

FLOWS OF EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

The Space-Time of Portuguese-Speaking Countries

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The history of mass schooling has given rise to countless studies and research, which attempt to explain a process that has had a profound impact on contemporary societies.¹ Historians have produced a large number of narratives and interpretations based on the geography of the nation-state. Since the 1970s these interpretations have been constantly brought into question by world-system approaches that look upon school as “a worldwide institution, both as a normative principle and as an organisational reality.”² These positions have led to “parallel” explanations, as if we were facing two “interpretative layers” that are not unknown to each other but rarely interact. Both arguments are internally consistent but cannot hide their weaknesses when confronted by other viewpoints and questions.

This chapter describes the need to build new models of explanation based on theoretical frameworks and a choice of countries that avoid the two above-mentioned paradigms. Our study is concentrated on Portuguese-speaking communities, grouping together countries that have historical and cultural connections, that communicate in the same language (Portuguese), that have maintained colonial links for over five centuries and that are located on three different continents: Brazil (*South America*), Mozambique (*Southern*

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² John Meyer, Francisco Ramirez & Yasemin Soysal, “World Expansion of Mass Education, 1870-1980,” in *Sociology of Education* 65 (2), p. 128.

Africa) and Portugal (*Southern Europe*). Our interest is to understand how different forms of educational knowledge were produced in the process of building mass-schooling, and the way in which they “flow” between these countries.³

Our task is to understand the cultural specificity or singularity that sustains legends and narratives in the collective imaginaries of this *immaterial continent*. In conducting a debate about Portuguese-speaking communities we are led on a course of discussion built around the identification of difference as a way of stressing shared influences in relation to mass schooling. However, the problem that we are defining is not simply one of scale, which is where to position the object lens between a land photograph that shows the tree (historicism) and the aerial photograph that shows the forest (world-system approaches). The problem exists with regard to different approaches to capturing an object, to analyse it using several “arts” and “technologies,” bringing it into focus in a space-time relation that avoids traditional explanations.

Therefore, in Section One we have used a set of concepts (*meanings* and *reasons*) that allow us to create ways of interpreting Portuguese-speaking communities as a “field of relation” – three countries in three different continents, united and divided by partially overlapping histories. In Section Two we analyse the provisional results of our ongoing research, which is based on a possibility: the possibility to learn, not only “empirically” (as in cases, illustrations, examples), but to understand “theoretically,” the relationship that history has built between these peoples and countries. Our goals are theoretical, but also methodological, in the sense that they intend to open new prospects for comparative research.

SECTION ONE

³ See António Nóvoa, “Tempos da escola no espaço Portugal-Brasil-Moçambique: dez digressões sobre um programa de investigação,” *A Difusão Mundial da Escola*, ed. by A. Nóvoa & J. Schriewer (Lisboa: Educa, 2000).

MEANINGS AND REASONS OF A PROGRAMME OF STUDY

1. The Portuguese-speaking world as an Imagined Community

The world is defined through inter-dependent networks and identities, which are impossible to understand using only traditional concepts. John Boli and George Thomas state that the construction of a world culture produces two effects: on the one hand, the existence of definitions, principles and purposes that are cognitively constructed in similar ways throughout the world; on the other hand, the application of this culture in different countries and regions, with resulting “adaptations” and “localisations.”⁴

Benedict Anderson's work enables us to expand this debate by noting that when a nation is defined as an imagined political community, one of the most important aspects of this process is language. This thesis opens up an “interpretative field” which allows us to rethink the world and the affiliation and identity building processes. This “de-territorialized” reasoning leads us to place value not only on fixed contexts (*spatial*) of identity, but also on the sense built (*imagined*) by the different communities: “What, in a positive sense, made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity.”⁵ Simultaneously the question must be reversed: Within the three countries under analysis, who uses the Portuguese language, and in what way, in their process of identity reconstruction?

The central point is not so much the *intra*-Portuguese-speaking community references, but their position and participation in worldwide interdependence networks. It is important to understand the manner in which “knowledge” is available on a worldwide scale, functioning as a kind of “reference model” (or regulatory ideal) that is applied by different communities

⁴ John Boli & George Thomas, *Constructing World Culture - International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 42-43.

and transformed into local practices. The fact that these models are often “imagined” is irrelevant. Their strength lies in the groups that produce them and the ways in which they are diffused and appropriated.

It is important to place emphasis on the clarification of the “diffusion processes,” with simultaneous diversity and homogeneity. In order to do so we should again ask two questions. Firstly, it is useful to return to the issue of *political* rationalities, as described by Michel Foucault. The term political rationalities refers to the way in which modern regimes rationalise in different time-spaces, yet use the same benchmarks of truth and intelligibility, strategies, coherent systems of thinking and types of calculation structurally connected to each other. Secondly, it is necessary to deepen the theoretical concepts arising from the so-called “sociology of translation,” proposed by Bruno Latour⁶ and Michel Callon.⁷ These deal with understanding how the same logic of government is exercised in a myriad of micro-locations by authorities that, although conforming to guidelines, work autonomously. In connection with this line of thought we tackle the question of “governing at distance,” which is essential for the understanding of countries marked by colonial relations.

In tandem with the perspectives that reinforce the discourse in the production of identities, these authors insist on the role that technology plays in the structuring of individuals' conducts. The *network theory* (actor-network, socio-technical networks and techno-economic networks) shows how dichotomies and fundamental oppositions dominate (namely between science and its context, between the human and non-human) and shape what Latour calls “governing at distance.” This notion is essential for the understanding of countries marked by colonial relations.

2. Lusophony: A community of language?

Well before we are able to read and write the alphabet we are emerged in a bulk of sentiments, beliefs and values. In fact, we wake up to language not even knowing how to

⁶ Bruno Latour, *Pandora's hope: Essays on the reality of science studies* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁷ Michell Callon, “Some elements of a sociology of translation,” *Power, Action and Belief*, ed. by J. Law (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 196-233.

articulate it. It is as if language anticipates us, building our referential. Language is a live, sound and sensible body,⁸ a system of rules open enough to allow the inscription of a cultural register with its own identity and, yet which is at the same time, *intercultural*.

Language is, at the same time, a capital of memories that recycles and updates its substance, that is to say, its material and symbolic bearer. Nations and peoples do not invent languages. From tribe to nation, it is language that contains the peoples that speak them. Its identity is given, in the first place, by this means of communication: “language is always *one* system, perhaps even one structure, always *one meaning*, and, therefore, it necessarily implies a subject (collective or individual) to bear witness to its history.”⁹ But identity is also the narratives built around the acts of individuals throughout history. As a result of colonialism, the Portuguese language in several continents diffuses narratives and counter-narratives.

In contact with the coloniser, different groups appropriated the Portuguese language in a variety of ways and imprinted it with their own diversities and cultural experiences. In Brazil, as in Africa, each community moulded and re-created the language, integrating it to particular localisms. As a result, modulations were added – in the guise of sound and rhythm – which produced variants and, often, *creolisation* occurred. But these variants resulted in an amalgam of a shared cultural register; they formed a recycled product reflecting the passage, conflict, permanence, or absence of Portuguese. Nevertheless, these are written, said and imagined words made of the same matter. And it is precisely out of this matter that the sharing of a common acknowledgement arises. It is this acknowledgement that allows us to communicate, interact and imagine the immaterial things that are presumed in it. It is a *collectiveness* that inhabits the individual intimacy. To this *immaterial continent* that works as a referent for diverse cultures a fragmented space where peoples and communities trade meanings and acknowledge belonging to a common language, has been given the imperfect name – “lusophony.”

⁸ See Eduardo Lourenço, *A Nau de Ícaro seguido de Imagem e Miragem da Lusofonia* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 1999).

⁹ Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 126.

“Lusophony” is not used here in its transcendental or immanent sense. We do not wish to essentialize language, particularly in the semiotic sense or even as *high culture*, in terms of the meaning that certain elites attribute to it. From the socio-historical perspective, the relevance of language is not found in considering it as a bank of memories and a storehouse of myths, but rather by looking at it as a matter of political interest, namely of educational interest. It is this political interest that ties language, and in this case *lusophony*, to different institutions (cultural, social, economic) in different space-times. Only then political logics and rationality may unfold what “governing at a distance” means for each of the communities concerned, whether in Europe (Portugal), in Africa (Mozambique) or in America (Brazil).

Thus, the pressure to standardize a national language and schooling meant, in the Portuguese case, the incorporation of the native population into a unified field of relations, driven by the need to assert at the same time cultural, economic and political power. As with other imperial cases, this pressure came from the need for a minimally qualified labour force, able to supply an intermediate class of workers for railways, ports, clerks, and tax collectors – as well as a bulk of semi-specialised workers such as nurses, agricultural engineers, and school teachers. But there were other intentions behind the extension of mass schooling, namely the need to discipline and “civilise” the *other* in Western terms. Could it be thought of as a specific type of power, enmeshed in the vision that the local colonial administration had of its role in the Portuguese pilgrimage? Lacking the means to control and capitalise upon the vast territories, was this *hyper-identity*¹⁰ a compensatory strategy towards the “progress of the human race” in lusophone terms? This argument seems to agree with our findings that point to the circulation of an expert knowledge aimed at the construction of a centrally imagined “colonial citizen,” from child to pupil, from pupil to the utopia of a “new” man. What is now to be researched is whether this national construction of the “colonial citizen,” viewed usually as a European ideal type, has taken different forms in its reception in Africa and America.

