1904 in Berlin-Charlottenburg und 1906 in Mühlhausen im Elsass gegründet. Anfang der 1930-er Jahren gab es in Deutschland bereits mehr als siebenzig Waldschulen. Bei der Gründung der ersten Waldschulen waren gesundheits- und



sozialpolitische Aspekte ausschlaggebend. Die Charlottenburger Institution wurde von ihren Gründern treffend Freiluftschule genannt. In den später gegründeten Institutionen rückten Aspekte der umweltbezogenen Einstellungsbildung in den Vordergrund. Lernen im Wald, über den Wald und die Natur im Allgemeinen. Nach den Anfängen in Deutschland entstanden bald auch in Ungarn die ersten Waldschulen. 1908 wurde in Mátyásföld (heute ein Teil von Budapest) und Szombathely eine Waldschule gegründet. 1909 in Budapest VII. Bezirk wurde eine Gartenbürgerschule gegründet. 1918 wurde auch in Sopron eine Waldschule eröffnet. Die ersten Waldschulen wurden in Deutschland und Ungarn um die Jahrhundertwende gegründet. Die Jahrhundertwende war die Zeit der Entwicklung lebensreformerischer und reformpädagogischer Bewegungen. Trotz des ursprünglichen Gründungszwecks der Waldschulen können sie als eine der Richtungen der reformpädagogischen Bewegung angesehen werden. In den Waldschulen wurden viele pädagogische Bestrebungen verwirklicht, die allgemein typisch für reformpädagogische Strömungen sind. Ausbrechen von der gesundheitsschädlichen Luft der Großstädte. Kinder von den Fesseln der traditionellen Schule befreien. Verlassen der seelentötenden Schule. Lehre und Bildung im Rahmen einer lebensnahen, praktischen Tätigkeit. Die Verflechtung der Waldschulbewegung mit den Bemühungen der Reformpädagogik im Inland wurde auch durch den 1913 organisierten Ersten Kongress und die Ausstellung für ungarische Kinderstudien deutlich. Auch nationale und internationale Vertreter der Waldschulbewegung konnten sich bei der Großveranstaltung präsentieren.

Ziel meines Vortrags ist einerseits, den Prozess darzustellen, in dessen Verlauf sich die Waldschulen um die Jahrhundertwende in Ungarn ausbreiteten. Ein weiteres Hauptziel ist es aufzuzeigen, welche grundlegenden reformpädagogischen Bemühungen den Betrieb von Waldschulen prägten. Ich untersuche insbesondere die sozialen und pädagogischen Aktivitäten, die in der Waldschule in Sopron durchgeführt werden.

Die grundlegende Methode der Untersuchung wird die Dokumentenanalyse sein. Neben der in gedruckter Form veröffentlichten zeitgenössischen und neueren Literatur verwende ich auch Archivquellen, um die Soproner Institution darzustellen.

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Keywords: forest school, turn of the century, Hungary, Sopron



Lev N. Tolstoy – An Educator Between Visions and (Reform-)pedagogical Practice
Lev N. Tolstoi – Ein Pädagoge zwischen Visionen und (reform-)pädagogischer Praxis

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Lev N. Tolstoy is considered one of Russia's most successful poets and writers. With his major works *War and Peace* (1868/69) and *Anna Karenina* (1877/78), he became famous far beyond the borders of Russia in the 19th century. Tolstoy also received much national and international attention in the late 19th and early 20th centuries for his writings critical of religion and his dispute with the Russian Orthodox Church. What few people know, however, is that Tolstoy was also involved in popular education and worked as an educator. His primary goal was to provide children with an education that was most appropriate to the individual, with freedom as being the most important criterion (Berneker, 2013, p. 74), which is why he is sometimes considered a pioneer of modern reform pedagogy in its reception (Winkler, 2012). For instance, his thoughts and implementations had a demonstrable influence on the Free School movement (Dennison, 1971) or on Alexander Sutherland Neill's Summerhill School (Neill, 1994). Tolstoy was partly intensively concerned with questions about teaching methods, about the subjects most relevant to children, or about punishments. Among other things, he launched several school experiments on his estate in Yasnaya Polyana, established village schools, and wrote reading books and numerous pedagogical essays. On two longer trips to Western Europe in 1857 and 1860/61, he met up with influential and, for the time, progressive educators such as Adolph Diesterweg or Friedrich Froebel, in order to draw inspiration for his own pedagogical concepts and practical implementations. On his second trip, Tolstoy also visited the German writer Berthold Auerbach, whose novel *Neues Leben* (1852), in which school and education are central themes, was particularly important to Tolstoy. Auerbach, by this time largely forgotten, was, like Tolstoy, interested in pedagogy in addition to his writing and describes in his work how he envisioned popular education beginning with the education of children. After visiting Auerbach, Tolstoy emphasized the special influence that Auerbach and southern German liberalism had on his educational ideas and implementations (Tolstoy, 1978, p. 281).

Tolstoy's pedagogical visions and his aspirations for educational reform coincide with the period of abolition of serfdom in Russia and, for this reason among others, also have great (socio-) political relevance and explosiveness. Tolstoy attempted to grant more freedom to the peasants on his own estate long before the final abolition of serfdom. The orientation towards and interest in the pedagogy of the West, especially in Germany, lead to a fusion of different concepts from West and East.

In the lecture the most important aspects of pedagogy in Tolstoy and the importance of Western considerations (among others those of Auerbach) for it will be presented. In addition, it will be asked what concrete pedagogical ideas he realized, what role his pedagogical work played in Russia at that time, and what effects can be observed on later reform pedagogical concepts. Research findings are obtained primarily through comparisons; for this purpose, pedagogical writings and reports as well as biographies and diaries are analyzed.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Lew Nikolajewitsch Tolstoi gilt als einer der erfolgreichsten Dichter und Schriftsteller Russlands. Mit seinen Hauptwerken *Krieg und Frieden* (1868/69) und *Anna Karenina* (1877/78) wurde er im 19. Jahrhundert weit über die Grenzen Russlands hinaus bekannt. Auch für seine



religionskritischen Schriften und seinen Disput mit der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche bekam Tolstoi gegen Ende des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts viel nationale und internationale Aufmerksamkeit. Was hingegen wenige wissen, ist, dass Tolstoi sich auch mit Volksbildung beschäftigte und als Pädagoge tätig war. Sein vorrangiges Ziel war dabei, Kindern eine Bildung zukommen zu lassen, die dem jeweiligen Individuum am meisten entspricht, wobei Freiheit als wichtigstes Kriterium galt (Berneker, 2013. p. 74), weshalb er in reformpädagogischer Rezeption teilweise auch als Vordenker moderner Reformpädagogik gilt (Winkler, 2012). So hatten seine Überlegungen und Umsetzungen u.a. nachweislich Einfluss auf die Free School Bewegung (Dennison, 1971) oder auf Alexander Sutherland Neills Summerhill School (Neill, 1994). Tolstoi beschäftigte sich zum Teil intensiv mit Fragen nach Lehrmethoden, nach den für Kinder relevantesten Fächern oder mit dem Thema Bestrafungen. Er startete unter anderem mehrere Schulversuche auf seinem Gut in Jasnaja Poljana, richtete Dorfschulen ein und schrieb Lesebücher und zahlreiche pädagogische Aufsätze. Auf zwei längeren Reisen nach Westeuropa in den Jahren 1857 und 1860/61 traf er einflussreiche und für die damalige Zeit fortschrittliche Pädagogen und Künstler*innen wie Adolph Diesterweg, Friedrich Fröbel oder Iwan Turgenjew, um sich für eigene pädagogische Konzepte und praktische Umsetzungen inspirieren zu lassen. Auf seiner zweiten Reise besuchte Tolstoi auch den deutschen Schriftsteller Berthold Auerbach, dessen Roman *Neues Leben* (1852), in dem Schule und Bildung zentrale Themen sind, für Tolstoi einen besonders hohen Stellenwert innehatte. Auerbach, mittlerweile weitgehend in Vergessenheit geraten, war ähnlich wie Tolstoi neben seiner schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit an Pädagogik interessiert und beschreibt in seinem Werk, wie er sich Volkserziehung vorstellt, die bei der Bildung von Kindern beginnt. Nach dem Besuch bei Auerbach schrieb Tolstoi in sein Tagebuch: „Auerbach!!!!!!!!!!!! Ein reizender Mensch! Ein Licht ist mir aufgegangen.“ (Tolstoi, 1978. p. 281) Dieser Eintrag im ersten Band der Tolstoi-Tagebücher deutet bereits auf den besonderen Einfluss hin, den Auerbach und der süddeutsche Liberalismus auf den russischen Schriftsteller und insbesondere auf dessen pädagogischen Vorstellungen und Umsetzungen hatten.

Die pädagogischen Visionen Tolstojs und dessen Bestreben nach Bildungsreformen fallen in die Zeit der Bauernbefreiung in Russland und haben unter anderem deshalb auch große (sozial-)politische Relevanz und Brisanz. Tolstoi versuchte lange vor der endgültigen Abschaffung der Leibeigenschaft auf seinem eigenen Gut den Bauern mehr Freiheiten zu gewähren. Die Orientierung an der und das Interesse für die Pädagogik des Westens, insbesondere in Deutschland, führen zu einer Verschmelzung verschiedener Konzepte aus West und Ost.

Im Vortrag werden die wichtigsten Aspekte der Pädagogik bei Tolstoi und die Bedeutung westlicher Überlegungen (u.a. von Auerbach) dafür dargestellt. Außerdem wird danach gefragt, welche konkreten pädagogischen Ideen er verwirklichte, welche Rolle sein pädagogisches Schaffen im damaligen Russland spielte und welche Auswirkungen auf spätere reformpädagogische Konzepte zu beobachten sind. Forschungserkenntnisse werden in erster Linie durch Vergleiche erlangt, dafür werden u.a. sowohl pädagogische Schriften und Berichte als auch Biografien und Tagebücher analysiert.

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Keywords: Tolstoi, Pädagogik, Freiheit der Bildung, Berthold Auerbach



Contested Visions on Fundamental Education: UNESCO's Pilot Projects in Mexico and Haiti ca. 1947–1953

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The perspective that informed UNESCO's first policies aimed at the so-called underdeveloped world was known as fundamental education. Partly rooted in the colonial educational policies of Great Britain and France but also in rural and mass education policies enforced in countries such as Mexico and China, this was UNESCO's first major attempt to bring together different efforts made over the years by national governments that the organization considered isolated and contained in their respective territories. UNESCO thus envisioned an education that would foster understanding among the different peoples of the world based on international solidarity and values deemed democratic in the post-war years, while at the same time equipping communities with tools that would enable them to improve their standard of living by themselves (UNESCO, 1947; Jones, 1990). As such, the proposal included not only adult and youth literacy but also the introduction of new agricultural techniques, health campaigns, and the promotion of new forms of economic organization. Between 1947 and 1953, UNESCO devised various pilot projects to test the best means to carry out such endeavours, two of which were to be based in Haiti and Mexico.

Wading into the topic summoned by ISCHE 44 on the tensions encountered in educational reform processes, in this paper I will argue that fundamental education can be understood as an educational innovation (Viñao Frago, 2000) that had some coherent elements while at the same time was consistently challenged by actors involved both in the intellectual circuit of UNESCO and in the field. Thus, there was never a unanimous approach to fundamental education. Accordingly, I intend to outline answers to the following questions: How was this education envisioned for the various national contexts? What were its aims, and what made it different from previous efforts in the eyes of the organization? How were the subjects who would benefit from fundamental education conceived and thought of? To do so, I will rely on insights drawn from the transnational history of education (Droux & Hofstetter, 2014; Fuchs, 2014) and on primary sources such as the records of meetings in which the fundamental education program was discussed, some pieces published in *The UNESCO Courier* that reported on both pilot projects, and statements made public by teachers and other UNESCO collaborators involved with them.

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Keywords: UNESCO, fundamental education, pilot projects, transnational history



State, University And Governance: A (New) Relation?

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Since the end of the eighties, higher education systems have been interested in reforms aimed at introducing governance with managerial features and changing the relations with the outside, in the frame of the idea of knowledge thought in economic terms as well as of a growing influence of supranational Organizations, like the European Union, which has formulated a specific education and training policy.

This new shape of relations among supranational Organizations, State and university has been interpreted as a weakening of the role of the state which had defined and delimited, historically, tasks and aims of higher education and, at the same time, as a reason to suppose a growing similarity among education systems.

In the light of these considerations, this paper is devoted to proposing a historical and political-institutional analysis of the so-called re-invention of governance, in order to comprehend its meanings and effects in some countries, which will be taken as a reference, bringing to the attention the weight of historical and cultural factors.

After this historical reconstruction and looking at the current scenario, the final part will be devoted both to reflect critically on the supposed weakening of the state and to suggest some lines of research to understand the complex relations in which universities live and act.

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Keywords: university, state, governance, relations, supranational organizations



Can Languages Be Rivals? – The Transitional Period of Language Learning in Hungary with a Special Focus on Contemporary Press Releases

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Language teaching and learning is an evergreen topic in educational linguistics. While both professionals and laypeople are interested in the practical side of language learning, and new methodologies appear from time to time, claiming to be a panacea for the problem of Babel, relatively little attention is paid to the diachronic study of language teaching (Medgyes & Malderez, 1996; Bárdos, 2000; Medgyes, 2011; Kitzinger, 2017) in Hungary. Today, members of Generation Z and Alpha take it for granted that English is the world's number one lingua franca. In diachronic research, however, even when looking at the recent past, a number of questions arise, such as "Which languages have played an important role in recent Hungarian language education? What challenges and changes did language teaching in Hungary face in the 1990s?" The research focuses mainly on Russian and English as two representative languages of the transitional period.

It is a geopolitical commonplace that Hungary is on the border of two worlds, which covers not only the changes in political and ideological systems, but also the metamorphoses in society that are redefining culture, art and education. Language education in Hungary is a litmus test of existing trends and processes that are born in politics and reflected in social structures and culture, with a capital and a small 'c'. The most recent and significant change in language teaching in Hungary can be traced back to the change of regime in 1989, which is the main theme of the presentation. It aims to examine the question of language as power, or more precisely, language as a tool of power, with particular emphasis on English and Russian as the languages of two superpowers, and which languages are used as native languages in their natural medium and, for historical, political and ideological reasons, as second or foreign languages in other parts of the world. It gives an insight into the content and forms of language teaching and learning from the point of view of educational linguistics and tries to show the difference between teaching Russian and teaching English as a foreign language. The presentation shows the "linguistic regime change" in Hungary on the basis of contemporary press articles, which have not yet been researched, and discusses the problems of transition in language teaching together with the solutions given by the Hungarian educational system. One of the novelties of the presentation is that it tries to fill the gap of presenting press releases of the time. Some of the contemporary materials have not even been digitised, so deeper research in national libraries (National Educational Library and Museum, Library of the Hungarian Parliament) was necessary. Methods of data analysis from applied linguistics (Dörnyei, 2007) and educational science (Nádasi, 2004) helped in the interpretation and conclusions were drawn on the basis of the results. Finally, the exciting question is posed, i.e. whether the two world languages can be interchangeable, and what tendencies help us to answer this peculiar question.

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Keywords: East vs. West, change of regime, paradigm shift, foreign language teaching, English and Russian



Sustainable Social and Economic Performs in Adult Literacy Education in Nigeria, 1990–2023

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The world is changing very fast and all developmental process in every nation need to meet up with the changing needs of our time, hence, this study seeks to examine the sustainability of the social and economic reforms, put in place in the field of Adult Literacy Education. Historical research method was adopted for the paper, and data was collected and analyzed with primary and secondary sources of information. Such sources like oral interviews, internet materials, articles in journals, magazines, research papers and textbooks.

The paper focused on conceptual review, social and economic reforms in Adult Literacy Education in Nigeria, 1990–2023; challenges of sustainable Social and Economic Reforms in Nigeria, 1990–2023, the impact of sustainable Social and Economic Reforms in Adult Literacy Education in Nigeria, 1990–2023 and made recommendations for sustainable Social and Economic Reforms in Adult Literacy Education in Nigeria.

The findings of the study revealed that: Social Reforms are changes and innovations brought into a system to make people well-informed on issues relating to their personal welfare and contribution to the society, to which they belong. For instance, Education, Domestic and Health Affairs, among others; Economic Reforms involve programmes that enhance change in business transactions, profit-making and acquisition of functional literacy skills, such programmes as, business seminars, women's education, vocational skill acquisition and other income-generating activities, a lot of policies, programmes, campaigns, mobilization strategies were put in place within the period of study, by the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC), Non-Governmental Organizations, individuals and International Development Partners (IDP), to ensure that the afore mentioned Social and Economic Reforms in Adult Literacy Education worked in Nigeria. Challenges of sustaining these efforts were lack of political will, inadequate funds, global economic recession, personnel, administrative, language barriers, religious crisis, health, and cultural discrimination against the education of girls and women, among others. The impact of different reforms was an increase in enrolment of learners in adult literacy classes, acquisition of vocational skills, ability to read and write and fulfil civic responsibilities like voting and being voted for.

It is, therefore, recommended in this paper that the teaching and learning process for adults must be need-oriented, policies must be backed with strong political will, and enough funds should be allocated and released promptly, to meet up with *UNESCO* benchmarks and specifications for educational matters; effective campaign and awareness should be done, soft loans and start-up grants to establish a business based on skills acquired should be granted by all stakeholders to neo-literates.

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Keywords: sustainable, social, economic, reforms, adult, literacy education



Education of the Roma Ethnic Group in Lithuania: A History of Tensions and Transitions

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Despite the fact that Roma¹ have been living in Lithuania since the 16th century (the exact date is not known, (Mróz, 2015)), there is hardly any educational (as opposed to sociological (Leončikas, 2006; Štuopytė, 2008; Petrušauskaitė, 2014) research on their education, which raises questions/uncertainties and related tensions (Žemaitėlytė-Ivanavičė, 2018, 2020; Stonkuvienė, 2019). This presentation gives a brief history of Roma education in Lithuania. The chronological framework of the report extends to the mid-20th century, and the main focus is on those historical periods that have had the greatest impact on Roma education in this country: the Soviet occupation, the post-Soviet period, the declaration of the country's independence, accession to the EU, and other new, local reforms such as the closure of the Kirtimai settlement (tabor) in Vilnius city.

During the presentation, the experiences of schools with the most significant experience in Roma education in Lithuania will be presented in a historical context. These schools, which had educated Roma children for more than 30 years, accumulated a wealth of experience that perfectly illustrates the interesting, localised relationship between the Roma and the *gadje* (the *others*, non-Roma). Therefore, by collecting oral history interviews from older and younger generations of the Roma people, teachers and other participants in the field of education, as well as by analysing archival data, strategic educational documents, and the latest research on Roma education, an attempt is made to distinguish the historical cross-sections that have not only influenced the elements of change in the situation of Roma education but have also determined the changing and transitioning situation of Roma education in Lithuania. Local educational challenges, which, in fact, can be described as global rather than unique being also characteristic of other European countries: ethnocentrism-ethnic marginalisation, early dropout (Alexiadou, 2019; ERRC, 2017), school absenteeism, low academic achievement, early marriage, gender inequality, (FRA, 2014, 2016; REF, 2010) Currently, when referring to the education of this ethnic group in Lithuania, examples of both segregation and excellent inclusion, local achievements can be provided, but they are revealed only by studying the historical context. Revealing the historical context through the examples of specific schools is also an excellent illustration of the tensions and transitions of Roma education in Lithuania.

¹ It is recognised that Roma are a heterogeneous group, and there is a need to be sensitive to framings that problematise the minority (Matras, 2015). The term 'Roma' is used here to refer to different groups living in Lithuania and speaking Romani language dialects: Lithuanian Romani (*Litóvska roma*), Latvian Romani (*Lotfítka roma*), Kalderash Romani without denying the varieties of lifestyles of these groups.

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Keywords: the Roma, ethnic group, oral history, history of education



Rural school history

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Following World War II., and the appointment of Francis Trow Spaulding as Commissioner of Education in New York State, a series of school reorganization, or centralization committees met and enacted the Central School Policy contained in the New York State Master Plan for School District Reorganization, from 1947. Created as a way to improve efficiency, and effectiveness, in their opinion, of the one and two room rural school houses, by merging them into age-graded, large centralized schools centred on a village. This policy, as Anzano and Biddle (2016), Cubberly, (1914), Parkerson and Parkerson (2016), and Spaulding (1974) inform us, was part of a narrative to recreate rural education into the image of urban education in the early 20th century.

Yet, in Chautauqua County New York, a rural, and the western most county in Upstate New York, the local residents, mostly farmers, from the small community of Kiantone, just south of Jamestown, objected to the process and demanded agency for where and with whom their children would attend school and what system their taxes would finance.

Using archival research in the Fenton Historical Society, and the New York State Education Department's records on school district reorganization, this paper explores how a centralized process created a firestorm toward and cries against the perceived "unamerican activities by the State Education Department" (Fenton Kiantone files). This "farmer's rebellion" in Kiantone was national news (covered in the Grange newsletter) and demonstrated a central cultural issue that has been frankly ignored in a metrocentric, urban normative state such as New York. As described by Chinni & Gimple, and echoed by Fulkerson & Thomas, Western New York is not like the rest of New York. The upstate/ downstate divide and discussion lacks a third, more nuanced approach, which sees western New York as more Midwestern than Mid Atlantic or New England. This paper encourages scholars to research the western 10 counties of New York as examples of community focused and skeptics on the field of reform efforts.

Filling a significant gap in the history of Western New York, and an almost domineering approach by the state education department, this paper explores how local resistance to reform in education focused on democracy, local government control and a series of press related and central agency reactions to individuals who saw a very different governmental narrative at play than was shared with the world.

Keywords: rural, education reform, local



A Study on the Micro-power Operation Mechanism in the Reform of Sishu in the Early Republic of China

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The conflict between Sishu (Traditional Rural Private Schools) and new-style schools has always been an important theme in the educational reform of China in the early 20th century, and the relevant research has also been deepening and expanding in the research period, region, theme and vision. Among these studies, mostly focused on the Republic of China, especially on the Jiangsu province in the 1930s. Although almost all scholars admit that there was “conflict and competition, as well as complementarity and inheritance” between Sishu and new-style schools, they are inclined to overemphasize the conflict between Sishu and new-style schools. They failed to realise that many stakeholders were involved in modern China's educational reform, and there were also complex relationships between Sishu and Sishu, as well as between new-style schools and new-style schools. Among these Sishu and New-style schools, there was competition, transformation and complementarity.

Concerning the Sishu in the rural villages and towns, the government's educational reform policies would face many conflicts of interested people or power, and the reform landscape of rural education would be very complicated. Wuxi is located in the south of Jiangsu Province, nearby the Yangtze River, and people who lived there emphasised education very much, and its new-style education developed very quickly. Therefore, the conflict between Sishu and new-style education was more fierce than in other districts. In 1905, a serious school destruction event broke out here. During 1911–1927, there were several serious educational events caused by the banning Sishu, which was luckily recorded by local newspapers. This paper intends to reveal the micro-power operation mechanism in the Reform of Sishu by analysing these events, and thus the complexity of educational reform in rural China would be clear.

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Keywords: Sishu (Traditional Rural Private Schools) new-style schools, educational “modernisation”, micro-power operation mechanism



The Reform of the High School in Cuba in the First 15 Years of the Revolution
La Reforma De La Escuela Secundaria En Cuba En Los Primeros 15 Años De Revolución

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The contribution intends to focus on how the Cuban revolutionary government has combined secondary school reforms with economic and social development.

After the first general reform of education launched in the same year of the revolutionary victory (1959) and which involved all levels of school, guided by liberal-democratic and secular principles and represented all government forces, the guerrillas faced a series of political and economic consequences – mainly due to conflicts with the United States – which forced them to approach the Soviet Union and therefore to build a new communist State.

This drastic change therefore affected not only the economy and the management of power, but also schools and education more generally. In fact, the Council of Ministers put into practice a series of reforms to implant socialist pedagogy in Cuba from 1962, also attempting a re-reading of Marxian educational theories to adapt them to the reality of the island and seek an alternative road to communism from the one already traced by the USSR, starting from education.

In particular, the Cubans placed a very strong emphasis on technical training, rather than on general or humanistic training, which corresponded to the rapid and massive construction of industrial and agricultural state institutes (non-existent before the triumph of the Revolution) for the training of middle-level technicians. Even the recurring modifications of the programs were functional in putting into practice the principle of socialist pedagogy of the union between study and work. In this way, it was possible to involve thousands of students in the productive activity related to the subjects of study.

The role of the revolutionary Government itself was more incisive than ever in the educational sphere. In fact, in addition to the declared purpose of creating a new man, aware of his role within the nascent communist society, he strongly oriented the enrollments of the boys and their professional preparation, so that they could undertake careers essential to the success of the established economic policy.

From the second half of the 1960s, the Ministry of Education initiated a very important reform of the middle school through the construction of school towns in rural areas [*escuela en el campo*], which housed hundreds of students during the entire duration of the school year. The boys who lived and studied in these centres combined daily theoretical study of science and production processes with practice in laboratories and actual work. Many scholars of the history of the Cuban school have defined this type of school as completely peculiar to the Cuban reality, unique even in the socialist world.

The *escuela media superior* was probably the one most subjected to experiments, reforms, successes and errors in the first fifteen years of the Revolution, but since the mid-1980s it has been recognized with a distinct degree of quality by international bodies such as UNESCO or the World Bank. Furthermore, it probably helped to create a mass consciousness whose unifying element lay in the commitment to the community through work and not in the achievement of individual economic success.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

La contribución pretende enfocarse en cómo el Gobierno revolucionario cubano ha combinado las reformas de la escuela secundaria con el desarrollo económico y social.