3. Space-time of historical reflection

¹⁰ Eduardo Lourenço, *Portugal como Destino seguido de Mitologia da Saudade* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 1993), p. 38.

Analyses of mass schooling, even when they adopt a “chronological perspective” (e.g. John Meyer, Francisco Ramirez and others), are typified by their lack of historical perspective. There is a kind of retrospective teleological deviation that aims towards a single direction and, at the same time, rewrites the past, *a posteriori*, having as a reference point this destiny that is considered “inevitable.” Therefore it is important to stress the need to recover different (and distinct) moments in the worldwide diffusion of schooling.

One of the main topics of the current historiographic debate is the re-conceptualisation of space and time, the *space-time* of historical reflection. A purely physical definition of space is no longer sufficient. We cannot continue to think of space and time as autonomous entities, ignoring the fact that they tend to merge into the same reality. We have become so used to thinking in a fixed space (stable) and concentrating on time as a variable of change that it is difficult to break away from this framework.¹¹ The metaphors of an “arrow of time” or of history as a “river that flows” are clear illustrations of this understanding.

Nevertheless, more than 30 years ago Michel Foucault¹² predicted that space would become the raw material of the historian. He said that we were moving into the simultaneous era of juxtaposition, of the near future and the long ago, of the side by side, of dispersion. And indeed today we find ourselves facing processes of understanding and expansion of space and time. A space that enlarges and restricts in a process that Roland Robertson calls *glocalisation*.¹³

We are confronting a new idea that invites us to look at the *width* and *thickness* of time. A width that enables historical fluidity, conceiving the present not as a “period” but as a process of transformation of the past into the future (and vice-versa). A thickness that

¹¹ See Thomas Popkewitz, “A Social Epistemology of Educational Research,” *Critical Theories in Education: Changing Terrains of Knowledge and Politics*, ed. by T. Popkewitz & L. Fendler (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 17-42.

¹² See Michel Foucault, *Dits et écrits* (Paris : Gallimard, 1994, 4 vols.).

¹³ See Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992).

makes us live, simultaneously, different temporalities overlapping in such way that time is no longer a single “thread” (the thread of time) but is represented with a string in which lots of threads are intertwined.

But this new idea also invites us to look to a space that is not limited to its physical margins. In truth, as Thomas Popkewitz shows, temporal concepts are displaced by spatial ones through “the making of maps,” “the development of discursive fields,” “regionality,” “localities,” “terrain,” “imagined communities” and “institutional geographies,” “ideological space,” and “topographies of the person”: “The use of spatial concepts entails rethinking the ideas of history, progress, and agency that have been inscribed from nineteenth century social theory. The concept of space in post-modern theories has both representational and physical qualities. (...) The focus of post-modern literature is how social spaces are constructed – not as geographical concepts alone but as discourses that produce identities.”¹⁴

These changes create a new conception of time-space, which, in our case mixes time levels, which have a common history. These lead us to imagine *interpretative communities* that arise from the sharing of a single language. These communities make it possible to research the Portugal-Brazil-Mozambique relation in a redefined space-time. These conceptions of time and, above all, space, make up a common research agenda and empirical search and, equally, a historical reality marked by the universality of a device, which allows for the intelligibility of things and people. As such our project implies, in opposition to a certain tradition of comparative education, the creation of conceptual instruments, which enable us to multiply space (*spaces*) and unfold time (*times*).

4. Reconciling history and comparison

¹⁴ Popkewitz, “A Social Epistemology of Educational Research,” pp. 27-28.

One of the key features of our work is the search for elements that enable history to be reconciled with comparison. After being ostracised for several decades comparison has begun to be re-accepted into the educational field. Historians, sociologists, pedagogues and even philosophers have used comparison, when participating in international research surveys and groups, and have also included comparative elements in their work. Likewise a series of supranational bodies recognise the importance of creating instruments, which facilitate an understanding of educational phenomenon, and their consequences (employment, professional qualifications, the job market, etc.) that are felt beyond national borders. It seems useful for us to point out two particularly promising characteristics of the “comeback” of comparison: first, the reinforcement of a thinking that lies in the logic of comparison in time, granting it its own historicity; second, the adoption of methodological perspectives that do not consecrate analysis models solely centred on national geography.¹⁵

Traditionally comparative education worked within the framework of the nation-state: Northern countries were compared with Southern countries, developed with underdeveloped, and “central” countries were compared with each other. Comparisons were made through geographical proximity or through exoticism but the reference point was always the nation-state. Today borders have become blurred owing to the effect of a “worldwide culture” and the multiplicity of levels of affiliation and belonging. This causes comparison to be shifted to new realities that do not fit into national geographies.

One of these realities – which we have been building as an object of study – is this imagined community that has been given the imperfect name of the *Portuguese-speaking Community*. The possibility of historical and comparative thinking in these terms seems to us so obvious that we are astonished at the absence of studies and research. In truth, apart from some work on the “Empire” and “colonisation,” there has been no methodological reflection on this category of analysis, which superposes moments of a common history and shared cultural identities (through adhesion or rejection).

Our localisation in Africa, in America and in Europe – in countries so diverse, connected by

¹⁵ See António Nóvoa & Jürgen Schriewer (eds.), *A difusão mundial da escola* (Lisboa: Educa, 2000).

distance – grants us a very special status, opening up a series of possibilities about historical and comparative inquiry. It is not a matter of considering ourselves to be a “one-of case,” which will confirm or invalidate given theses. Rather we are to assume that our specificity can be drawn up conceptually and worked as a theoretically recognisable field. These concepts are rooted in the theory of schooling and the role of schooling in the construction of identity. In truth, school plays an essential role in the production of “systems of government” that form the multiple identities, individual and collective affiliations. As Popkewitz writes, “Schooling not only constructs the national imaginaries that give cohesion to the idea of the national citizenry. It also constructs the images of cosmopolitan subjectivities that travel across multiple boundaries that form the worlds of business, politics, and culture.”¹⁶ It is social institutions such as school that make “imagined” schemes real.

¹⁶ See Thomas Popkewitz (ed.), *Educational Knowledge - Changing relationships between the state, civil society, and the educational community* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 5.

We cannot ignore one of the core texts of the Stanford team, in which a typology of countries is proposed, Portugal and Brazil holding a significantly “underdeveloped” position and Mozambique having the lowest level of school development in the world.¹⁷ Two obvious biases are contained in the text: first, the establishment of a hierarchy of countries, which is not limited to describing a certain reality, but which constructs it based on an implicit ideology; second, a grouping of countries based on their structural location in the world society, stressing the economic and geographic dimensions. There is a kind of *verticality* in the construction of the arguments.

But – and we would like to strongly emphasise this point – if we manage to adopt this reflection designing it in a *horizontal perspective* of connection between the three continents, and attributing meaning, above all, to the historical and cultural aspects, we believe that we will prepare the ground for the production of new knowledge (theoretical knowledge) about the origin and expansion of mass schooling. It is not so much a question of the “worldwide diffusion” of the school model, but rather the understanding of its reception in Portugal-Brazil-Mozambique.

5. Hybridisation and the construction of new zones of looking

During the colonial period – a longer one for Africa than for Brazil – Portugal built the myth of an Imperial nation. This nation was universal in character, albeit unified in essence, and able to assimilate cultural differences to an inner homogeneous “soul.” Portuguese nationalism insisted particularly on the benign, tolerant and multicultural character of its colonialism, constantly forging the notion of a kinship relation between the metropolitan and the colonial spheres, celebrated as a “brotherhood” of peoples. The post-independence situation has opened up the opportunity for new mechanisms of identification and conflict between Portugal and the new “brother” nations. In one way, participation in the European Union, since 1986, has created among Portuguese people the illusion of a new centrality. On the other hand, the peripheral situation of Portugal in relation to Europe exacerbates internal fractures and emphasizes different levels of development within the European

¹⁷ See Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992.

continent.¹⁸ For centuries we were used to looking at ourselves as a centre because we had a colonial periphery; but at that very same time we were the periphery of other centres.

The concept of “Lusophony” allows us to re-locate Portuguese, Brazilians and Mozambican as subjects of history, contravening the traditional perspectives according to which it is Europe alone that has the capacity to nominate and describe the way in which different peoples imagine themselves. Our objective is less to understand how these peoples built their identifications through the modular forms made available through the colonial Empire. Rather, it is more concerned – assuming a purposely intermediate standpoint – with understanding how these European *scripts* (civilised/savage, modern/primitive) were re-appropriated and re-elaborated in the speeches and practices by so many diverse communities. In fact, despite being politically independent nations, their consciences remain colonised by the historical categories of Western historiography. One of our main objectives is, precisely, to revert to another way of thinking and look into the materials that unbound the knots of this *other*.

¹⁸ Boaventura Sousa Santos, *Pela Mão de Alice* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1997).