Luego de la primera reforma general de la educación iniciada el mismo año de la victoria revolucionaria (1959) y que involucró a todos los niveles escolares, guiada por principios liberal-democráticos y laicos y que representó a todas las fuerzas gubernamentales, los guerrilleros enfrentaron una serie de desafíos políticos y consecuencias económicas que les obligaron a acercarse a la Unión Soviética.

Este cambio drástico afectó no solo a la economía y la gestión del poder, sino también a las escuelas y la educación en general. De hecho, el Consejo de Ministros puso en práctica una serie de reformas para implantar la pedagogía socialista en Cuba a partir de 1962, intentando también una relectura de las teorías educativas marxistas para adaptarlas a la realidad de la isla y buscar un camino alternativo hacia comunismo al ya trazado por la URSS, a partir de la educación.

En particular, los cubanos pusieron un énfasis muy fuerte en la formación técnica, lo que correspondió a la rápida y masiva construcción de institutos estatales industriales y agrícolas para la formación de técnicos medios. Incluso las modificaciones recurrentes de los programas fueron funcionales a la puesta en práctica del principio de la pedagogía socialista de la unión entre el estudio y el trabajo. De esta manera fue posible involucrar a miles de estudiantes en la actividad productiva relacionada con las materias de estudio.

El papel del propio Gobierno revolucionario fue más incisivo que nunca en el ámbito educativo. De hecho, además del propósito declarado de crear un hombre nuevo, consciente de su papel dentro de la naciente sociedad comunista, orientó fuertemente la matrícula de los muchachos y su preparación profesional, para que pudieran emprender carreras esenciales para el éxito de la política económica establecida.

A partir de la segunda mitad de la década de 1960, el Ministerio de Educación inició una reforma muy importante de la escuela media a través de la construcción de pueblos escolares en las zonas rurales (escuela en el campo), que albergaron a cientos de estudiantes durante todo el año escolar. Los muchachos que vivieron y estudiaron en estos centros combinaron el estudio teórico diario de la ciencia y los procesos de producción con la práctica en laboratorios y el trabajo real. Muchos estudiosos de la historia de la escuela cubana han definido este tipo de escuela como completamente peculiar a la realidad cubana, única incluso en el mundo socialista.

La escuela media superior fue probablemente la más experimentada, reformada, acertada y desacertada en los primeros quince años de la Revolución, pero desde mediados de la década de 1980 ha sido reconocida con distinto grado de calidad por organismos internacionales como la UNESCO o el Banco Mundial. Además, probablemente ayudó a crear una conciencia de masas cuyo elemento aglutinador residía en el compromiso con la comunidad a través del trabajo y no en la consecución del éxito económico individual.

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Keywords: Cuba, communism, high school, economy, politics



Brazilian Educational Reforms: A Study on Compulsory Primary Education In Minas Gerais (1835–1889)

Reformas Educacionais Brasileiras: Um Estudo Sobre A Obrigatoriedade Da Instrução Primária Em Minas Gerais (1835–1889)

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After the independence of Brazil (1822) the education of the people was one of the concerns of the new administration. Primary education, which consisted of teaching to read, write and count, was established as a constitutional right and a series of measures were taken to expand it. From 1834, this educational segment ceased to be the responsibility of the central government and became incumbent upon the provinces. Minas Gerais, with Law No. 13 of 1835, was the first province to establish compulsory primary education for boys between the ages of 8 and 14.

Considering the challenges for the effectiveness of this obligation, the present research aimed to identify and understand the relation established between the educational legislations and the public to which they were addressed, during the imperial period, which ended in 1889. To attain this objective, seven laws and eight educational regulations made in the province of Minas Gerais between 1835 and 1889 were used as a source. Based on Thompson's theoretical referential (1987), the legislations were not understood as unilateral impositions of the dominant group, but as the result of a field permeated by tension and conflicts. From this perspective, a cross-reference was made between the legislation and reports of presidents of the province, which were presented to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Minas Gerais (1837 to 1889) and that often highlighted the educational demands of the population.

As a methodological procedure, the sources were analysed in dialogue with the bibliography that dealt with schooling in the 19th century. Thus, it was found that the legislation, especially regarding compulsory education, was in constant change in order to resolve issues arising from the population or to adapt guidelines that had not been put into practice. The Law no.13 of 1835 dictated that parents who did not send their children to school had to pay a fine. According to the presidents' reports, the lack of schools, and poverty were the main impediments to school attendance. Hence, some educational reforms followed to adapt to this reality. Regulation no. 44 of 1859 stipulated that education would only be compulsory for children who lived near a public school. Regulation no. 84 of 1883 admitted the impossibility for poor children to attend school, excluding them from compulsory education. Moreover, the increase in the number of female pupils and the constant requests from parents, who petitioned for the creation of schools for them, also led to legal changes. Regulation no. 44 of 1859 established that if there was no specific school for one of the two sexes, the pupils could be accepted in schools of the opposite sex. Finally, Regulation no. 84 of 1879 determined that primary education was also compulsory for girls between the ages of 7 and 12. These analyses demonstrate that the legislation was a space of political struggles. In some moments, the educational laws were changed due to non-compliance, other times, it was modified by demands coming from the school community.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Após a independência do Brasil (1822) a formação do povo foi uma das preocupações dos novos dirigentes. A instrução primária, que correspondia ao ensino do ler, escrever e contar, foi instituída como direito constitucional e uma série de medidas foram empreendidas com o propósito de sua expansão. A partir de 1834, esse segmento educacional deixou de ser responsabilidade do governo central e passou a ser encargo das províncias. Minas Gerais, com a Lei n.13 de 1835, foi a primeira



provincia do país a estabelecer a obrigatoriedade do ensino primário, para crianças do sexo masculino, entre 8 e 14 anos de idade. Considerando os desafios para a efetivação dessa obrigatoriedade, a presente pesquisa teve como objetivo identificar e compreender a relação estabelecida entre as legislações educacionais e o público ao qual se dirigiam, durante o período imperial, que se encerrou em 1889. Para alcançar tal objetivo utilizou-se como fonte as sete leis e os oito regulamentos educacionais confeccionados na província mineira, entre 1835 e 1889. A partir do referencial teórico de Thompson (1987), as legislações não foram compreendidas como imposição única do grupo dominante, antes, como o resultado de um campo permeado de tensão e conflitos. Nessa perspectiva, empreendeu-se um cruzamento entre a legislação e os relatórios dos presidentes da província, que foram apresentados a Assembleia Legislativa Provincial de Minas Gerais (1837 a 1889) e em diversas vezes apontaram demandas educacionais da população. Como procedimento metodológico realizou-se a análise das fontes citadas em diálogo com a bibliografia que tratou da escolarização no século XIX. Assim, descobriu-se que a legislação, principalmente no que diz respeito a obrigatoriedade escolar, esteve em constante transformação, na busca de resolver questões advindas da população ou adaptar diretrizes não efetivadas na prática. A Lei n.13 de 1835 previa que os pais que não enviassem os filhos as escolas deveriam pagar uma multa. Segundo os relatórios dos presidentes, as poucas escolas e a pobreza da população eram os principais impedimentos para a frequência escolar. Logo, seguiu-se algumas reformas educacionais para adaptar-se à essa realidade. O Regulamento n. 44 de 1859 estipulou que a instrução só seria obrigatória para as crianças que morassem próximas a uma escola pública. Já o Regulamento n. 84 de 1883 reconheceu a impossibilidade de crianças pobres frequentarem as escolas, excluindo-as da obrigatoriedade. Além disso, o aumento no número de alunas e os constantes pedidos dos pais, que solicitavam a criação de escolas para o sexo feminino, também acarretou alterações legais. O Regulamento n.44 de 1859 instituiu que no caso de não haver escola específica para um dos dois sexos, os alunos poderiam ser aceitos na escola do sexo oposto. Por fim, o Regulamento n.84 de 1879 determinou a obrigatoriedade da instrução primária também para meninas entre 7 e 12 anos. Essas análises demonstram que a legislação foi um espaço de lutas políticas, em alguns momentos as leis educacionais foram alteradas devido ao seu não cumprimento, outras vezes, foi modificada por uma demanda proveniente do público escolar.

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Keywords: history of education, educational law, primary instruction, Minas Gerais, 19th century



Education And Development of Carolina Maria de Jesus's children in a slum in Brazil
Educação E Desenvolvimento Dos Filhos de Carolina Maria de Jesus Em uma Favela No Brasil

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Carolina Maria de Jesus was born in 1914, in Minas Gerais. She moved to São Paulo, seeking to escape poverty, but being unemployed, she ended up in the Canindé favela. It is in this space that the diary of a black woman, from the slums, a single mother of three kids, who fights daily for her life trying to earn money by picking up paper, is created. The author portrays in the form of a diary the weight of inequalities, hunger and racial and gender prejudices, using her writing not only to report the reality of her life, but as a way to leave the favela, which, when published, gave her brief fame.

Schwarcz and Starling (2015) show that the development of industries and cities led to the rural exodus, which began in the 1940s. Many people left in search of jobs that began to increase in large cities as a result of the country's modernization projects. This mass migration caused disorder and rapid growth of the periphery, forming the favelas. It is from this reality that Carolina denounces the failures of economic development, which intended to promote the progress and modernization of the country, but also produced the exploitation and marginalization of a poor class, which began to inhabit the outskirts of the metropolises.

Carolina focuses on the issue of her children's education, since the author believes in the extreme importance of providing and guaranteeing quality education for children. In this way, a change of position that Carolina assumes during the writing of her first diary stands out. During her life in the favela, the author highlights that environment as an unhealthy place for the development of her children, since the borders between the street and the private space of the house not well defined, keeping children exposed to the dangers of the street and therefore, it would be more difficult to preserve childhood.

However, after experiencing the reality of cities, she begins to realize that the same difficulties were encountered. Thus, she understands that the barriers to the development of her children at school were not linked to the poverty of knowledge of the environment, but to a series of mechanisms that the school itself creates that separate black, poor and slum children, from their right to education. With this, Carolina Maria de Jesus approaches a vision that Patto (1999) presents in her book *A Produção do Fracasso Escolar*, which is the perception of an attribution of school problems to external factors, located in the student and in the family environment, with great weight in disadvantaged social classes and with racist eyes and how this would have consequences for poor children's schooling.

Therefore, Carolina realizes that no matter how hard she tried to maintain a good influence at home, they would still be seen as black kids from the favela, whose education was undermined. In this way, whether in the favela or in the city, the stigmatized gaze would always fall on them, which would jeopardize their education.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Carolina Maria de Jesus nasceu em 1914, em Minas Gerais. Ela se mudou para São Paulo, buscando livrar-se da pobreza, mas estando desempregada, ela acabou na favela do Canindé. É nesse espaço que germina então o diário de uma mulher negra, favelada, mãe solteira de três filhos que luta diariamente pela vida. A autora retrata em forma de diário o peso das desigualdades, a fome, a precariedade das habitações e os preconceitos raciais e de gênero,



se utilizando de sua escrita para não apenas relatar a sua realidade de vida, mas como forma de sair da favela.

Schwarcz e Starling (2015) mostram que na mesma época em que *Quarto de Despejo* foi escrito, o Brasil sentia os resultados gerados pelo desenvolvimentismo em um período que a economia e a sociedade passaram por um momento de diversas reformas sociais, que visavam a ampliação das grandes indústrias. Orientado pelo progresso e pela modernização do país, a reforma produziu a exploração e a marginalização de uma classe pobre que passou a habitar as periferias das metrópoles. Tal desenvolvimento das indústrias e das cidades, ocasionou um êxodo rural, pela busca de empregos que começaram a crescer na metrópole a partir dos projetos de modernização do país. Essa migração massiva ocasionou um desordenamento e crescimento rápido da periferia, aumentando as favelas. O termo favela é empregado na língua portuguesa para designar um aglomerado de moradias urbanas precárias, localizadas nas periferias das grandes cidades, onde habitam pessoas socialmente e economicamente desfavorecidas, sendo resultado de uma má distribuição de renda.

Carolina se debruça na questão da educação de seus filhos, uma vez que a autora acredita na importância de garantir e proporcionar uma educação de qualidade para as crianças. Durante a sua vida na favela, a autora evidencia aquele espaço como um lugar insalubre para o desenvolvimento de seus filhos, uma vez que ali, as fronteiras entre a rua e o espaço privado da casa são incertas, mantendo as crianças expostas aos perigos da rua e por isso, seria mais difícil preservar a infância.

Contudo, após vivenciar a realidade das cidades, ela começa a perceber que as mesmas dificuldades eram encontradas. Assim, compreende que as barreiras de desenvolvimento de seus filhos na escola não estavam atreladas à pobreza de conhecimento do ambiente, mas à uma série de estruturas que a própria escola cria que atuam no aparte de crianças negras, pobres e faveladas, do direito de educação. Com isso, Carolina Maria de Jesus se aproxima de uma visão que Patto (1999) apresenta que é a percepção de uma atribuição de problemas da escola a fatores externos, localizadas no aluno e no ambiente familiar, com grande peso nas classes sociais desfavorecidas, com olhares racistas e como isso germinaria consequências para a escolarização da criança pobre.

Portanto, Carolina percebe que seus filhos sempre seriam vistos como os meninos negros e provenientes da favela, cuja educação foi prejudicada. Dessa forma, fosse na favela ou na cidade, o olhar estigmatizado sempre iria recair sobre eles, o que prejudicaria a sua formação.

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Keywords: education in the Favela, Carolina Maria de Jesus, development of Brazil, history of education



Basic Vocational Training Cycles: a Historical-legislative Overview

Los Ciclos de Grado Básico de Formación Profesional: un Recorrido Histórico-legislativo

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Following the enactment of Organic Law 3/2020, of December 29, amending Organic Law 2/2006, of May 3, 2006, on Education (LOMLOE), the question arises as to how the reform of the basic level of Vocational Training has evolved since the General Law on Education (LGE) of 1970, the legislation that included Vocational Training in the educational system for the first time. Based on this question, the aim of this study is to analyze the changes and innovations that have been taking place at the regulatory level from 1970 to 2020 in the basic level cycles of Vocational Training.

The methodology used in this study is the historical-educational method and the main primary sources focus on a set of regulations ranging from 1970 to 2020, dealing with education in general and, more specifically, with basic vocational training cycles. From each regulation, we have extracted a series of data that have been compiled in a table structured in nine categories.

After reviewing the LGE, Decree 707/1976, the Organic Law 1/1990, of October 3 of the General Organization of the Educational System, the Order of January 12, 1993, the Organic Law 10/2002, of December 23 of the Quality of Education, the Royal Decree 831/2003, the Organic Law 2/2006, of May 3, of Education, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the Order ECI/2755/2007, the LOMCE (2013), Royal Decree 127/2014, and the LOMLOE (2020), we note that there are categories that in the laws are not defined, but in the royal decrees and orders that regulate that educational level and, in our case, the basic level cycle of Vocational Training. We found that these cycles have been more included in basic education, and specifically, in Secondary Education, as they were focused on those students who did not wish to continue in ordinary education, orienting them more towards Vocational Training, by granting the title of Graduate in Compulsory Secondary Education, they also allowed access to the Baccalaureate. With the LOMCE they are included in the teachings of Vocational Education having continuity in the structure of Vocational Education, while the LOMLOE officially includes them again within Secondary Education, although they are also within Vocational Education, implying a cycle that gives the opportunity to opt for the Baccalaureate and Intermediate Vocational Education. These cycles are designed to try to avoid early school dropout, focusing on the possibility of accessing the labour market.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Tras la promulgación de la Ley Orgánica 3/2020, de 29 de diciembre, por la que se modifica la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación (LOMLOE) surge la pregunta de cómo ha ido evolucionando la reforma del nivel básico de la Formación Profesional desde la Ley General de Educación (LGE) de 1970, normativa que incluyó por primera vez en el sistema educativo la Formación Profesional. Partiendo de esta pregunta, el objetivo de este estudio es analizar los cambios e innovaciones que se han ido produciendo a nivel normativo desde 1970 hasta 2020 en los ciclos de grado básico de la Formación Profesional.

Rodríguez Herrero (1997) define a la Formación Profesional de Primer Grado como un nuevo modelo que buscaba formar a la persona y al técnico, adaptándose y evolucionando en el mercado laboral, y participando y colaborando con otros organismos y empresas. Esta definición puede ser atribuible al resto de leyes suponiendo un puente entre el mundo académico, para aquellos que



no querían continuar, y el mundo laboral, evitando de que abandonen el sistema educativo de forma prematura.

La metodología utilizada en este estudio es el método histórico-educativo y las fuentes primarias principales se centran en un conjunto de normativas que van desde 1970 hasta 2020, versando sobre la educación en general y, más específicamente, sobre los ciclos de grado básico de Formación Profesional. De cada normativa hemos extraído una serie de datos que han sido recopilados en una tabla estructurándola en nueve categorías.

Tras revistar la LGE, el decreto 707/1976, la Ley Orgánica 1/1990, de 3 de octubre de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo, la Orden de 12 de enero de 1993, la Ley Orgánica 10/2002, de 23 de diciembre de Calidad de la Educación, el Real Decreto 831/2003, la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación, la Orden ECI/2755/2007, la LOMCE (2013), el Real Decreto 127/2014, y la LOMLOE (2020), constatamos que hay categorías que en las leyes no vienen definidas, pero sí en los reales decretos y órdenes que regulan ese nivel educativo y, en nuestro caso, el ciclo de nivel básico de la Formación Profesional. Comprobamos que estos ciclos han estado más incluidos en las enseñanzas básicas, y en concreto, en la Educación Secundaria, al estar enfocados hacia aquellos estudiantes que no deseaban continuar en las enseñanzas ordinarias orientándolos más a la Formación Profesional, al otorgar el título de Graduado en Educación Secundaria Obligatoria también permitían el acceso al Bachillerato. Con la LOMCE se incluyen en las enseñanzas de Formación Profesional habiendo una continuidad en la estructura de la Formación Profesional, mientras que la LOMLOE vuelve a incluirlos oficialmente dentro de la Educación Secundaria, aunque también están dentro de la Formación Profesional, dando a entender un ciclo que da la oportunidad de optar por la vía del Bachillerato y de la Formación Profesional de Grado Medio. Estos ciclos están planteados para intentar evitar el abandono escolar temprano, enfocándolos hacia la posibilidad de acceder al mercado laboral.

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Keywords: history of education, vocational training, basic grade cycles, Spain



Stakeholders of Educational Reform in Times of Conflict, Change, and Challenge

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Discussant: Fanny Isensee

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This preformed panel explores the role of education stakeholders in times of reform, conflict, and change in history. The papers in this panel examine the experiences and participation of a wide variety of actors—particularly students, teachers, administration, institutions, and states—in higher education and K-12 reforms around the world and across time. In doing so, this panel provides insight into how stakeholders have been both agents of reform and recipients of change relating to institutional and national policies, globalisation, and conflict. As stakeholders have grappled with improving education and responding to national policy reforms, this panel finds that stakeholders share experiences that cut across time, space and implications for potential future reforms.

Our first panelists, Sabrina González and Ana Rocha, examine two laboratories developed in Argentina and Brazil by normalist teachers between the 1900s and 1930s in the context of 20th century school reforms spearheaded by South American teachers. This paper argues that the subsequent experimenting with assessment led educators to develop an “ideal student” in the quest to improve education. González and Rocha situate educators as the primary stakeholders of reform in early 20th century Latin America and illustrate the theories and practices that promoted such school reform movements.

The second paper by Luisa Mejia draws on the lived experiences of educators from the Global South to offer a complex account of how educators as stakeholders react and respond to reforms occurring in Higher Education (HE) around the world. Her paper outlines six themes that cut across regions including accessibility, the labor market, study abroad and brain drain, the value of HE, gender and diversity, and global opinions about HE in the U.S. Employing oral histories, Mejia effectively captures an intimate glimpse into how higher education reforms generate tensions, new challenges and social change for educators.

The third panelist, Fanny Isensee, analyses early 20th century reform efforts surrounding the age-graded classroom as an organizational grouping method for K-12 education. This paper focuses on educational administrators and teacher associations as stakeholders in the age-grading reforms. Pulling from historical teacher association surveys and reclassification projects, Isensee illuminates the role of these two stakeholders in reform efforts related to classroom re-organization; the inner mechanisms, concepts, and rationales of educational administration and teacher associations; how the two stakeholders’ perspectives produce tensions within reform; and how such discussions relate to reform movements in contemporary times.

The final paper by A.J. Angulo and Emma Peterson investigates the role of education stakeholders across time and space in its discussion of academic freedom. The paper focuses on how the concept of academic freedom has been examined across historical databases to assess the Global South experiences of students, faculty, institutions, and the state. While providing insight into policies, reforms, and conflicts that fuel academic freedom challenges, the project additionally identified critical blind spots—substantive and methodological gaps—that remain in the literature on academic freedom in the Global South.



Collectively, these papers respond to the ISCHE 44 invitation for scholars to reflect upon the reforms that have occurred in the history of education and the corresponding policy, politics and power implications. They do so by addressing the various roles that a diversity of stakeholders have played in facilitating reforms, addressing traditions, and managing tensions. The global contexts examined—from Argentina to Brazil and the Global North to the Global South—will allow participants to consider the unique experiences of stakeholders and reform as well as universal challenges that cut across periods and regions.

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Keywords: stakeholders, school reform, national policy, higher education, Global South



Give Me a Laboratory and I will Raise Children's Education: Teachers' Experiments in Argentina and Brazil (1900s–1930s)

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In the first decades of the 20th century, amid a vibrant circulation of ideas about pedagogy and evolutionary theories, South American teachers became pedagogical innovators and advocates of school reforms. Participants of international congresses and avid readers of pedagogical theory, Latin American educators did not replicate the theories from the Northern Hemisphere. They created their own laboratories to study children and collect data that could potentially improve children's education. What characteristics did these laboratories have? How did teachers navigate the tensions that emerged between theory and practice? What did they find and how did those findings affect the educational experience of teachers and children alike? This paper traces two laboratories developed in Argentina and Brazil by normalist teachers between the 1900s and 1930s. It analyses the links between scientific and pedagogical innovation as well as the eugenic ideas promoted by teachers. Drawing from scientific journals, teachers' memoirs, and newspapers, this paper argues that while experimenting with assessment tools devised to measure children's abilities, teachers contributed to building a profile of an "ideal student" and its counterparts. Along with their aspiration to develop strategies to improve teaching practices and to provide resources to primary teachers, their work also reflected national anxieties around race, class and gender.

For the Brazilian case, the paper will focus on the laboratory Liga Brasileira de Higiene Mental in 1930, especially the work of Dr Ernani Lopes and normalist teacher Maria Brasilia Leme Lopes. In the case of Argentina, the paper traces the work of Victor Mercante and his mentees at the laboratory developed in Universidad Nacional de La Plata since 1905. Analysed together, the laboratories demonstrate that the challenges that South American teachers faced teaching a heterogeneous school population prompted the studies on children's learning processes and the experimentation with new pedagogical theories and psychological tools. Conditioned by the lack of resources and an emergent primary school system, teachers attempted to find the key to an efficient education that could benefit teachers and children alike. Thus, the paper contributes to the conference theme by illuminating the theories and practices that prompted the school reform movement that emerged in Latin America during the first decades of the 20th century. Teachers, as we show, led laboratories of experimental psychology and critically contributed to the arguments that aimed to adapt the school to children's abilities.

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Keywords: stakeholders, school reform, national policy, higher education, Global South



Emerging Issues in Higher Education Around the World: An Oral History of Global South Educators

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This oral history examines the lived experiences of 21 educators from 19 countries who provided their perspectives on emerging issues of Higher Education (HE) around the world. Through the use of oral histories, this project provides a glimpse into how educators as stakeholders respond to historical and contemporary change. This study drew on Patricia Leavy's (2011) approach to oral history, focusing attention on broad historical developments and their relation to particular accounts as they relate to higher education in their respective countries. These oral histories present opportunities to link the individual experiences of the participating teachers to the greater cultural, historical, and structural dynamics that impact access to higher education around the world. Interviews from this study described educators' journeys through higher education as well as the feelings and emotions they experienced, providing a portraiture of educational and cultural history.

Interviewees were participants in a federally-funded international exchange program hosted by a mid-sized public university in the Northeast of the United States carried out in the spring of 2018. Increased competition, credential inflation, and the loss of skilled workers were the most common issues identified by educators. The general findings of this study were grouped by themes and included accessibility, labour market, study abroad and the brain drain, expectations and the value of higher education, gender and diversity, and global opinions regarding U.S. higher education. Participant responses show that certain challenges cut across widely-diverse regions and create economic and political tensions. Responses offered an opportunity for reflection and discussion about the historical contexts of higher education around the world as it relates to funding, equity, opportunity, and global competition. Educator stories and descriptions also reveal that higher education is widely valued, but perceptions from Global South countries indicate that postsecondary education has not yielded expected social mobility. Possible challenges to social mobility include global competition and increases in population in the Global South that impact the access and value of higher education in these regions

Responses from all regions echo the longstanding conflict of ideas that persist globally regarding whether higher education should be a public or a private good. This ongoing debate challenges the development of policies and is reshaping higher education access, funding, management, and delivery methods. Respondents reflected on possible solutions to these challenges, including the development of public-private alliances to increase access to higher education, as well as an increase in vocation and trade skills development to shield communities from the pressures and opportunities of globalisation.

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Keywords: stakeholders, school reform, national policy, higher education, Global South



Challenging the Age-Graded Classroom: Educators and Administrators' Perspectives on School Organization Reform

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The age-graded classroom represents one of the key features of modern schooling that has become institutionalised across the globe (See e.g., Adick, 1992). This organisational principle focuses on the parameter of chronological age to determine when students should start school and into which grades they should be grouped. In this case, chronological age serves as a proxy which entails specific conceptualisations of students' abilities and attainment that have solidified into age-grade standards. Thus, the graded system not only depends on the student's specific date of birth but rather consists of an amalgamation of developmental concepts and notions of age that are linked to specific skill sets.