Post-colonial theories lie at the essence of our argument, in particular when “Europe” functions as a *silent referent* for all of history. Or (which is the same thing) when the criticism is raised that only “Europe” is theoretically knowable, thus pigeon-holing all other history into empirical status – that is to the status of “cases.” The way in which the colonial subject was constituted as *the other* cannot be disassociated from the educational processes – formal and informal – which have built the “primitive/modern” dichotomy as a synonym for “wild/civilised.”¹⁹ The “universal norms,” that served to judge and confront the other, were diffused, to a large extent, through school institutions. Robert Young goes further in his criticism, when he extends it to present, affirming that it is necessary to analyse the discursive forms, the representations and the practices of contemporary racism, in light of its relation with the colonial past and the way in which certain subjects and knowledge make up an integral part of the educational structures themselves.²⁰

It is worth mentioning two aspects that are directly related to mass-schooling. One of these is the interdependency, which existed between the metropolis and the colonies, and transformed the colonial territories into experimentation sites for government techniques, which were later used “at home.” Nikolas Rose hits the nail on the head when he says that it is in this process that the very characteristics of *Europe* and its styles of government are defined and consolidated.²¹

On the other hand however, it is necessary to chronicle this irony of history that makes the colonies an essential element in the constitution of the European unit, Western thinking and European models of education and culture. School is one of the institutions where the image reflected by the “mirror of the colonised” is refracted into complex and ambiguous relations between worlds that merge and conflict. As Thomas Popkewitz shows, some authors have used the concept of hybridisation to refer to these meetings, these “contact zones,” in which we look through the *other* and we find the *other* in us: “The concept of

¹⁹ See Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason - Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

²⁰ See Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990).

²¹ See Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

hybridity, then, enables us to consider the relation of knowledge and power as not hierarchical, moving uncontested from the centre nations of the world system to the peripheral and less powerful countries. Rather, the global and the local are intricately joined through complex patterns that are multiple and multidirectional.”²²

The Portuguese-speaking community appears, for us, as a modality of hybridisation. Our intellectual effort does not have as a reference the establishment of dichotomies, but rather the understanding of the way that different discursive practices overlap and superpose each other, shaping ways of thinking and acting. Thus it is important to understand the globality of the historical process at the same time as we decompose the various “layers” that constitute it. It is in this twofold logic of “amalgamating” and “unravelling” where we find *zones of looking* to describe. The discovery of these new zones is the most intriguing challenge for comparative research.

6. Three forms of educational knowledge

²² Popkewitz, Educational Knowledge, p. 6.

A conceptual alternative to theses of the internationalisation of educational knowledge has been consistently deepened by Jürgen Schriewer, an author who uses the concept of *externalisation* as a key for the analysis of the construction of educational theory.²³ From the strictly conceptual viewpoint, the perspective of externalisation is sustained: a) on the notion of *internationality*, i.e. the vision of the world as semantic constructions “in the perspective of each national or cultural context and the measure of its internal needs” (as opposed to internationalisation and the dynamic evolution of the transnational processes of integration); b) on the notion of selective reception and interpretation, marked by the specificity and the processes of production of meaning of reception context (as opposed to the thesis of global diffusion of models generated by a transnational cultural involvement); c) on the notion of *système-mondes*, or, as stated by Braudel, a representation of the world that associates large geographical areas to economic structures, civilisation or political-ideological differences, and producers of meanings (as opposed to the representation of a single world system).²⁴

Although Schriewer invites us to consider the active role of context and reception agents, it would be impossible to say that this excludes the strong presence of forces of diffusion with regard to educational models: “the theorem of the self-referenced reflection system admits that the reference horizons in the educational discourses – the reference societies, the development trends or the world models – are not entirely separable from the structures of the international system, certainly predominant. (...) the semantic constructions developed by externalisation took into account the dimensions of the political-military power, of economic-technological efficiency or of symbolic-cultural superiority.”²⁵

²³ See Jürgen Schriewer, “World-System and Interrelationship-Networks,” *Educational Knowledge - Changing relationships between the state, civil society, and the educational community*, ed. by T. Popkewitz (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 305-342; Jürgen Schriewer, *Formas de externalização no conhecimento educacional* (Lisboa: Educa, 2001); Jürgen Schriewer & Edwin Keiner, “Communication patterns and intellectual traditions in educational sciences: France and Germany,” in *Comparative Education Review* 36 (1), 1992, pp. 25-51.

²⁴ Schriewer, *Formas de externalização no conhecimento educacional*, pp. 20-26.

²⁵ Schriewer, *Formas de externalização no conhecimento educacional*, p. 21.

This “non-exclusion” is fundamental for us. As such, we give particular attention to the selective mobilisation of educational models, but in the framework of an analysis committed to the articulation of processes of internationalisation and “nativeness,” of supranational integration and intra-national diversification, of global diffusion and specific reception.²⁶ It is our aim to take as the observation starting point, the search and selective reception of references, but inserted into the more ambiguous world of interpenetration of the processes of diffusion and reception of educational knowledge. We will therefore favour the reasoning that leads us, using the terminology of Thomas Popkewitz, to the *multiple and multidirectional ties* of ideas.²⁷

In this text the epicentre of our analyses is situated in the manifestation of *educational knowledge* in Portugal and Brazil. We approach the educational knowledge in accordance with three inter-relational forms:

1. The form of *scientific knowledge* rooted mainly in psychological approaches, which constructs the subjectivity of the pupils and which, simultaneously, enables the political management, at distance, of different “populations.” The analysis of this scientific-social dimension of educational knowledge is based on the Foucaultian notion of governmentality.²⁸

²⁶ Schriewer, “World-System and Interrelationship-Networks,” p. 327.

²⁷ See Popkewitz 2000.

²⁸ See Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, pp. 635-657.

2. The second form analysed is that of *pedagogical-didactic knowledge* and its production through the teacher training textbooks. In this dimension stress is given to the composite nature of this knowledge, as well as the phenomenon of de-location and de-contextualisation of discourses that are triggered.²⁹

3. The final form analysed in this text is that of *scientific-pedagogical knowledge* put into circulation through educational journals. This deals with the construction of a knowledge that proposes to mediate scientific production and pedagogical practice. Central to this analysis is the notion that education journals constitute important vehicles for the production and regulation of knowledge and in the formation of a specialised field in education.³⁰

The three forms of educational knowledge that we have outlined are explored in the following pages through three distinct and complementary contributions. The first deals with scientific discourses that transform the children into pupils (in the transition from the 19th century to the 20th century). The second studies the textbooks used in the training of teachers and the construction of the pedagogical-didactic knowledge (between 1880 and 1960). The third approaches the circulation and structuring of a specialised discourse in education, through the analysis of educational journals (between 1920 and 1935).

²⁹ See Basil Bernstein, "On pedagogic discourse," *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, ed. by J.G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 205-240; António Carlos Luz Correia, *Fragmentos da memória de uma escola imaginada: presenças de Espanha nos livros de formação de professores primários em Portugal (1920-1950)* (paper presented at the Iberian Conference for History of Education, Allariz, Spain, 2001).

³⁰ Luís Miguel Carvalho, *Nós Através da Escrita: revistas, especialistas e conhecimento pedagógico (1920-1935)* (Lisboa: Educa, 2000); Jürgen Schriewer, "Études pluridisciplinaires et réflexions philosophiques: la structuration du discours pédagogique en France et en Allemagne," *Paedagogica Historica* (Supplementary Series) vol. III, 1998, pp. 57-84; Schriewer & Keiner, "Communication patterns and intellectual traditions in educational sciences," 1992.

SECTION TWO

SPECIALISED KNOWLEDGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASS SCHOOLING

With these references providing the background, our research will describe varieties of mass schooling in the Portuguese-speaking community (Brazil, Mozambique, Portugal), concentrating on specific periods of history – the 1880s, 1920s and 1960s. In a certain manner, it will be through the return to a localised historical narrative – localised in a space that is not only “national” – that various lines of inquiry giving body to the research are defined. Three concepts are now presented that illustrate this effort to rethink the historical construction of mass schooling: the first concept is situated in the various historical forms that assume the “governing of children” and their transformation into schoolchildren; the second covers the curricular themes and the building of professional teaching identities through the study of “textbooks” used to train teachers; the third studies the production and diffusion of specialised knowledge through the comparative analysis of pedagogical magazines. These are points that enable the reasoning and concerns of more ambitious research to be outlined.

1. Flows of scientific knowledge: The governing of pupils in the transition from the 19th to the 20th centuries (Portugal and Brazil)

Our intention is to understand, with regard to Portugal and Brazil, how “mass schooling” provides us with the idea that children are defined, before anything else, by the label of *pupil*.³¹ But the expansion of schooling to the general child/youth population is studied from a particular viewpoint: that of the processes through which the subjectivity of these actors is produced in the school environment. We believe that the controversies and disputes that were at the basis of the consolidation of the modern public school in Portuguese-speaking

³¹ See Nóvoa 2000.

countries can be perceived as a direct expression of the struggle for the “government of the soul.”