Although institutionalised in the vast majority of school systems, this practice of grouping students has seen its fair share of subsequent reform efforts. Various education stakeholders have formulated critiques of the graded structure over the past centuries. This paper focuses on two groups who have a particular interest in education and thus have contributed to discussions on age-grading – educational administrators and teacher associations. By venturing into two sets of historical sources, I will shed light onto the role of these stakeholders in reform efforts pertaining to classroom (re-)organization. Firstly, the survey conducted by the New York and Brooklyn Teachers Associations (1910) sought to identify and subsequently present alternative school plans that featured different proposals of how the established graded system could be modified to meet the students' and – in effect – also the teachers' needs. But not only teachers wanted to set reforms in motion. The Reclassification Projects conducted by the Bureau of Reference, Research and Statistics were commissioned by educational administrators to help solve the issues with students whose chronological age did not match the corresponding grade level (Board of Education of the City of New York, 1922).

Focusing on these sources and examining how they construct the existing graded system as failing the students, schools, and society (E.g., Dewey, 1920; Goodlad & Anderson, 1987) serves as a venture into the inner mechanisms, concepts, and rationales of certain stakeholders in education. This allows us to see how the practitioners and administrators' perspectives clashed or converged with each other and with other stakeholders' ambitions. Moreover, by exploring this discourse we can trace how certain arguments have emerged as key constituents of the discussions around age-grading. We can also reconstruct how these mainstays have changed and how they are reflected in contemporary discussions around ability grouping in the U.S. or the flexible school entry phase in Germany. Ultimately, this allows us to see how the key categories of individuality, flexibility, and efficiency have manifested as the triangle or trilemma (Boger, 2015) for modifications of the graded structure of schools.

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Keywords: stakeholders, school reform, national policy, higher education, Global South



Academic Freedom and Its Stakeholders: Explorations in Global South History

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Recent innovations in the use of “Big Data” have generated new opportunities for historical scholarship. Until recently, big data historical projects analysing cultural change and reform over time have largely been centred on the use of one kind of source: digitised books. These studies have constructed significant portraits of culture and society using such methods as word counts, word proximity, and other language patterns. But researchers over the past few years have begun pioneering the use of technologies for examining much larger data sets focused on regional newspapers. Moving beyond digitised books has allowed for greater precision in the examination of key transition points in political history, medical history, and women’s history, among other subfields.

Inspired by recent developments in big data methods, this paper explores the intersection of historiography, technology, and the case of academic freedom in the Global South. It discusses potential uses of historiography, technology, and big data to overcome an existing depth-breadth divide. It also provides a preliminary overview of methodological approaches and interpretive challenges that exist when unpacking big data sets to construct global perspectives on academic freedom history and change. To provide context to this investigation, we have selected academic freedom in the Global South as our focus and the stakeholders involved as our sub-focus.

This article offers a systematic review of the historiography on academic freedom in the Global South with a specific focus on four main educational stakeholders – students, faculty, institutions, and states – in relation to settings studied and research methods employed. While historical research on the topic tends to examine institutional or country-level developments, little is known about academic freedom’s evolution across the Global North or Global South, particularly in terms of how academic freedom has responded to change, conflict, and reform. This study targets a gap in our understanding of how researchers have approached analysing academic freedom as a tradition and dynamic concept in the Global South. Using longstanding frameworks to define the parameters of higher education freedoms, this project constructs a portrait of how the four education stakeholders have responded to the evolution and devolution of academic freedom over time, participated in the protection of this right, and worked to eliminate academic freedom traditions. In doing so, this paper offers a systematic overview of historical insights into academic freedom—one of the most celebrated, yet hotly-contested academic traditions the world has ever known.

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Keywords: stakeholders, school reform, national policy, higher education, Global South



**Fray Manuel and the Colegio of San Juan. The Creation of an Artistic Instruction Place in
Guadalajara, Mexico (1842–1847)**

***Fray Manuel y el Colegio de San Juan. La creación de un centro de instrucción artística en
Guadalajara, México (1842–1847)***

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Fray Manuel de San Juan Crisóstomo Nájera (1803–1853) was a Carmelite friar from Mexico City who stood out in the political, artistic, and educational scene of Jalisco during the first half of the 19th century. In 1834, he was appointed Prior of the Convent of Carmen in Guadalajara, which led him to reside in the city for almost 16 years, a period in which, in addition to exercising the functions of his appointment, he served as “illustrious protector of the arts” as a consultant to the Bishopric of Guadalajara, president of the Lancasterian Company, school inspector and protector of the Colegio de San Juan and the academies of painting, sculpture, and music, among others.

The interest that Fray Manuel developed in the artistic production and instruction of the young people of Guadalajara can be observed both in his writings and sermons, in the written memories of his students, as well as in the close relationship he established with the civil authorities with the aim of promoting the opening of spaces for educational training. Such was the case of the Colegio de San Juan – an enclosure of viceregal origin founded by the Jesuits, which closed as a result of the political and economic adversities that the country went through after the consummation of Independence – whose reopening as a centre of instruction and academy of fine arts became a project of particular interest for the Carmelite friar.

This work proposes to analyze the work of Fray Manuel as a promoter of artistic instruction in Guadalajara through his written production, specifically from two texts: the *Dictamen sobre el Colegio de San Juan* (1842) addressed to the governor of Jalisco and the *Discurso Inaugural del Colegio San Juan* (1843). Through them, it is possible to know the project proposed by Nájera for the reopening of the space and the social and cultural importance that it granted, also those documents make visible the close working relationship that he developed with the civil authority. On the other hand, they allow us to know the curriculum devised by him, in which, in addition to including subjects of mathematics and languages, he contemplated the incorporation of the academies of painting, sculpture, and music, as well as the creation of a museum-school open to the public.

The above invites and demands us to study the educational work of the Carmelite friar from a new perspective, outside the walls of his convent and in close relationship with the civil authorities and the population of Jalisco. But it also opens the possibility of analyzing his work as a fundamental starting point for the instruction and practice of the Fine Arts development in Guadalajara during the 19th century.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Fray Manuel de San Juan Crisóstomo Nájera (1803–1853) fue un fraile carmelita oriundo de la ciudad de México que destacó en la escena política, artística y educativa jalisciense durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX. En 1834 fue nombrado Prior del Convento del Carmen de Guadalajara, lo que lo llevó a residir en la ciudad por casi 16 años, periodo en el que, además de ejercer las funciones propias de su nombramiento, se desempeñó como “ilustre protector



de las artes”, como consultor del obispado de Guadalajara, presidente de la Compañía Lancasteriana, inspector escolar y protector del Colegio de San Juan y de las academias de pintura, escultura y música, entre otras.

El interés que fray Manuel desarrolló por la producción artística y la instrucción de los jóvenes de Guadalajara puede observarse tanto en sus escritos y sermones, en las memorias escritas de sus estudiantes, así como en la estrecha relación que estableció con las autoridades civiles de la entidad con el objetivo de promover la apertura de espacios destinados a la formación educativa. Tal fue el caso del Colegio de San Juan – recinto de origen virreinal fundado por los jesuitas, que cerró sus puertas como resultado de las adversidades políticas y económicas que atravesó el país después de consumada la Independencia – cuya reapertura como centro de instrucción y academia de bellas artes convirtió en un proyecto de particular interés para el fraile carmelita.

Este trabajo propone analizar la labor de fray Manuel como promotor de la instrucción artística en Guadalajara a través de su producción escrita, concretamente a partir de dos textos: el *Dictamen sobre el Colegio de San Juan* (1842) dirigido al gobernador de Jalisco y en el *Discurso Inaugural del Colegio San Juan* (1843). A través de ellos es posible conocer el proyecto propuesto por Nájera para la reapertura del espacio, la importancia social y cultural que le otorgó, a su vez que visibilizan la estrecha relación de trabajo que desarrolló con la autoridad civil. Por otro lado, permiten conocer el plan de estudios ideado por él, en el que, además de incluir materias de matemáticas e idiomas, contempló la incorporación de las academias de pintura, escultura y música, así como la creación de un museo-escuela abierto al público.

Lo anterior invita y demanda estudiar la labor educativa del fraile carmelita desde una nueva perspectiva, fuera de los muros de su convento y en estrecha relación con las autoridades civiles y la población jalisciense. Pero también abre la posibilidad a analizar su trabajo como un punto de partida fundamental para el desarrollo de la instrucción y práctica de las Bellas Artes en Guadalajara durante el siglo XIX.

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Keywords: Instrucción artística, Colegio de San Juan, fray Manuel Crisóstomo Nájera, Guadalajara



Reading, Writing and Counting in the *Correio Braziliense*: Education Reform in the Construction of the Nation-state

Ler, escrever e contar no Correio Braziliense: Reforma de ensino na construção do Estado-nação

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Teaching proposals for elementary education, specifically reading, writing and counting in the mutual teaching method, with the purpose of forming the Brazilian people, were defined and published in the transition from the *Período Joanino* to the Brazilian Empire (1816–1827). In order to discuss these proposals, we analysed clippings from the periodical *Correio Braziliense* (1816–1817), the *Constituição do Império de 1824* and the *Reforma da Lei de Instrução do Ensino em 15 de outubro de 1827*, trying to understand, in a historical perspective, possible relations of meaning between the proposals and a project of formation of the Brazilian people, produced in a period of internal and external political tensions related to the process of independence of Brazil (Gondra & Limeria, 2022). Contemporary to the event of the elevation of Colonial Brazil to the condition of United Kingdom of Portugal and Algarves in 1816, the Lancaster Method began to be disseminated to the Brazilians as an innovative pedagogical alternative (Castanha, 2013), economical and effective for a Portuguese nation project, as it allowed a large number of children (mostly boys) to be educated at the same time. According to Castanha (2013), the dynamics of the mutual teaching method involved the constant repetition of exercises, helped in the discipline (Gondra & Limeira, 2022) to be reproduced in the organization of the Portuguese/colonial society. Approximating the proposals of reading, writing and counting (Valente, 2020), we can say that both the teaching of the four operations and the teaching of letters, reading and writing, as indicated in the analysed publications in the period under study, were guided concomitantly by the traditional method, despite being prescribed the Lancasterian method, which sought to determine a practical and instrumental character in an attempt to achieve the desired purpose for the practice of trade.

In summary, in mathematics “to know how to do mathematics and solve simple arithmetic problems” and in reading and writing to have elementary knowledge for “reading the Bible”. In 1827, in the Reform of the Teaching Instruction Law, for boys, the reading of the first *Constituição do Império* and the History of Brazil were included. In these socio-historical circumstances, the following question is asked: what are the relations between this educational reform and the project of construction of the Brazilian nation-state and its people? The first conclusions point to the need for elementary training of a disciplined labour force that would sustain, by this emerging royal and/or imperial project, the organization of a Portuguese society (the *Brasilienses*) in the relationship/domination with those called workers (Brazilians).

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Propostas de ensino para a educação elementar, especificamente o ler, escrever e contar no método de ensino mútuo, com a finalidade de formar o povo brasileiro, foram definidas e publicadas na transição do período joanino para o império brasileiro (1816–1827). Com o objetivo de debater sobre essas propostas, analisamos recortes do periódico *Correio Braziliense* (1816–1817), da *Constituição do Império de 1824* e da *Reforma da Lei de Instrução*



do Ensino de 15 de outubro de 1827, buscando compreender, em uma perspectiva sócio-histórica, possíveis relações de sentidos entre as propostas e um projeto de formação do povo brasileiro, produzido em um período de tensões políticas internas e externas relativas aos processos de Independência do Brasil (Gondra & Limeria, 2022). Contemporâneo ao acontecimento da elevação do Brasil Colônia à condição de Reino Unido de Portugal e Algarves em 1816, o Método Lancaster passou a ser divulgado aos brasileiros como uma alternativa pedagógica inovadora (Casthana, 2013), econômica e eficaz para um projeto de nação portuguesa, na medida em que permitia que grande número de crianças (em sua maioria meninos) fossem instruídas ao mesmo tempo. De acordo com Castanha (2013), a dinâmica do método de ensino mútuo envolvia a constante repetição de exercícios, auxiliava na disciplina (Gondra & Limeria, 2022) a ser reproduzida na organização da sociedade portuguesa/colonial. Fazendo aproximações das propostas do ler, escrever com o contar (Valente, 2020), podemos dizer que tanto o ensino das quatro operações quanto o ensino das letras, da leitura, da escrita, como indicados nas publicações analisadas no período em estudo, seguiram orientados concomitantemente pelo método tradicional, apesar de ser prescrito o Lancasteriano, o qual buscava determinar um caráter prático e instrumental na tentativa de alcançar a finalidade almejada para a prática do comércio. Em síntese, na matemática “saber fazer contas e resolver problemas aritméticos simples” e na leitura e escrita ter conhecimento elementar para “leitura da bíblia”. Em 1827, na Reforma da Lei de Instrução do Ensino, para os meninos, foi incluída a leitura da primeira Constituição do Império e a História do Brasil. Nessas circunstâncias sócio-históricas, questionamos: quais as relações entre essa reforma educacional e o projeto de construção do Estado-nação brasileiro e suas gentes? As primeiras conclusões apontam para a necessidade de formação elementar de uma mão de obra disciplinada que sustentasse, por esse projeto régio e/ou imperial emergente, a organização de uma sociedade portuguesa (os brasileiros) na relação/dominação com aqueles denominados de trabalhadores (brasileiros).