The incorporation of moral principles through socialising practices, increasingly defined as “autonomy” and “freedom,” arises indeed as the *most distinctive and consensual mark* of the modern school. In the “century of the child,” *discipline* is a solitary exercise, that associates autonomy with the initiative of the pupil. In the context of liberalism, rules that allow for collective life are no longer imposed through sanctions or strictness of principles, and cannot even be taught by the teacher. On the contrary, each individual is obliged to discover them through a relational game with the outside world, which must have its beginning and end within the limits of the subject. Freedom and authority are always described as juxtaposed or even symbiotic realities. Modern pedagogical discourse favours, as an ideal model, the independent and responsible pupil – that is someone who knows how to measure the consequences both of acts and modes of behaviour through internal rules that result from his or her personal experiences, of a *spontaneous adaptation* to school life. As if each individual learns to set up a social place in the space that he or she occupies.

We have chosen to illustrate this idea by referring to the work of two highly regarded authors in the field of pedagogy – Adolphe Ferrière and Faria de Vasconcelos – that built a typical *new school* at the beginning of the 20th century. It is important to acknowledge that we cannot recognise our educational identity beyond the archetypal model that these two pedagogues formulated. The former establishes that “moral education, as well as intellectual education, cannot be imposed through authority from the outside to the inside of each pupil, but rather that it needs to be developed from the opposite direction, through personal experience, critical understanding and freedom.”³² Faria de Vasconcelos deepened this reasoning, with the following statement: “It is impossible to teach moral life; virtue is not a lesson that one can learn through words. It is something that we need to incorporate through our own experience, through the personal living of freedom.” The *moral being* can

³² Adolphe Ferrière, “Préface,” *Une école nouvelle en Belgique* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1915), p. 15.

only be aroused if the pupil is allowed to think about and freely accept the imposed rule.³³

These statements contain an archaeology of education in the 20th century. The moral education plan brings us almost immediately freedom and self-government. This analysis is based on the idea of *governmentality*, as presented by Michel Foucault. The importance of this notion has been invoked by a group of authors throughout the 1990s who, in looking to understand the kind of neo-liberal rationalities that “govern” our present, have established new ways of thinking about the connections between the domain of politics, the exercising of authority and the modes of behaviour shown by citizens.³⁴ Governmentality, hence, concerns the decisions, strategies, tactics, devices of calculation and supervision adopted in order to *always govern without governing*. This involves producing techniques and reasoning that are implemented in schools and executed by actors that act “autonomously” in restricted spheres, that is within their own commitments to the family and the community of origin.³⁵

What we propose to tackle is the process that enables the actual practice of this logic within the building of mass schooling. The turning points of this construction seem to be condensed into a short historical period that goes from the 1880s to the 1920s,³⁶ and this period seems to have been split into two phases, although the chronology cannot be

³³ Faria de Vasconcelos, *Une école nouvelle en Belgique* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1915), pp. 206-207).

³⁴ See Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne & Nikolas Rose (eds.), *Foucault and political reason: Liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of government* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996); Vikki Bell, “Governing childhood: Neo-liberalism and the law,” *Economy and Society* 22 (3), 1993, pp. 390-405; Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon & Peter Miller (eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).

³⁵ Nikolas Rose, *Inventing ourselves: Psychology, power and personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 328.

³⁶ See António Nóvoa, “As ciências da educação e os processos de mudança,” *Ciências da educação e mudança* (Porto: Sociedade Portuguesa de Ciências da Educação, 1991), pp. 18-67; António Nóvoa, “Regards nouveaux sur l’éducation nouvelle,” *Le don de la parole*, ed. by N. Charbonnel (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 71-96.

clearly established. The first is related to the attempts during the end of the 19th century to institutionally fix the Sciences of Education, so as to deepen philosophical, psychological and sociological theories of a “moral laic.” The second originated in the research that dissected the body and the soul of the child, finally *constituting* the child as a distinct and individually different social actor. It was exactly these pedagogical studies of an experimental nature that gave rise to all the movements that arose during World War I in favour of the New School, having as its principle the notion of the pupil and the promotion of his or her autonomy. Despite the political shifts of the epoch, this period (1880-1920) sets up a continuity of themes and problems under the denomination *psy*.

We begin with the first sub-period, that is the point in which Gabriel Compayré raised the question that would be recurrent throughout the 20th century: is there or is there not a science of education? Does it or does it not have an object distinct from others? To the author the answer was a clear-cut yes: “nowadays, no one denies the possibility of a science of education”.³⁷ According to Compayré, it was both a common practical knowledge and a positive knowledge. The first aspect, that of the *practical knowledge*, allowed the science to claim itself as an art, a definition that distanced it from academic culture. With regard to its theoretical legitimacy, pedagogy did not aspire to anything more than an *applied psychology*. The education scientist took as his rules the maxims that came from “the laws of mental organisation,” that is the work accomplished by the science of psychology. A Portuguese educator explains the fundamental reason for this “marriage”: “Pedagogy has as its basis psychology and the moral. Psychology is what enabled knowledge of the natural mechanism of the intellectual faculties, and it is through the moral that we understand the nature of feelings: it is these two factors on which all education must be based.”³⁸

This apparently simple statement allows us to understand clearly the specific forms of social regulation. The development of pedagogy, or the science of education, was

³⁷ See António Nóvoa, “La raison et la responsabilité: Vers une science du gouvernement des âmes,” *Science(s) de l'Éducation 19e-20e siècles - Entre champs professionnels et champs disciplinaires*, ed. by R. Hofstetter & B. Schneuwly (Berne: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 243-263.

³⁸ M.A. Ferreira-Deusdado, M.A., “A necessidade da preparação pedagógica no professorado português,” *Revista de Educação e Ensino* 4 (2), 1887, p. 47.

motivated by the ambition to act and govern the spirit and body of children and the young. It arose as another version of *bio-power*. Its method consisted of observing the facts of the physical and moral life. Its major problem was to make each of the subjects visible and manipulable. This task would henceforth only be possible if undertaken based on the systematic dissection of the spirituality of the learners. The general laws and respective inductive reflection of pedagogy would lead to the collation and rational construction of the facts of intimacy, having as an aim the establishment of the map of the human soul. The soul would therefore be the differentiated product that the reason of the State would send to the *psy*-pedagogy. And it is with reference to this regulatory social function that we must question it.

Modern pedagogy refers often to the idea that there is a causal link between particularised knowledge of trends, habits, desires and emotions of the pupils, and the moulding of their moral sensibility. It was the attempt to make this socialising technology viable and disciplined that was at the origin of the *discovery of the pupil* by the end of the 19th century. If individual personality had become a central element of the intellectual culture of the time, from politics to economy and even art, it was a natural step that the educator also began to take into account the germ of individuality that is hidden in each child. In 1890, the Portuguese educator José de Sousa, stressed that the science of psychology would naturally evince the failure of traditional, authoritarian and unifying pedagogy, which had emphasized stereotyped exercises and stupefying memorization, at the expense of the initiative and inventiveness of the pupil.³⁹ Instead of treating the school population in a uniform and invariable way, the modern teachers should vary their methodologies “according to each temperament and to each intelligence”.⁴⁰

In the second sub-period, pedagogical discourse would improve this model of subjectiveness, constantly affirming the supremacy of the individual person and his original, unique and immeasurable psychic economy, always at the service of the demo-liberal ideal. The same socialising programme would also aim to transform the child into an adult in the

³⁹ See José de Sousa, *Notas de pedagogia filosófica* (Lisboa, 1890).

⁴⁰ Émile Durkheim, “Pédagogie,” *Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie et d’instruction primaire*, ed. by F. Buisson (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911), p. 1541.

true sense of the word, that is *adapting* his or her initiative to the surrounding circumstances. However, and here is where the innovation arises, the declarations made by pedagogues of this period were now backed up by extremely wide-ranging medical-psychological observations and anthropological studies, as well as psychometric registers on abnormal and normal children, which invariably documented the special and differentiating characteristics of childhood.

Since then, the science of education has tended to be defined as an applied psychology.⁴¹ The thesis of the child as an adult in miniature form – a homunculus who lacks the knowledge and experience naturally acquired with age – would be denied by these scientific pedagogical discoveries. In fact, each childhood soul began to understand itself as a dynamic reality, a continuous and irreducible creation. The extensive task of school socialisation during the periods of childhood and adolescence was in these terms described as corresponding to a balance of mechanisms of adaptation, accommodation and assimilation, in a permanent game between reality and the *self*.

In what then appeared as an amazing synchronism (what we would perhaps today label as a symptom of globalisation) the writings both of the Americans Hall and Dewey, the Brazilian Lourenço Filho, and the Europeans Montessori, Decroly, Binet, Kerchensteiner, Claparède, Ferrière, Faria de Vasconcelos and Adolfo Lima, among a host of others, established the need for a *new school* inside of which all the educational techniques and methods would be adapted to the particular reality of each child, to his *innate laws*. If current observation can show that children vary considerably in their mental characteristics, it would be possible to prove experimentally that these differences exist in all mental qualities. It is not even possible to talk in terms of classes or *ideal-types*. The last of the above list of figures pointed out that, “both with regard to the physical characteristics of the organs of the senses and motors, and from the point of view of the strength of instincts and abilities, of the nature of experiences, of innate and acquired interests, no two children are alike.” To conclude: “the same stimulus leads to different reactions.”⁴² The concern

⁴¹ See Nóvoa 1997.

⁴² Faria de Vasconcelos, “A psicologia diferencial escolar,” *Educação Social* 1 (1), 1924, p. 9.

would be with difference, and the question of how to adapt the school and its routines to the individual. If the “psychognosis,” as it was then called, showed irrefutably that children could not be identical, and that an infinite plurality of cases had to be studied, it would therefore be imperative that the programmes and school methods generously stimulated subjectivity.⁴³

⁴³ Faria de Vasconcelos, *A inteligência e a sua medição: Psicologia aplicada* (Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1934), p. 273.

These *psy* experts effectively created a *new language* to individualise children at school – categorising, classifying and calibrating their capacities, abilities and modes of behaviour. They helped to assemble all the disciplinary technology through which pupils could be grouped together, still perceived however as entities similar, and yet different from one another. Thanks to the psycho-sciences, the early 20th century gave witness to the birth inside the school institution, of a new grammar of the body and the soul, which would transform childhood subjectivity into a force that was calculable, and therefore governable. The internalisation hence became *visible* from the logic of *inscription* of individuality. The school space would also function in this sense as a kind of telescope or microscope, authorising both the discovery of the subject in a given position – of conformity or deviation with regard to the standard – and his detailed description through a sophisticated chart of particular attributes according to the population as a whole.⁴⁴

Edouard Claparède had a very clear perspective, based on the idea that however distinct each of the observed cases was, they would be in some way equivalent. How then can this operation of connecting the part to the whole be carried out? The solution he offered was the conversion of the particular sample into a *statistical expression*. This was justified as follows: “given that we can only assess truthfully what we can measure, an effort is made to reduce qualitative problems, problems of varieties of abilities, to quantitative problems, to express the qualities through a number.” With this conversion the singularity and the idiosyncrasies were ordered in a rational way, managed in their conceptual and positional variety. Hence, the Swiss psychologist was speaking about social regulation, as he believed that this reduction to the quantitative would *reveal* the true reality of the child under assessment. Following this, description was associated with prescription: “what is demanded when observing a child is not only a diagnosis but also a prognosis.”⁴⁵

The new regimes of quantitative visibility and conceptual cognition gave rise to a new branch of psychology – “differential psychology,” in the language of Stern, or “individual

⁴⁴ See Rose 1996.

⁴⁵ Edouard Claparède, *Como diagnosticar as aptidões dos escolares* (Porto: Livraria Educação Nacional, 1931).

psychology,” according to Binet. The great scientific presupposition at the end of the 19th century, according to which the diversity between the spirits was innate-congenital, would now have to be backed up with reference to evidence gathered in numerous experimental research projects. These would document individual differences in an abundance of registers: from fatigue to associations and duration of psychic acts, from imagination to memory and from memory to attention, from perception to visual schemes, from intelligence to work and skill, etc. Only this systematic task could banish for good the harmful influence of the traditional school, failing to distinguish anyone as other than one-dimensional, part of an undifferentiated mass.⁴⁶

The empirical collection we are examining in Portugal and in Brazil, covering the period from 1880 to 1920, registers both the definitions of the imagined pupil with the instruments created to evaluate, describe, assess and compare. It is therefore data that directly connects the ambitions of the public authorities with the individual capacities of the historical subjects. From this point onwards, in order to carry out this political task, a form of knowledge associated with politicians, teachers, doctors, hygienists and further experts from the social prophylaxis began to take shape. The public school in Portuguese-speaking countries began to incorporate the criticism against authoritarian methods of the “traditional” school and to make waves in the “integral” education theses of the learner. Influenced by the dynamics of the *New Education*, Portuguese and Brazilian authorities kept registers in which the attention of the pupil was reflected both in the measurement and analysis of intellectual and creative capacities, and in the inventorying and description of the modes of behaviour or their most intimate aspirations. Therefore the school *archive* began to contain series of documents that reflected a population type reasoning, but where each subject became the target of an increasingly particularised and differential focus. The individual processes of the public school in the 20th century showed a multi-linear inspection and a constant variation of situations in which the body, the mind and the school performance are observed case-by-case, pupil-by-pupil.

⁴⁶ See António Candeias, António Nóvoa & Manuel Henrique Figueira, *Sobre educação nova: Cartas de Adolfo Lima a Álvaro Viana de Lemos* (Lisboa: Educa, 1995).

An example of the analyses we are undertaking is the new *field* in which the pupil is historically described through the institutionalisation of a new department – Schoolchildren's Health – in the context of the Portuguese and Brazilian realities. This kind of service was inaugurated at the beginning of the 20th century, at the same time as medical inspection institutions appeared in countries such as France, Spain, Romania and England. Schoolchildren's Health consolidated the drive towards hygiene.⁴⁷ This process required a third element in the pedagogic relation: the school doctor. A first area of intervention was related to anthropometrical examination – heights, diameters, perimeters, contours and weights were carried out methodologically. Soon, this inquiry was to be linked to knowledge about the *soul* of the pupil – mental efficiency tests of intelligence and personality, personal tastes, etc. In both Portugal and Brazil this processes led to new classifications of children and the construction of languages and typologies. Both countries referred to an imagined model that was circulating worldwide, but which was at the same time being implemented in specific ways, at the institutional level. This was also in relation to a political situation that was not dominated by liberal ideas. Furthermore, in the two countries under analysis, mass schooling was far from developed, and only a small percentage of children were enrolled in schools.

2. Pedagogical-didactic textbooks used for teacher education:

The governing of the teacher in Portugal and Brazil (1880s-1960s)

Books of pedagogy, didactics and other subjects within the curriculum of schools of education, have as their structuring condition the constitution of a summary or a compilation of different kinds of knowledge. Their amalgamation and articulation provide an explanation and legitimisation for the practice of schooling, the curriculum and the modes of conceptualising the professional identity of the teachers. In Portugal the terms used to characterise these types of works, *compendium* and *textbook*, are enlightening with regard to the characteristics of the respective content.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ See Carlos Abreu, *Limpos, sadios e dóceis: História da saúde escolar em Portugal no Estado Novo (1930-1960)* (Lisboa: Faculdade de Psicologia e de Ciências da Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, M. A. thesis, 1999).

⁴⁸ António Carlos Luz Correia, *Fragments da memória de uma escola imaginada: presenças de Espanha nos*

The teachers' textbooks follow directly, in form and content, the layouts imposed by the laws, study plans, regulations and teacher training programmes. Therefore, the historical analysis of the respective content, as well as the formal presentation, cannot ignore the transformations that occurred in teacher training institutions and the political guidelines that regulated them.

The textbooks designed for teacher training are crucial in the construction of the pedagogical discourse. The invocation of authority of other texts and authors is an essential characteristic of the content and the discursive style of the pedagogical-didactic books. However, this remission is not always completely visible. Often, the pedagogical and didactic books express what Basil Bernstein argues as the fundamental characteristic of pedagogical discourse: a device of de-location and de-contextualisation of discourses from their original locations and re-location and re-contextualisation in the school environment. The result is that “in this process of de- and re-location, the original discourse is transformed from an actual practice to a virtual or imaginary practice,” that is “pedagogic discourse creates imaginary subjects.”⁴⁹

The text herein presented results from the undertaking of several lines of research in collaboration between researchers from the University of Lisbon (Portugal) and the University of São Paulo (Brazil).⁵⁰ Centered on the study of textbooks for teachers⁵¹ and educational legislation at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, it follows the main period categorization for educational history proposed in our research – 1880s, 1920s, 1960s – looking to safeguard the specificity of each particular context.

We established as our framework the definition of a *zone of looking*, generated by the insertion of Portugal and Brazil, through the State of São Paulo, in a symbolic community of populations and states whose lowest common denominator is the use of the Portuguese

⁴⁹ Basil Bernstein, “On pedagogic discourse,” p. 210.

⁵⁰ We must also mention the collaboration with Eliane Peres, from the Federal University of Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) - See António Carlos Luz Correia & Eliane T. Peres, *Learning to be a teacher by the book: professional images, school curriculum and models of children's learning in textbooks for elementary schoolteachers pre-service training in Portugal (1870-1950)* (Paper presented at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education, Alcalá de Henares, Spain, 2001).

⁵¹ The joint project with the Brazilian researcher Vivian Batista, from the Faculty of Education of the University of São Paulo, on teachers' textbooks studied the period between 1930 and 1970 – See Vivian Batista da Silva, *História de leituras para professores: um estudo da produção e circulação de saberes especializados nos “manuais pedagógicos” brasileiros (1930-1971)* (São Paulo: Faculty of Education/University of São Paulo, M.A. Thesis), 2001.

language. The main question does not reside in knowing if there are interactive flows or dynamics within the territory that sustain its viability as an object of analysis. What is interesting in terms of the history of the construction of pedagogical knowledge is the notion of studying it in a similar manner to that which is outlined by Abdala Júnior with regard to compared literature: “When we bring together the national systems it is through abstraction that we arrive at this macro-system that is supplied not only through the common past, but also from the diversity of each concrete updating of the Portuguese language literatures. And in a reverse movement, historical factors of convergence (of tradition and also cultural rupture models) correspond to more specific differentiation of each nationality in the updates of this more abstract macro-system.”⁵²

The construction of new ways of looking at the production of pedagogical knowledge interferes with conceptual balances established in the national histories as in comparative education. To work with the states that make up Brazil does not allow for the discarding of the Nation-State discussion as an organizing category of the characterization of, and explanation for, the educational systems and the pedagogical knowledge. Furthermore, the formulation of the problem of the educational system(s) in Brazil reinforces the need to abandon the idea that as far as Portugal is concerned, the matter was definitively resolved a long time ago. Discussion of the production of school knowledge in a Portuguese language cultural macro-system is inevitably punctuated by multiple and disparate social, political and economic movements, in search of identifying representations of Brazil and Portugal, redefining and reinventing them as imagined communities.