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Keywords: História da Educação, Reforma de ensino, Ensino mútuo, Educação elementar, Império brasileiro



Brazil, New School and modernity: An analysis of the student periodical O Atalaia
Brasil, Escola Nova e modernidade: análise do periódico estudantil O Atalaia

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This paper aims to examine the writings of Pedro II College students in the student periodical O Atalaia. This newspaper was created by the students themselves and, according to Doria's studies (1997, pp. 241–242), its aim was to be a spokesman of the literary interests of its creators. The aim of this analysis is to register which contents were chosen by young journalists, who were living the climax of modernity, the advent of the New School in Brazil and the effects of the 1932 armed conflict, known as Constitutionalist Revolution. The theoretical reference is based on Koselleck's propositions about historical times, historiographical categories and procedures to "investigate the constitution of the linguistics of temporal experiences, there where they manifested themselves" (2006, p. 17). Thus, aspects of the representation of a period will be commented on: the modernity of the 1930s and how the historical categories of "space of experience" and "horizon of expectation" are present in students' writings, to expose narrative structures of a time, by the linguistic-pragmatic or linguistic-political orientation to which they adhere. When this author deals with the semantics of historical times, he explains that the Revolution managed to overcome the cyclical idea to establish that "only history understood as a system makes possible the existence of an epic unity. With this, at least two instances emerge: that of the singularity of each event and the power by which and on behalf of which a man or a singular collective acts and is responsible for this action" (2006, p. 52).

Following the perspective pointed out above, which explains how the German school will constitute the concept of history (Geschichte) evidenced in the changes leveraged by the French Revolution, this research proposal seeks to identify if these students of the 1930s, in Brazil, were aware of being protagonists not only of a historical time, but of History as the great report and the great synthesis of everything that had occurred until then. It would be up to them not only to live in the present but to prepare for the future as responsible for the destiny of a people and a nation. Starting with the name chosen for the periodical, O Atalaia, Koselleck's proposals are pertinent. The meaning of the term "atalaia" is the condition of the one who watches and guards, the one who is on high, having a wide view of what happens around. The young people of Pedro II. yearned to take the floor in an artistic and even scientific manner. Through the pages of the periodical, they declared their interest and choice for the craft of letters; not only with the eloquence of prose and poetry, which so moved their loves and the energies of the soul; but the art of writing built by construction, in which emotion would not betray the most certain and clear idea. In Menotti Del Picchia, they are inspired: "Poetry is a piece of glass that is placed in the soul; through it, men can be seen from the inside".

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Este trabalho visa a examinar os escritos de alunos do Colégio Pedro II no periódico estudantil *O Atalaia*. Este jornal foi criado pelos próprios discentes e, segundo textos ali publicados e os estudos de Doria (1997, p. 241-2), indica ter como objetivo ser um porta-voz dos interesses literários de seus idealizadores. Busca-se, nesta análise, registrar quais conteúdos eram elegidos pelos jovens jornalistas, que viviam o clímax da modernidade, o advento da Escola Nova no Brasil e os efeitos do conflito armado de 1932, conhecido como Revolução



Constitucionalista. O referencial teórico se apoia nas proposições de Koselleck sobre tempos históricos, categorias e procedimentos historiográficos para “investigar a constituição da linguística das experiências temporais, ali onde elas se manifestaram” (2006, p.17). Assim, serão comentados aspectos da representação de um período: a modernidade dos anos de 1930 e como as categorias históricas de “espaço de experiência” e “horizonte de expectativa” estão presentes nos escritos dos estudantes, a expor estruturas narrativas de um tempo, pela orientação linguístico-pragmática ou linguístico-política a que aderem.

Quando este autor trata da semântica dos tempos históricos, explica que a Revolução conseguiu fazer superar a ideia cíclica para instaurar a de que “somente a história compreendida como um sistema possibilita a existência de uma unidade épica”. Emergem, com isso, pelo menos duas instâncias: a da singularidade de cada acontecimento e o poder pelo qual e em nome do qual o homem ou um coletivo singular age e é responsável por esta ação (2006, p.52). Seguindo a perspectiva acima assinalada, que explica como a escola alemã vai constituir o conceito de história (*Geschichte*) evidenciado nas mudanças alavancadas pela Revolução Francesa, esta proposta de pesquisa busca identificar se estes estudantes dos anos de 1930, no Brasil, angariavam para si a consciência de serem protagonistas não só de um tempo histórico, mas da História como o grande relato e a grande síntese de tudo o que ocorrera até então. A eles caberia não apenas viver o presente, mas preparar o futuro como responsáveis pelo destino de um povo e de uma nação. A começar pelo nome elegido para o periódico, *O Atalaia*, as propostas de Koselleck se mostram pertinentes. No sentido do termo “atalaia” está a condição do que vigia e guarda, do que está no ponto alto, tendo visão ampliada do que ocorre em redor.

Os jovens do Pedro II ansiavam pela tomada da palavra de forma artística e ainda científica. Pelas páginas do periódico, declaravam o interesse e eleição pelo ofício das letras; não apenas com a eloquência da prosa e da poesia, que tanto lhes movia os amores e as energias da alma; mas a arte da escrita edificada pela construção na qual a emoção não trairia a ideia mais certa e clara. Em Menotti Del Picchia eles se inspiram: “A poesia é um pedaço de vidro que se põe na alma; por meio dela podem se ver os homens por dentro...”.

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Keywords: student periodical, space of experience, horizon of expectation, modernity, new school



The Birth of Buenos Aires' Directorate of Educational Technology and its Connections with University of La Plata's Film School

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This presentation aims to present the connections between two spaces that emerged in the mid-20th century in the City of La Plata within educational institutions: the Film School of the National University of La Plata, and the Directorate of Educational Technology within the Ministry of Education of the Buenos Aires province.

La Plata's Film School was the first to arise. It started its activities in 1955 when Cándido Mónneo Sanz organized the first course of basic cinematography in the city of La Plata, which gathered 300 students. The interest it caused led to the creation of the Cinematography Department within the Superior School of Fine Arts, which was part of the University of La Plata's academic structure. It became an official course that conferred the title of Film Producer. Mónneo Sanz was a devoted amateur filmmaker but also happened to be one of Argentina's most recognized puppeteers in the children's entertainment and educational industry. As the first Director of the Cinematography Department, he expressed his interest in education and infancy in the first Film School's Study Programs, which in 1958 incorporated orientations in educational documentary film, scientific cinema, and animated cartoons.

Around this year, three of La Plata's Film School's first graduates would be Luis Vesco, Angela María Nigri y Omar Sáenz, who would also be among the first workers of the Directorate of Educational Technology that was created in 1960, becoming part of Buenos Aires' Ministry of Education.

As a matter of fact, Luis Vesco was the driving force behind this project. He presented the idea to Ataúlfo Pérez Aznar, who was the education minister at the time, to start using technology for educational purposes. They saw its potential to both extend the educational capacity of schools in a context of exponential increase in its population, and to multiply the voice of the Ministry enabling its messages to reach the vast extension of Buenos Aires' Province territories. To reach these objectives, the Directorate of Educational Technology edited titles of educational materials in a number of different supports, such as radio programs, films, filmstrips, television programs and children's magazines.

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War and Peace in History Textbooks: The Proposal for an International Understanding of UNESCO

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The present study is interested in apprehending and unveiling the construction of UNESCO's proposal for an International Understanding, which proposed the construction of an international political culture especially focused on school education that values peace and solidarity among nations, in order to overcome a political culture of war (Kulnazarova & Ydesen, 2017), a principle that was at the base of World War II., having as a time frame 1946 to 1974, from the creation of UNESCO to the "UNESCO Recommendation on Education for Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms". To this end, UNESCO held conferences and funded research on racism, criticism of the concept of race and apartheid (Duedahl, 2020), encouraged and recommended carrying out educational reforms to promote increased literacy, and review the principles of History and school geography in teaching programs and textbooks.

The objective of this research is to study the construction process, the UNESCO Education for International Understanding proposal, and cultural representations about war and peace in history textbooks produced in the interior and in dialogue with this dynamic. To do so, we will analyze Brazilian textbooks on American History by important authors of the period: Joaquim Silva (best seller of the History textbook) and João Baptista de Mello e Souza (teacher at the renowned Colégio Pedro II and who worked directly in the Curriculum Reform 1951 (Riberio Junior & Martins, 2018) for the teaching of History in Brazil). Furthermore, we will analyze a documentary corpus consisting of UNESCO publications from the "International Understanding" series and documents related to UNESCO conferences that are under the custody of the UNESDOC Archive and the CPDOC-FGV Archive (Brazil) related to the works developed by UNESCO. From a theoretical and methodological point of view, we consider important the contribution of Goodson (2013) and Popkewitz (1997) to thinking about educational reforms. The reflections of Bittencourt (2010) and Choppin (2020) are also included in the analysis to address the textbook as a historical document, Chartier (2010) to think about the relationship between culture and books, and the recurring concerns in the reflections of Orlandi (1999) in dialogue with Pêcheux (2010) on discourse analysis, to infer about the dialogues established between the proposal of "International Understanding" promoted by UNESCO and the issue of war and peace in textbooks. Furthermore, the traces of meanings and the historical and social formation that enabled its construction, existence, intelligibility and legitimacy will be taken into consideration, in order to understand the clashes for the transformation of a culture from war to a culture of peace.

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Keywords: UNESCO, international understanding, history teaching, textbooks, war and peace



Bill 82: Reform on the Road to Inclusion? or Bureaucratic Centralization? An Analysis of Special Education Legislation in Ontario, 1970–1990

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The politics and policies of reform comes from many sources. The role of stakeholders in this process is undeniable. The history of special education assessment legislation provides one case study of reform. In Canada, the government of Ontario has had a long history of educational reform, as well as a history of creating new legislation addressing special education (Ellis 2018; Milewski, 2022). The reverberations of these developments take on international significance as news of reform spreads outward and as others inevitably take note (Christou et al., 2022). Moreover, for immigrants coming to Canada, these laws impact their lives as well (Reid et al., 2020).

The main goal of this presentation is to analyse Bill 82 as a moment of reform in the development of an inclusive education system in Ontario. This legislation was enacted by Ontario in 1980 and it systematized special needs assessment procedures. Its impact will be examined through several lenses, from prior to its inception through to more recent re-evaluations. This qualitative study analyses archival data from Ontario starting in the 1970s, and continuing through to the 1990s (Csapo & Goguen, 1989). Relying on these sources, the main questions being asked are the following:

First of all, what are the complex interconnections between stakeholders and policymakers that succeeded in the reform of special needs education in Ontario through Bill 82? How did the provincial government define educational reform?

Secondly, what conclusions can be drawn about the politics of education, and the development of new (reformed) policy in this era? Was it truly a reform? Or was it simply a further centralization and systematization of education?

Lastly, can we gain a deeper understanding of the role of educational borrowing on Canadian education policy reform through the enactment of this law?

These questions are answered with reference to two theoretical frameworks, one of which refers in parts to Link's (1997) theory of "normalism" (Link, 1997). Teaching and learning in every classroom implicitly refers to this notion of normalism, and it also helps to construct variations of the normal and abnormal nature of a child, a construct which then follows through to the identification and assessment process. Moreover, education reform, in the second theoretical instance, can be critically assessed in light of Sahlberg's Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) (Fuller & Stevenson, 2019; Sahlberg, 2016). The research method employed in this study includes a historical-contextualizing content analysis (Vogt, 2015). With this analysis of reform, the Ontario case will be contextualized.

Considering the anticipated outcome of the study, the analysis leads to a certain historical perspective on reform movements in education and the power of stakeholder/actor groups in advocating for these reforms. Bruno-Jofré has drawn our attention to the shifts in Canadian historiography of education, and the history of reforms in this regard (Bruno-Jofré, 2014). While policy environments are innately idiosyncratic to the Canadian provincial landscape, taking a glance at the international and comparative context of reforms reveals similar evolutions. This is critical to further research (Richardson & Powell, 2011; Ydesen & Grek, 2020).



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Keywords: politics, policy, Canada, special needs, inclusion



Between Dictatorships and Democracies: Permanence and Reforms of the National Directorate of Physical Education, Sports, and Recreation (Argentina, 1976–1993)

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It is proposed to analyze the public policies developed by the National Directorate of Physical Education, Sports, and Recreation between 1976 and 1993. From the study of the “Informative Bulletins” (published until 1977), the “News Sheets” (77–79), official decrees of the Directorate, and ministerial resolutions on education, we particularize the look at the permanence and ruptures of the state projects that were motorized on teacher training. Although physical education and its professional training have been a matter of concern since the consolidation of the nation-state and its institutionalization within the Argentine educational system (Aisenstein & Scharagrodsky, 2006; Aisenstein, 2006; Galak, 2012), with the creation of the National Directorate of Physical Education.