⁵² Benjamin Abdala Júnior, *Literatura, história e política: literaturas de língua portuguesa no século XX* (São Paulo: Ática, 1989), p. 16.

In the last three decades of the 19th century, the training of primary school teachers began to gain more importance in Portugal as a result of the reform of 1878-1881. It was further established with the 1901-1902 reform, whereupon it became compulsory to attend schools of education to obtain the teaching credentials. In the State of São Paulo this process occurred from 1889, with the Caetano de Campos reform. In both cases French authors wrote most of the pedagogical textbooks first used for training teachers. The few works written by authors that we can call “national,” closely adhered to their foreign counterparts and in some cases were mere adaptations. Rendu, Rendu Fils, Charbonneau, Chasteau, Compayré, Buisson are some of the names that became familiar at this time. Some of these were translated in Portugal, such as the works of Charbonneau and Chasteau. The majority of didactic books used in Brazil at the time were imported, mostly from Portugal. The reasons behind this are cultural, but also social and economic given that some of the most prominent publishers-booksellers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, were Portuguese or French, and their commercial activity was based on the Paris-Lisbon-Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo triangle.⁵³

When we look to detect evidence that would enable us to conceptualize relations between the production of pedagogical knowledge in Portugal and São Paulo (Brazil), through the study of teacher training textbooks published between the 1880s and the 1960s, we notice successive and apparent paradoxes, fragments and loose bits of information. We make reference to the intense panorama of visit and study reports on the educational systems of other countries, undertaken from the second half of the 19th century. Among these we find two Brazilian reports that include Portugal: *O ensino público primário em Portugal, Espanha, França e Bélgica*, written by Luiz Augusto dos Reis, published in 1892 in Rio de Janeiro; and *O ensino público primário em França, Espanha e Portugal*, written by Leopoldina Tavares Porto-Carrero, also published in Rio de Janeiro, in 1896.

In Portugal, teacher educator José Augusto Coelho published the four volumes of his main work, *Princípios de Pedagogia*, in São Paulo, between 1891-1893. Alberto Pimentel Filho mentions that in the 1930s his books were well received in Brazil. Moreover, we know that

⁵³ Laurence Hallewell, *O livro no Brasil: sua história* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1985).

he contributed to the education section of the newspaper *Estado de S. Paulo*. The second edition, dated 1923, of *Lições de Pedologia e Pedagogia Experimental*, by Faria de Vasconcelos, has the seal of three bookshops: Aillaud & Bertrand, in Paris and Lisbon, Chardron, in Porto, and Francisco Alves, in Rio de Janeiro. In 1923 Emília de Sousa Costa also gave two speeches at the National Music Institute in Rio de Janeiro, which were published in Rio de Janeiro by the publisher Álvaro Pinto (Brazil Yearbook).

In 1931, on the occasion of the Portuguese publication of the book written by Edouard Claparède, *Como diagnosticar as aptidões dos escolares*, Áurea Judite do Amaral in the preface refers to the translation effort made in Brazil. In this case the works of Claparède are mentioned and Lourenço Filho is identified as being responsible for this initiative. As these authors occupied prominent positions in the academic world and/or in educational administration, extensive institutional and personal contact networks were developed which were determinant for the circulation and production of pedagogical knowledge.

In the 1950s, Mário Gonçalves Viana, interim headmaster of the National Institute of Physical Education in Portugal, and author of *Pedagogia Geral*, visited Rio de Janeiro, upon invitation by Lourenço Filho. The content of the letters written by Lourenço Filho to Mário Gonçalves Viana confirms the idea that there was no regular contact and co-operation between Portuguese and Brazilian teacher training institutions. In a letter dated February 1952, Lourenço Viana was asked if he would be interested in visiting Brazil through an invitation from the University. After the question Lourenço Filho comments: "I think that it is a mistake of ours not to summon to Brazil, each year, two or three teachers from Portugal. May American and French teachers continue to come, which I fully agree with. But Portuguese invitations should be more constant."⁵⁴

Four significant aspects result from an analysis of references to authors and works, as seen in both Portuguese and Brazilian teacher textbooks, especially from 1930 onwards. The first of these is that the group of authors most often referred to is common to both

⁵⁴ Mário Gonçalves Viana, *Dezassete dias no Brasil: Relatório de uma viagem efectuada a convite da Escola Nacional de Educação Física e Desportos da Universidade do Brasil* (Cruz Quebrada: INEF, 1954).

side of the Atlantic – Dewey, Claparède, Aguayo, Ferrière, Montessori, Binet...⁵⁵ Second, the distribution of references by author of textbooks is more expressive and allows us to investigate, for example, the position of the main outlet or vehicle for a given group of works and international authors. Third, from 1940 onwards there is a clear emergence in Portugal of two groups of “intermediary authors” – the Brazilians and the Spanish – of whom representative figures are Lourenço Filho and Luzuriaga respectively. Neither group limits itself to merely citing and summarizing works of American, German, French authors, etc.; rather they are also actively engaged in launching pedagogical collections where many translations are published. Fourth, from the 1950s onwards, the citing of similar national works is also apparent, in Portugal and São Paulo (Brazil).

The most significant group of Brazilian authors in Portugal includes Lourenço Filho, Everardo Backheuser, Delgado de Carvalho, and Theobaldo Miranda Santos. As for the Spanish we can mention Ezequiel Solana, Domingo Barnés and Lorenzo Luzuriaga. The presence of Spanish authors and the Castilian language in Brazilian textbooks, especially from the 1950s onwards in the works of Theobaldo Miranda Santos, can be explained clearly by the exile of Luzuriaga in Argentina and the intense publishing and academic activity he carried out there.

Over the course of the period under consideration, Luso-Brazilian relations with regard to the training of teachers was also not reflected in terms of the relations with other areas of schooling. The Portuguese presence seems to have been more occasional, arising from personal and informal networks rather than institutional contacts and exchanges. At that time, the Brazilian textbooks and translations at the time acquired greater expression in Portugal. According to the works of the respective Didactic and Pedagogical teachers, this presence was revealed from the 1940s and on and became stronger at the end of the 1950s and over the following decade.

⁵⁵ The ordering in quantitative terms of the most cited authors is merely an indication as there are no citation criteria to all the works. In any event, in Brazil, Dewey and Aguayo are the most cited, whilst in Portugal, Claparède heads the list accompanied by Émile Planchard, Decroly and Dewey, as the most cited over the same period.

Models coming from the United States despite the European references, more directly inspired Brazil's teacher training systems, particularly in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Some of the prominent figures in the construction of pedagogical knowledge visited and published works about the American educational institutions.⁵⁶ In Portugal the opposite situation occurred. Despite knowledge of the most reputable pedagogical figures in the United States, as well as some of their emblematic experiences, the European influence was still predominating.

The educational systems – particularly the teacher training component – originated from the production of pedagogical knowledge and curricula that regulate the schooling practice. Both at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, national identities were clearly in the process of redefinition and affirmation. Contrary to what we might expect, this phenomenon occurred both in Brazil and Portugal. This may help to explain the omissions and absences, which cause historical research of comparative education to lose its way when attempting to understand the relationship between the two countries. The study of textbooks in Portugal and Brazil allows us to agree with the observation made by Peter Wagner: “it was precisely the barriers to facts and information flows and their control by the elite that allowed in the 20th century the formation of imagined national communities.”⁵⁷

3. Educational Journals, Experts and Pedagogic Knowledge (Portugal-Brazil, 1920-1935)

We aim to understand the construction of specialized knowledge in education – and the concurrent emergence of its experts – through a systematic analysis of educational journals. We understand these sources as central vehicles in diffusion and negotiation of a scientific reason about education. The journals exercise this generative and regulatory action through the relations of affiliation, preference and affinity, which the texts in them

⁵⁶ M.B. Lourenço Filho, *Educação comparada* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1961), pp. 30-31.

⁵⁷ Peter Wagner, *Sociología de la modernidad* (Barcelona: Herder, 1997), p. 237.

establish with knowledge, authors, countries and organizations.⁵⁸

We began by analyzing two journals – the Portuguese *Revista Escolar* (1921-1935), and the Brazilian *Educação* (1927-1962). The editions that have been studied are those published from the beginning of the 1920s until the middle of the 1930s.⁵⁹ In each journal we analyze the presence of references to this *other* that, at the least, shared the same language. But we observe this mobilization in a wider context, which accommodates all the units of a single world labeled “cultured, moving and modern.” Therefore we do not stick to a narrow comparison of the modes of manifesting specialized knowledge in Brazil and in Portugal. Rather we try to analyze the transfers between the two countries in a wider environment and multi-directional circulation of discourses about education.⁶⁰

***The journals, the procession with progress and
the mark of the New Education***

⁵⁸ Schriewer, “Études pluridisciplinaires et réflexions philosophiques,” pp. 57-84; Schriewer & Keiner, “Communication patterns and intellectual traditions in educational sciences,” pp. 25-51.

⁵⁹ With regard to the theoretical and methodological options of the research, see Nóvoa 2000 and Carvalho 2000. As a complement we point out another comparative study between the Portuguese journal and a Spanish journal, *La Escuela Moderna* – see Luís Miguel Carvalho, *A presença espanhola na imprensa pedagógica portuguesa: o caso da Revista Escolar, 1921-1935* (Paper presented at the Iberian Conference for History of Education, Allariz, Spain, 2001). We made this contrast for two reasons. Because strong relations have been forged between the Iberian States – of co-operation or conflict – in the cultural, economic and political spheres, and because an important linguistic-cultural space that has also been formed around the Castilian language.

⁶⁰ See Carvalho 2000; Jaime Cordeiro, *A revista “Educação” e as suas referências: primeiro estudo exploratório* (São Paulo: Working paper, 2000).

A brief examination of the editorials in the *Revista Escolar* allows us to note the recurring presence of the representation of the journal as a space for the reception and diffusion of pedagogical modernization models. We also note a preference for thinking of that which is national through the mobilization of foreign pedagogical experiences. These models appear in the Portuguese journal and also in the Brazilian journal in various forms: in extracts of works, in critiques, in biographies of pedagogues or even through articles purposefully written for these publications by foreign authors.⁶¹ In the pages of the journal, these other “positives” are legitimized in terms of autochthonous claims for reform of ideas and practices.

The invocation of foreign countries in the two publications reveals some differences, which is no surprise given the various geographical and political proximities. In the Portuguese case, two European continental powers, France and Germany, are the most frequently mentioned in the texts (14% and 11% of all references to countries). Following these two come the United States, England, Switzerland, Belgium and Spain. The Eurocentric character of the referencing is evident (a little over three quarters of the references are to European countries), as is the small amount of attention paid to Latin American countries. It is well known that the Portuguese intellectual-political environment of the time was receptive to the Europeanisation of the Portuguese nation and the transfer of this model as for a means to national regeneration. In the Brazilian journal *Educação*, on the other hand, the United States appears as the most important source for authors of the journal (25% of all references). In the 1920s the approximation with the United States was perceived, by part of the Brazilian intellectual community, as a form of breaking away from traditional culture, inherited from the 19th century and heavily influenced by the French. Also the American experience was seen as a model of modernity and democracy⁶².

⁶¹ See Luís Miguel Carvalho & Jaime Cordeiro, *Brasil-Portugal nos circuitos do discurso pedagógico especializado (1920-1935)* (Lisboa: Educa, 2002); Denice Catani, “Leituras para professores: a imprensa periódica educacional e a orientação do trabalho pedagógico no Brasil republicano,” *Leitura e escrita em Portugal e no Brasil: 1500-1970*, ed. by R. Fernandes & A. Adão (Porto: SPCE, vol. III, 1998), pp. 179-188. António Nóvoa, *Imprensa de Educação e Ensino - Repertório Analítico (séculos XIX-XX)* (Lisboa: IIE, 1993).

⁶² See Carvalho & Cordeiro 2002.

Differing as they do in terms of the social, political and intellectual model for the legitimization of educational reforms, the two publications are in accordance with regard to the authors and titles. In the Portuguese journal, in tandem with the greater frequency of references to Portuguese and French authors, there is a greater concentration of references to Belgian or Swiss authors and, albeit to a lesser extent, to Italian authors as well. Here, it is not the country of origin (the model society) that counts, but the name that carries weight (the model author): Decroly, Rousseau, Ferrière, Claparède, Montessori... – authors associated to the New Education movement. Indeed, in addition to those now classified as predecessors of the movement (such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel) or categorized as opposed to it (Herbart), the list of authors most referenced in the texts of the Portuguese journal includes names of contemporaries of the movement who were now associated with it, either ideologically or organizationally, such as Decroly, Ferrière, Claparède, Faria de Vasconcelos, Cousinet, Bovet, Hamaide, Piaget, Montessori, Dewey, Binet, Parkhurst, Buisson...

In the journal from São Paulo, authors linked to the experiences of the so-called New School are equally predominant, in certain centers such as Switzerland, France, Belgium and the United States (such as Decroly, Dewey, Claparède, Ferrière, Kilpatrick), as well as names that can be considered “emblematic” (Freud, Durkheim, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Kerschensteiner, Montessori, Spencer, Binet, Simon, Piéron) of education, psychology, humanities and the social sciences.⁶³

The strong mark of the New Education movement on the Portuguese journal is clearly visible when observing the organizations cited therein. And by this indicator the *Institut des Sciences de l'Éducation - Jean Jacques Rousseau* (1912) stands out, the relevance of which increases if we also consider the references made to it by other organizations – some created under its aegis (BIE, 1925), as well as others whose creation was connected with some of its members (BIEN, 1899, LIEN, 1921. We are reminded of the well-known centrality of this organization in the international scientific and professional

⁶³ See Carvalho & Cordeiro 2002.

network that emerged at the end of the 19th century, centrality that was searched for as a strategy for survival and legitimization of the organization.⁶⁴

In the Portuguese publication there are an abundance of references to Decroly and Montessori. The prominent position of these authors who established, through their own occupational intervention, bridges between “scientific knowledge” and “practices,” is somewhat borne out with regard to the books most often referenced in the *Revista Escolar*. Among the eleven most cited books, three are about teaching methods and two were used to teach reading. This preponderance cannot be disassociated from the relation of mediation established between the main authors of the journal (inspectors, teacher educators, etc.) and the target population (primary school teachers). It is no less important to remember that it is also mediation that is dealt with when observing the same epoch, with regard to the teacher training schools, the development of applied sciences and methodological reason,⁶⁵ as a bridge between and to the sciences and the practices. The affirmation of these experts would depend both on the capacity to produce a discourse for themselves and the ability to transform it into another for possible consumption and use by laymen. For this reason the journals have a dual purpose and show themselves as boundary objects,⁶⁶ around which co-operation between social worlds and diverse communication is fed.

*From insufficiency of participation in the Portuguese language
to “educational Esperanto”*

⁶⁴ See Rita Hofstetter & Bernard Schneuwly, “L'avènement d'un nouveau champ disciplinaire: ressorts de l'universitarisation des sciences de l'éducation à Genève, 1890-1930,” *Le pari des Sciences de l'Éducation* (Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 1999), pp. 79-116.

⁶⁵ António Nóvoa, *Histoire & Comparaison* (Lisbonne: Educa, 1998).

⁶⁶ Susan Leigh Star & James Griesemer, “Institutional ecology, translation, and boundary objects,” *The Science Studies Reader*, ed. by M. Biagioli (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 505-524.

The Portuguese journal has very few references to its Brazilian counterpart (and the articles seldom present citations from Brazilian authors), and the same situation occurs with the Brazilian journal in relation to texts and authors from Portugal.⁶⁷ Even so, the Brazilian presence in the Portuguese journal grew between 1930 and 1935, although the informative character predominates the articles. A considerable proportion of the articles that involve Brazil are extracts of articles published in Brazilian journals, above all from the journal *Educação*. Indeed, what unites this set of references, present in eight articles, are not the authors or themes – although questions linked to the “extremely gifted” and the school discipline are more frequent – but the reference to this source. When observing the register of foreign journals cited as news sources or extracts of articles, the Brazilian presence, albeit discrete, becomes more evident. In the analysis of the Portuguese presence in the group of international references of the journal *Educação*, the only common references are those made to Faria de Vasconcelos, one of the main authors linked to *Revista Escolar*.

A supposition in terms of some circulation of influences between the two journals can therefore be tentatively put forward. Is it that the presence of the Brazilian journal as a source of information for its Portuguese counterpart – a presence that showed itself between 1931 and 1935 – is only a consequence of a coincidence in which the Portuguese related to its title? Could there have been some connection between the management of the two journals or a more informal connection between the Lisbon and São Paulo educators in some way linked to the two publications? Or could there be again from within an effect of international organizations (such as BIE) and the information circulation networks established around it?

At first sight, it seems that sharing the same language meant little. However, this would lead to a mistake, comparable to that of taking it as a *necessary and sufficient* condition for other sharing (in the case of discourses about education). Despite the absence of this condition, the common language remains a factor with regard to a more economic sharing. What we can say with some sense is that, given the almost constant invocation of the Portuguese in the texts of the Brazilian journal, and the low Brazilian presence relative to

⁶⁷ See Carvalho & Cordeiro 2002.

references to other countries in the Portuguese journal, it is difficult to sustain the existence of transfers of educational models between the two countries through the two journals. Consequently, it must be concluded that the opportunity for transaction of ideas and/or experiences between the infrastructures of specialized knowledge in education of the two countries – opportunity opened by the sharing of the same language – does not seem to have been taken advantage of on either side of the Atlantic. Given the decades under analysis, we are conscious of the risk in writing about an absence. The intellectual context in São Paulo marked by the proposals of the modernists from the 1920s onwards would manifest itself in the writing of history and, in particular in writings about the question of national identity, which went ahead “without any explicit reference being made to the Portuguese past.”⁶⁸

Neither Portugal nor Brazil served as a model for each other to be imitated or, even, to be opposed. If reciprocal views existed, they did not pass to the written word. The scarcity of references to the *other* that participates in the same language is not only evident in relation to the country about which we are talking, but equally with regard to other indicators used (the authors, books, journals, organizations). This absence co-exists with an ample amount of references to other nations and, again, many of them common. Therefore the convergence between the two journals occurs in our eyes, as a function of the identical effort made by them to be inserted into more ample circuits of the discourses of the education specialists. Through this set of common references – both the formulations coming from Geneva and the works developed by Decroly in Belgium – the two journals approximate each other. Distanced with reference to the opportunity offered by the sharing of the same language, the texts of the journals approximate each other through “another language” – an educational Esperanto, formed around the lexicon of the New Education. But this is not only a discourse that is shared; one must also consider the concurrent existence of organizations that sustained this communication and which guaranteed the circulation of models.