In 1966, new concerns were raised, and public policies were implemented that posed a threat to a teacher’s well-being. Public policies account for the set of actions and omissions that manifest a certain modality of state intervention concerning an issue, a lack, or a social problem (Oszlak & O’Donnell, 1995). On March 24, 1976, the last civic-military coup took place in Argentina, plunging the country into dark times of deep institutional authoritarianism, consolidating authoritarian discourses that had implications for educational processes, such as changes in curricular designs, surveillance in teacher training institutions, and interventions in universities. The policies emanated from the National Directorate during this period were found to focus on the federalization of physical education teacher training, that is, prioritizing that spaces for the socialization of school disciplinary knowledge be developed in all Argentine provinces, breaking with the traditional centralization of the teacher training institutes of Buenos Aires. The policies promoted by the National Directorate made it possible to massify the professionalization in physical education and build new discursive frameworks regarding being a teacher throughout the national territory.

Following the inauguration of Raúl Alfonsín as president in 1983, a period began in which public policies in general, and education in particular, drew a line with the recent past to achieve social transformation (Fernández Pais, 2019), ensuring that electoral democratization also reaches other official levels, such as schooling processes. He advocated for the dialogue-based restoration of public institutions that had been threatened by previous dictatorial governments. In the public policies promoted by the National Directorate, more permanence than rupture is observed: new teacher training courses and financing were consolidated. The 1990s, in Argentina were times of attack on public education and teacher training: educational policies during the government of Carlos Saúl Menem were explicitly inscribed in neoliberal policies, corresponding to the residual and intentional effects of the civic dictatorship. Proof of this is that the National Directorate was dissolved in 1993. It is hypothesized that the dissolution of this Directorate was part of the climate of the neoliberal era of withdrawal of the welfare state in favour of privatizing economic circuits, ending with a federalizing policy.

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Keywords: public politics, physical education, neoliberalism, national direction of physical education, sports and recreation



National Claims to Universal Standards: Examinations, Development and Decolonization

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In July of 1958, Iraq's free officers overthrew the British-backed Hashemite Monarchy in a bloody coup. Iraq's fully independent republic forged a much stronger relationship between its increasingly authoritarian government and its educational system than its predecessor governments had enjoyed, pouring funds into expanding and improving schooling. However, rejecting foreign influence did not mean rejecting standardized examinations created during the era of British control. In 1958, the government passed all students, giving a bonus of 10 marks to every student who sat for the intermediate exam in celebration of the revolution and the founding of the Iraqi republic.

In the late 1940s, through the 1950s Middle East, areas, and populations subject to foreign hegemony, with the prominent exception of Arab Palestinians, gained independence. Decolonization, the process which succeeded in decades of anti-imperial struggle meant reforms: of governments, taxation, and education. Schooling during the interwar era had been limited to an elite group, due to colonial policies that sought to prevent the rise of an educated unemployed. In Britain's Middle Eastern Mandates, (areas subject to British control and influence after World War I.) standardized tests, introduced in the 1920s, combined colonial goals of restricting higher education to a select few, and local goals of improving educational standards, while giving children a chance at social mobility. These tests were high-stakes. They measured students' knowledge through voluminous essays, determining whether students could go on to higher levels of schooling, and white-collar employment. These examinations became popular due to a convergence of local desires for economic and social opportunity, colonial aims, and nationalist aspirations.

This paper analyzes how decolonization shaped reforms in standardized testing across Britain's former Mandates in the Middle East and their populations: Palestine which became Israel, Palestinians, Transjordan which became Jordan and Iraq. It draws from memoirs, official reports, newspapers, minutes from government meetings and other sources. Independence from British influence meant a new level of control, and of interest, in state education. Curricula were revised, and the number of students, schools and teachers swelled. I argue that initially, the governments of Israel, Iraq and Jordan sought national examinations, aimed at the self-conscious creation of modern citizens, and the exclusion of those seen to ill-fit nationalist and developmentalist projects. Those groups fought, not to abolish examinations forged during the Mandate era but instead for equal chances to pass. Over time, policymakers turned their gaze outwards as the recognition of national exams by foreign universities became an important consideration in demonstrating countries' status, development and advancement on a global scale. Moreover, American requirements for aid, particularly its Point Four program underscored vocational education as opposed to the academic, general exams of the Mandate era. As countries sought American funds, they had to balance the desires of their own populations for the matriculation examinations of the past, with American ideals of modernization and social hierarchy.

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Keywords: standardized testing, Middle East, development, decolonization



Campaign for the Nationalization of Primary, Professional and Teachers' Education in Brazil: Elements of Brazilian Educational Policy From 1930–1945

Campanha de Nacionalização do Ensino Primário, Profissional e Normal no Brasil: Elementos Da Política Educacional Brasileira, De 1930–1945

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The main purpose of this communication is to present the results of the research developed for the understanding of some elements related to the educational policy focused on the profile and structuring of Primary, Professional and Teachers' Education proposed in the period from 1930 to 1945, the first phase of Getúlio Vargas' government, also known as Estado Novo [New State], within a process of nationalization of the country.

The understanding of the idea of nationalization during the New State with a "look" focused on the specific educational policies for Primary, Professional and Teachers' Education, based on the analysis of the document "Campanha de Nacionalização do Ensino Primário, Profissional e Normal" [Campaign for the Nationalization of Primary, Professional and Teachers' Education] from 1941, located in the historical archive of the Instituto Nacional de Ensino e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira [National Institute of Education and Educational Research Anísio Teixeira] (INEP).

Through a historical approach, a historical and documental research is developed, using as a source for analysis the historical document written in the session room on 7th November 1941, of political character, which is an indication sent by Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas, a Brazilian lawyer and statistician, to the Minister of Education Gustavo Capanema, requesting support regarding the nationalization of Primary, Professional and Teachers' Education in Brazil. Understanding the role of Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas in the political scene of the time as an intellectual, he occupied a place considered strategic with the government, being a member of the Brazilian Institute of Geography-IBGE (Gomes, 2013). Among the contributions of Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas to education was to help think about the educational situation presented at the time with an emphasis on elementary school (Senra, 2008). The illiteracy rate in Brazil in 1940 was very high (Fausto, 2006). The Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Brazil of 1937 established in its articles that contemplated to education the duties that should be fulfilled in relation to education by the Government (Ribeiro, 1992). Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas believes in the necessity of a national "system", but not abandoning the idea of an "education for work". According to Freitas (1946, p. 39) "System that can also respond for the 'education for work', since primary education would be a mutilated work, and almost without social utility, if it remained unaccompanied by the assistance that the technical-professional education [...]."

The research was constituted by a bibliographical survey through references that deal with aspects that will be used in the reflection in relation to the nationalization of education in the country. In the end, it was concluded that the issue of nationalization stands out with the concern to defend the situation in which the three segments – Primary Education, Secondary Education and Vocational Education – are found. It is important to highlight the actions and legal aspects adopted by the New State (1937–1945) which ended up shaping the profile of educational policy for the historical moment dealt with here.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

O objetivo central desta comunicação é apresentar resultados das investigações desenvolvidas para a compreensão de alguns elementos referentes à política educacional voltada ao perfil e à estruturação do Ensino Primário, Profissional e Normal propostas no período de 1930 a 1945, primeira fase do Governo de Getúlio Vargas, conhecido também como Estado Novo, dentro de um processo de nacionalização do país. A compreensão da ideia de nacionalização, durante o Estado Novo com um “olhar” voltado para as políticas educacionais específicas para o Ensino Primário, Profissional e Normal, tendo como base a análise do documento “Campanha de Nacionalização do Ensino Primário, Profissional e Normal” de 1941, localizado no arquivo histórico do Instituto Nacional de Ensino e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (INEP). Por meio de uma abordagem histórica desenvolve-se uma pesquisa histórica e documental, tendo como fonte para análise o documento histórico escrito na sala de sessão do dia 07 de novembro de 1941, de caráter político é uma indicação encaminhada por Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas, advogado e estatístico brasileiro ao Ministro da Educação Gustavo Capanema, solicitando apoio referente à nacionalização do Ensino Primário, Profissional e Normal no Brasil. Compreendendo o papel de Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas no cenário político da época como um intelectual, ocupou lugar considerado estratégico junto ao governo, sendo integrante do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia-IBGE (Gomes, 2013). Dentre as contribuições da educação de Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas está auxiliar a pensar sobre a situação educacional apresentada na época com destaque as escolas primárias (Senra, 2008). O índice de analfabetos no Brasil em 1940 era muito elevado (Fausto, 2006). A Constituição da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil de 1937 estabelecia em seus artigos que contemplavam a educação as incumbências que deveriam ser cumpridas em relação ao ensino pelo Governo (Ribeiro, 1992). Mario Augusto Teixeira de Freitas acredita na necessidade de um “sistema” nacional”, mas não deixando perder a ideia de uma “educação para o trabalho”. Segundo Freitas (1946, p. 39) “Sistema que também poderá responder pela ‘educação para o trabalho’, uma vez que ficaria sendo o ensino primário uma obra mutilada, e quase sem utilidade social, se permanecesse desacompanhada da assistência que a educação técnico – profissional [...]”. A pesquisa foi constituído por levantamento bibliográfico por meio de referências que trata de aspectos que serão utilizados na reflexão em relação a nacionalização do ensino no país. Concluiu-se ao final que a questão da nacionalização se destaca com a preocupação de defender a situação em que os três segmentos o Ensino Primário, Ensino Secundário e Profissional se encontravam cabendo destacar as ações e os aspectos legais adotadas pelo Estado Novo (1937–1945) que acabaram por moldar o perfil da política educacional para o momento histórico aqui tratado.

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Keywords: history of education, educational policy, primary, professional and teachers’ education, nationalization.



The Educational Reform of 1909 in the State of Paraná – Brazil: The Republican Project *A Reforma Educacional De 1909 No Estado Do Paraná – Brasil: O Projeto Republicano*

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In this work, the educational policy implemented in Paraná in the educational reform proposed in 1909 is discussed, considering that the Republic, proclaimed in 1889, was consolidated in Brazil. With administrative and legal autonomy, it was up to the federal states to regulate educational issues. To do so, Decree No. 510, of October 15, 1909 – Organic Regulation of State Public Education (Paraná, 1910) was taken as a source.

It is considered that the legislative sources have methodological specificities and are an expression of the demands of the social context that engenders them, constituting themselves as important for the history of Education. These seek, according to Miguel (2006), to establish norms and civilizing standards that regulate life in society. Their interpretation must consider the context of their production in order to place them in the context of their formulation and expand knowledge about the disputes and processes that regulated education in Paraná (Machado & Cury, 2014, p. 200).

In the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, the debate expanded nationally and internationally on the need for schooling for the entire population, education became fundamental to national states, unified around the same language and culture. Knowing how to read, write and count characterized a country as civilized and modern. In Paraná, efforts were made to achieve this model through primary education reforms, although it was emerging economically, due to the increased production of yerba mate, coffee and forest wood, for its consolidation it needed to educate its population, which, for the most part, lived in the rural area and was illiterate.

By the aforementioned Decree, a new Regulation was approved for the general organization of education in Paraná, with the aim of offering popular instruction and spreading the necessary foundations of moral, intellectual and psychic education to all social classes. It determined that essential literary knowledge and the first scientific rudiments should be taught, as a necessary basis for higher studies. Teaching could be offered in isolated schools and school groups. This Regulation maintained freedom of teaching, demanding conditions for private teaching establishments that were open to inspection services, evidencing conditions of hygiene and morality, as well as providing information for school statistics. To ensure uniformity in teaching, it was expected that the same didactic material would be used in public schools. It would be maintained by the state, therefore free and lay, taught in Portuguese, with an intuitive and practical character, mandatory for boys and girls, from 7 to 14 years old. Reference will be highlighted to anti-alcoholic teaching and against inhuman acts and hunting, to develop a love for all living beings, to offer artistic, moral and civic education, and to give students knowledge of their homeland duties.

The Reform accompanied the national and international debate, however, its implementation did not receive the necessary funding to serve the entire population, being offered in some urban schools or in more populous locations without reaching the entire territory of Paraná, not fulfilling the republican promise of training of the new citizen voter.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Nesse trabalho discutimos a política educacional implantada no Paraná na reforma educacional proposta em 1909, considerando que a República, proclamada em 1889, se encontrava consolidada no Brasil. Com autonomia administrativa e legal, cabia aos estados federados regulamentar as questões educacionais. Para tanto, tomamos como fonte o Decreto nº 510, de 15 de outubro de 1909 – Regulamento Orgânico do Ensino público do Estado (Paraná, 1910).

Consideramos que as fontes legislativas têm metodologicamente especificidades e são expressão das exigências do contexto social que a engendra, constituindo-se como importantes para a história da Educação. Essas buscam, conforme Miguel (2006) fixar normas e padrões civilizatórios que regulamentam a vida em sociedade. Sua interpretação deve considerar o contexto de sua produção para recolocá-las no cenário de sua formulação e ampliar o conhecimento sobre as disputas e os processos que regulamentaram a educação no Paraná. (Machado & Cury, 2014, p. 200).

Na transição do século XIX para o XX, ampliou-se o debate nacional e internacionalmente sobre a necessidade de escolarização de toda a população, a educação tornava-se fundamental aos estados nacionais, unificados em torno de uma mesma língua e mesma cultura. O saber ler, escrever e contar caracterizava um país como civilizado e moderno. No Paraná se buscou alcançar esse modelo por meio de reformas da educação primária, embora despontasse economicamente, devido ao aumento da produção da erva-mate, do café e da madeira floresta, para a sua consolidação precisava educar sua população que, em sua maioria, morava na zona rural e era analfabeta.

Pelo Decreto supracitado foi aprovado um novo Regulamento para a organização geral do ensino paranaense, com o objetivo de oferecer a instrução popular e difundir para todas as classes sociais as bases necessárias da educação moral, intelectual e psíquica. Determinava que se ministrassem os conhecimentos literários essenciais e os primeiros rudimentos científicos, como base necessária para os estudos superiores. O ensino poderia ser ofertado em escolas isoladas e grupos escolares. Este Regulamento manteve a liberdade de ensino, exigindo condições dos estabelecimentos particulares de ensino que estivessem abertos para os serviços de inspeção, evidenciando condições de higiene e moralidade, bem como disponibilizando informações para a estatística escolar. Para garantir uniformidade no ensino, previa-se que o mesmo material didático fosse usado nas escolas públicas. Seria mantido pelo estado, portanto gratuito e leigo, ministrado em Língua Portuguesa, com caráter intuitivo e prático, obrigatório para os meninos e as meninas, de 7 a 14 anos de idade. Destacamos a referência ao ensino antialcoólico e contra os atos desumanos e caça, para desenvolver o amor por todos os seres vivos, ao oferecimento da educação artística, da moral, da cívica, para dar aos alunos o conhecimento de seus deveres pátrios.

A Reforma acompanhava o debate nacional e internacional, contudo sua implementação não recebeu os financiamentos necessários ao atendimento de toda a população, sendo ofertada em algumas escolas urbanas ou em localidades mais populosas sem alcance em todo território paranaense, não cumprindo com a promessa republicana de formação do novo cidadão eleitor.

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Keywords: história da educação, educação, reforma educacional, paraná, instrução primária



Modern and Intuitive? Foreign languages at Pedro II High School and the Travel of Manoel Said Ali Ida (1892/1898)

Moderno e Intuitivo? Línguas estrangeiras no Colégio Pedro II e a viagem de Manoel Said Ali Ida (1892/1898)

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Through a Ministry of Justice and Interior Affairs Notice, dated 20th March 1895, Manoel Said Ali Ida, German teacher at the Externato do Gymnasio Nacional (the name of the Imperial Collegio de Pedro II, after the Proclamation of the Republic on 15th November 1889), visited Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy for 7 months on an official travel. As a result of this “pedagogical travel” (Gondra, 2007), the commissioner produced a 56-page report regarding instruction, highlighting the educational structure, types of schools, disciplines (chairs), and respective course hours.

In this research, we analyze the Report, considering that it is articulated as a reforming movement, of the republican aspect, which sought to establish a discontinuity in relation to the imperial high school (Haidar, 2008). We understand educational reforms as institutional dispositive of power mediated by several state agencies, integrants of a set of legislative norms produced, aiming to conform, prescribe and implement a certain standard of public instruction, represented as the most “adequate” for the formation of the youth. In this way, “the reform can be understood as a response to the dramas of its time” (Gondra, 2001). In this sense, the investment of the aforementioned Ministry in the teacher’s mission provides evidence of the experiences, difficulties, dramas and challenges experienced in order to establish the best programmatic content for the implementation of the secondary education reform, thus taking the model of some countries/institutions of the old world as an international seal or rubric in order to validate what was intended for the teaching of “foreign languages” in Brazilian secondary education. In the report, Said Ali Ida severely criticizes the teaching method adopted in Brazilian public instruction, pointing out the backwardness of the teaching and the way of teaching. He proposes that the best is the so-called “direct method”, adopted in some institutions, especially in Berlin, described as more profitable and of better use to the students, in which the teacher would not waste time with useless long digressions, failing to do what is “his true mission”, that is, “to educate the spirit of the students for a certain and determined end” (Ida, 1895). By analyzing the programs for the years 1896, 1897 and 1898, after the teacher’s trip, we verified that the suggested changes, as well as the textbooks he indicated (E.g. “English Student”; Haus Knecht; “Lesebuch”; Large Edition) were fully adopted at the High School, as they combined the modern with the intuitive.

For this investigation, we constituted a documental nucleus composed of the Report in question; Teaching Programs for the National Gymnasium from 1895 to 1898 and Decree n. 981, of November 8, 1890. To refine the problematisation of the documentation and its statements, we also applied the criticism formulated by João Kopke (1896) to the intervention made in the teaching of the so-called “living languages”, in which he points out the absence of novelties in the reform and in the report, putting in check the supposed modernities of the young Republic.



Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Por meio de Aviso do Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, de 20 de março de 1895, o professor Manoel Said Ali Ida, catedrático de Alemão do Externato do Gymnasio Nacional (denominação do Imperial Collegio de Pedro II, após a Proclamação da República em 15 de novembro de 1889), visitou a Alemanha, França, Suíça e Itália durante 7 meses, em uma viagem oficial. Como resultado desta “viagem pedagógica” (Gondra, 2007), o comissionado produziu um relatório de 56 páginas a respeito da instrução, destacando a estrutura educacional, os tipos de escolas, as disciplinas (cadeiras) e as respectivas cargas horárias. Nesta investigação, analisamos o Relatório, considerando que o mesmo se articula a um movimento reformador, de corte republicano, que buscava instaurar uma descontinuidade em relação ao secundário imperial (Haidar, 2008). Entendemos as reformas educacionais como dispositivos institucionais de poder mediado por diversas agências do Estado, integrantes de um conjunto de normas legislativas produzidas, com vistas a conformar, prescrever e implantar um determinado padrão de instrução pública, representado como o mais “adequado” para a formação da mocidade. Deste modo, “A reforma pode ser entendida como uma resposta aos dramas de sua época” (Gondra, 2001). Nesse sentido, o investimento do referido Ministério na realização da missão pelo professor fornece indícios das experiências, dificuldades, dramas e desafios vividos para se estabelecer os melhores conteúdos programáticos para a implantação da reforma do ensino secundário, tomando, assim, o modelo de alguns países/instituições do velho mundo, como uma chancela ou rubrica internacional de modo a validar o que se pretendia para o ensino de línguas estrangeiras no Ensino Secundário brasileiro. No relatório, Said Ali Ida faz críticas severas ao método de ensino adotado na instrução pública brasileira, apontando o atraso do ensino e na forma de ensinar. Propõe que o melhor é o chamado “método direto”, adotado em algumas instituições, sobretudo berlinenses, descrito como mais proveitoso e de melhor aproveitamento para os alunos, no qual o mestre não perderia tempo com longas digressões inúteis, deixando de fazer o que é “a sua verdadeira missão”, isto é, “educar o espírito dos estudantes para um fim certo e determinado” Ida (1895). Ao analisar os programas de ensino dos anos de 1896, 1897 e 1898, posteriores à viagem do professor, verificamos que as mudanças sugeridas, bem como livros didáticos por ele indicados (Ex: *English Student- Haus Knecht; Lesebuch* – Edição grande) foram integralmente adotados no Colégio, já que combinavam o moderno com o intuitivo. Para essa investigação, constituímos um núcleo documental composto pelo Relatório em questão; Programas de Ensino para o Gymnasio Nacional dos anos de 1895 a 1898 e o Decreto n. 981, de 8 de novembro de 1890. Para refinar a problematização da documentação e seus enunciados também dialogamos com a crítica formulada por João Kopke (1896) à intervenção realizada no ensino das chamadas “línguas vivas”, na qual marca a ausência de novidades na reforma e no relatório, colocando em xeque as supostas modernidades da jovem República.

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Keywords: Colégio Pedro II, Reformas das Línguas Estrangeiras, Manuel Said Ali Ida, Ensino Secundário



Popular Unity, the ENU Project and the participation of Iván Núñez
La Unidad Popular, el Proyecto ENU y la participación de Iván Núñez

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For the presidential election of 1970 in Chile, a left-wing political grouping was formed, called Popular Unity, composed of several political parties: Socialist Party, Communist Party, Unitary Popular Action Movement (MAPU), Independent Popular Action (API), and the Social Democratic Party (PSD). The election of its candidate, Salvador Allende Gossens, “[...] not only did he become the first president in the world to be democratically elected, but also the first to attempt to transition to socialism through the peaceful road, also called the Chilean road to socialism” (Memoria Chilena, n. d., s. p.). One of the main measures in education of the socialist government “flavored with empanadas and red wine”, in the words of Allende himself, was the Unified National School Project (ENU) (Rubilar, 2004). President Allende, in a message to the Plenary Congress, pointed out that “[...] Chile is faced with the need to build the socialist society: our revolutionary road, the pluralist road anticipated by the classics of Marxism but never before concretized” (Allende, 2003, p. 39). The Superintendent of Education of the time, Iván Núñez, was one of its main protagonists and recalls in this regard:

The government of President Salvador Allende launched a two-pronged educational strategy. On the one hand, he developed a policy of ‘democratization’ that, together with deepening the modernization and quantitative expansion initiated by his predecessor, significantly expanded the possibilities of participation of social forces in the discussion of the direction that education would take within the process of changes initiated in Chile in 1970 (Núñez, 2003, p. 15).

In addition to the government authorities, teachers grouped in the Single Union of Education Workers (SUTE), students and civil groups linked to the Popular Unity parties participated in the elaboration of the Project (Hernández, 2011).

Some of the conceptual expressions pointed out by President Allende and indicated in the Project, such as the new man, the Chilean road to socialism, the revolutionary road, Marxism plus others led to the political opposition of the UP government, the Democratic Confederation (CODE), composed of the Christian Democracy and the National Party (right-wing) and, in turn, by groups of interference in the Catholic Church opted for a tenacious resistance to the NU project, before which, Allende chose to withdraw it and continue with the reform promoted by his predecessor, President Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964–1970) (Caiceo, 2021).

This study is qualitative and has a phenomenological and hermeneutic episteme since the antecedents found by documentary analysis will be described and analysed.

Abstract (in Language of Presentation)

Para la elección presidencial de 1970 en Chile, se formó una agrupación política de izquierda, denominada Unidad Popular, compuesta por varios partidos políticos: Partido Socialista, Partido Comunista, Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario (MAPU), Acción Popular Independiente (API) y el Partido Social Demócrata (PSD). La elección de su candidato, Salvador Allende Gossens, “[...] no solo se convirtió en el primer mandatario en el mundo en ser elegido democráticamente, sino también el primero en intentar en transitar al socialismo mediante la vía pacífica, también llamada vía chilena al socialismo” (Memoria Chilena, s. f.: s. p.). Una de las principales medidas en educación del gobierno socialista “con sabor a empanadas y vino tinto”,



en palabras del propio Allende, fue el Proyecto de Escuela Nacional Unificada -ENU- (Rubilar, 2004).

El presidente Allende, en un mensaje al Congreso Pleno, señalaba que “[...] Chile se encuentra ante la necesidad de construir la sociedad socialista: la vía revolucionaria nuestra, la vía pluralista anticipada por los clásicos del marxismo pero jamás antes concretada” (Allende, 2003, p. 39).

El Superintendente de Educación de la época, Iván Núñez, fue uno de sus principales protagonistas y recuerda al respecto:

El Gobierno del presidente Salvador Allende puso en marcha una estrategia educacional de doble dimensión. Por una parte, desarrolló una política de ‘democratización’ que, junto con profundizar la modernización y expansión cuantitativa iniciada por su antecesor, amplió notablemente las posibilidades de participación de las fuerzas sociales en la discusión del rumbo que tomaría la educación dentro del proceso de cambios iniciado en Chile en 1970 (Núñez, 2003, p. 15).

En la elaboración del Proyecto participaron además de las autoridades de gobierno, los profesores agrupados en el Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Educación (SUTE), los estudiantes y agrupaciones civiles ligadas a los partidos de la Unidad Popular (Hernández, 2011).

Algunas de las expresiones conceptuales señaladas por el presidente Allende e indicadas en el Proyecto, tales como *hombre nuevo*, *vía chilena al socialismo*, *vía revolucionaria*, *marxismo* más otras condujeron a que la oposición política del gobierno de la UP, la Confederación Democrática (CODE), compuesta por la Democracia Cristiana y el Partido Nacional (de derecha) y, a su vez, por grupos de injerencia en la Iglesia Católica optaron por una resistencia tenaz al proyecto ENU, ante lo cual, Allende optó por retirarlo y continuar con la reforma impulsada por su antecesor, el presidente Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964–1970) (Caiceo, 2021).

Este estudio es de carácter cualitativo y posee una episteme fenomenológica y hermenéutica, pues se describirán y analizar los antecedentes encontrados por análisis documental.

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