⁶⁸ Robert Rowland, “Portugueses no Brasil independente: processo e representações,” in *Oceanos* 44, pp. 8-20.

Two circuits emerged from our analyses. The already cited circuit of the “New Education” and another that would link various countries, organizations, specialists of the Latin American space. The latter is, in the epoch under analysis, more obvious in the São Paulo journal than in the Portuguese journal. The analysis of the São Paulo journal, specifically the analysis of the references to pedagogical works, made the importance of the “Iberian-American world” visible as a source of editorial reference for Brazil, both through the books written by the authors coming from these regions, and due to the fact that, in some of these countries, particularly in Spain, many translations of works originally in English or French were published.⁶⁹ In the Portuguese case the information about “Hispanic America” is derived either from Geneva (and from BIE) or from Spanish journals, connected or not to this international movement.

It is important to note that the relevance of the Spanish presence in the *Revista Escolar* comes more from the participation of Spanish journals providing information, than from the quantity of references that are made in the Portuguese publication concerning the country, the educational organizations or even the Spanish authors. These journals (*Revista de Pedagogía*, *El Magisterio Español*, and *La Escuela Moderna*) functioned as a kind of intermediary, not necessarily voluntarily, of the circulation of resources and models for the production of the *Revista Escolar*.⁷⁰

This Spanish mark in the production of the Portuguese journal cannot be dissociated from organizational factors. In Spain the New Education movement presented a high degree of organizational complexity and established formal connections. These connections were materialized in dozens of visits, conferences and courses held in Spain, in study visits abroad, in numerous translations of new education works into Castilian, in articles published by the Spanish at the heart of the New Education movement.⁷¹ In Portugal the characteristics were very different. The analysis of foreign authors of main articles in the *Revista Escolar*, enables one to perceive some of these differences. First, because it was

⁶⁹ See Carvalho & Cordeiro 2002.

⁷⁰ See Carvalho 2001.

⁷¹ See Antonio Viñao Frago, “La modernización pedagógica española a través de la Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936),” in *Anales de Pedagogía* 12-13, 1994-1995, pp. 7-45.

not the most emblematic authors that had most texts published in the Portuguese journal. Some of the foreign authors arrived at the Portuguese journal through Faria de Vasconcelos (editor of the journal between 1925 and 1928). His experience and contacts were certainly behind many of the Belgian contributions.

The pages of the *Revista Escolar* and *Educação* accompanied, directly or indirectly, the pedagogical innovation movements, guided by the discourses and organizations of the New Education. Therefore, in the analysis of the use of foreign references as a typical practice there had to be a conjoining of comprehensive effort in the networks of knowledge existing on an international scale. Yet the journals also constituted a space of selection, interpretation and combination of information that they transported. They were part of, as well as the effect of, both the transnational movements (discursive and organizational) and the formation, on a national scale, of a discourse and specialized field in education.

In Place of a Conclusion:

Future Directions of Research

As a starting point for the analysis of educational incorporation processes the world-system approaches provide a stimulating interpretative framework about the diffusion of standardized models of educational organization on a global scale. Its contribution is fundamental to the study of the structural expansion of model of societies, characterized by a high degree of structural isomorphism on a worldwide scale.⁷² It is also to be acknowledged with reference to the role of mass schooling in the transformation of individuals into citizens, legitimizing the incorporation of its members in a national culture. However, the argument that defends the adherence of individuals to the construction of a unified collective unit, represented by the Nation-State, through the universalisation of the modern school – this homogenizing power that is exercised on the individual, and hence on the collective – is to a certain extent incompatible with the empirical observation that

⁷² See John Meyer, John Boli, George Thomas & Francisco Ramirez, "World Society and the Nation-State," in *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1), 1997, pp. 144-181.

documents the existence of differences (institutional and organizational) between the metropolitan and the colonial school systems⁷³ or with the very history of the emancipation of the colonized people.⁷⁴

In this paper we have tried to examine the flows of educational knowledge in a particular space, one that we have defined as the lusophone community. The doorway into the world of mass schooling was approached through the analysis of different forms of knowledge that diffused, circulated, and were appropriated in two different spaces.

In each of these locations, sharing the same language as a basic cultural referent, the influence of the biographical pilgrimages and personal experiences of the experts as a contributor to educational transactions was as much important as the institutionalization of a network of reference societies. Thus, we may be in a position to argue that the technologies and techniques that helped to subject individuals to a homogeneous imagined community, through the print language of educational textbooks and pedagogical journals, were far more heterogeneous than what we have previously expected.

This leads to the conclusion that the models and pedagogical discourses circulating across the two continents (Southern Europe/South America) may be seen as a reflection of the ambivalent relation between Brazil and Portugal. In fact colonialism does not end with the end of colonial occupation. The alliance between power and knowledge may account for a psychological resistance to Western models, well after the political occupation has ceased to exist. Power offers itself both as a political limit and as a cultural possibility. If power is at once the qualitative difference between those who have and those who must suffer it (or its memory), it also designates an imaginative space that can be occupied, a cultural model that might be imitated, replicated or disregarded.

⁷³ See Christel Adick, "Las teorías del sistema mundial y la investigación educativa," *Manual de Educación Comparada*, ed. by J. Schriewer & F. Pedró (Barcelona: PPU, 1993), pp. 387-421; Philip Altbach & Gail Kelly, *Education and Colonialism* (New York: Longman, 1978).

⁷⁴ See Homi Babha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse," *Tensions of Empire, colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*, ed. by F. Cooper & A.L. Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 152-160; Gayatri Spivak, *Interviews, Strategies and Dialogues* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

The civilizing mission of colonialism and its mass-school models of incorporation tended to fade away over the course of the 19th century, and both Portugal and Brazil looked for new centers of reference, whether in political, economic or cultural terms. This ambivalent relationship, as well as the heterogeneous appropriations of the educational models diffused across the Atlantic, suggests that the images of the person or the subject at work in various practices have historically been more disparate than is implied in the arguments of world-system theories. National post-colonial projects of personhood, identity and citizenship often conceal transformations in the exercise of political power and thus, are intrinsically linked to the history of government as an assemblage of political strategies tied up with rationalized programmes and tactics for the “conduct of conduct,” for acting upon the actions of others in order to achieve certain ends. In this sense, as Rose puts it, “one might speak of the government of a ship, of a family, of a prison or factory, of a colony, and of a nation, as well as of the government of oneself.”⁷⁵

It may be said that the Luso-Brazilian relationships are currently being subjected to new political reconstructions. It is necessary to understand the specificity of these new political circumstances, in light of a long history of colonial consequences, a critical history of the complex condition, which attends the aftermath of colonial occupation. Over the last decade, post-colonial studies have emerged as a meeting point for a variety of disciplines and theories, which we believe may bring stimulating clues to an understanding of the bridge between colonialism and the question of cultural identity. Because it is a project committed to an historical and psychological “recovery,” post-colonial studies may open a Pandora's box, bringing forth into the silences and ellipses of historical amnesia such as the ones we have come across in our research.

As for the African axis of this relationship, it is clear that the colonial archive does not allow us to make theoretical sense out of the past in the same way. We are half way to asserting the enormous influence of the Anglophone world in the educational arena, as far as Mozambique is concerned. Several indicators point to this pervasive influence, such as

⁷⁵ Nikolas Rose, *Inventing our selves: Psychology, power, and personhood*, p. 12.

the presence of protestant missions in the colony, outnumbering up to the mid 1920s the number of catholic (Portuguese) school missions. There are also the frequent references in administrative reports during the colonial period to the *learning by doing* methods employed by the South African Union, not to mention the continuing use of English as the main language in the protestant mission schools. Moreover the two-volume report of the Phelps-Stoke Fund, *Education in Africa*, published as a result of the intensive survey conducted in East and West Portuguese colonies during the 1920s,⁷⁶ coupled with the Edward Ross report, presented at the League of Nations in 1925, show the American and English influence in Portuguese Africa at least until the mid 1930s. No doubt, the “ideal man” proposed by the Portuguese to the Africans was far from the “colored people” liberal education model imagined by the Americans in the “Negro Education” and “Education in Africa.” The historical consequences and the scope of those influences have still to be carefully researched.

Our research is far from being concluded...

⁷⁶ Thomas Jesse-Jones (ed.), *Education in Africa. A study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe* (New York: Phelps-Stoke Fund, 2 vols., 1922-1925).