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## ISCHE 42 - Looking from Above and Below

Primus, Franziska; Westberg, Johannes

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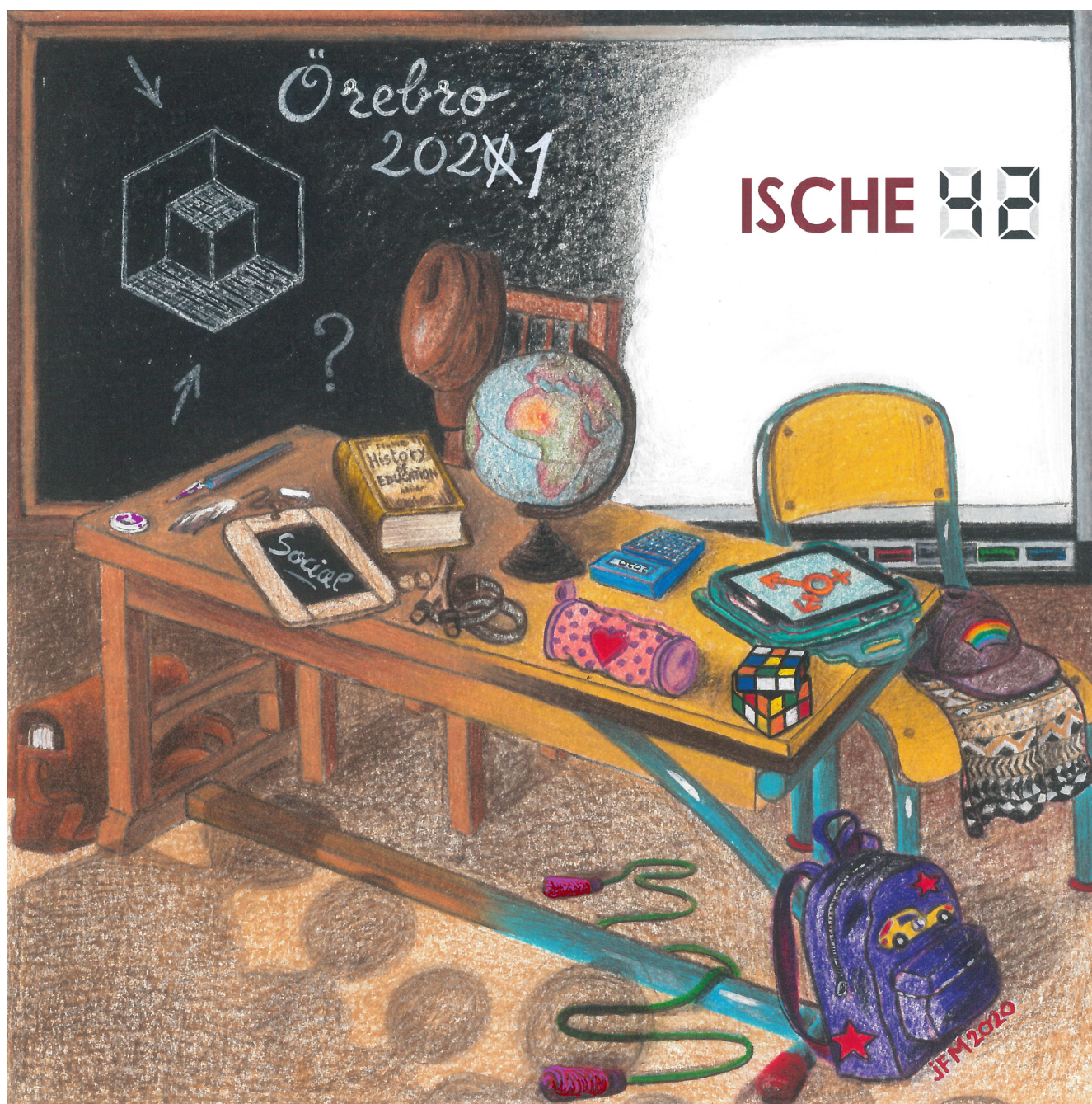
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ISCHE 42

# LOOKING FROM ABOVE AND BELOW

## Rethinking the Social in the History of Education

Online conference  
June 14–25, 2021



**Title**

ISCHE 42 - Looking from Above and Below: Rethinking the Social in the History of Education – Book of Abstracts

**Editors**

Franziska Primus and Johannes Westberg

**Publishers**

International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), Berlin  
School of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences, Örebro University

The text wording is the exclusive responsibility of the respective author/s.

## **Conference Program**

ISCHE 42 was conducted as a virtual conference due to the covid-19 pandemic. In adapting to this situation, the conference period was extended to two weeks, June 14-25, 2021, with a preconference on June 11.

### **1st week**

- Conference days 08:30-17:30 (CET)
- Program: panels, symposia, individual paper sessions, and some ECR-activities

### **2nd week**

- Conference days 11:00-17:30 (CET)
- Program: Standing Working Group sessions, special events, ISCHE General Assembly, and some ECR-activities



**FRIDAY June 11** **1:00 - 5:00**

**01-SES 00: CREATING, USING AND PUBLISHING RESEARCH DATA AND DIGITAL COLLECTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION**

Pre-Conference Workshop (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lars Müller (DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education)

The Workshop will address three main issues focusing on research data and infrastructures for data driven research in the history of education.

- a) Creation and provision of digital collections or data bases - the origin of which can be either "research driven" or "curation driven" (e.g. digital editions, inventory database, repositories with computer interfaces, ...).
- b) Research with digital data in the history of education and production or provision of research data by museums, archives, libraries or their cooperation (e.g. work with or support of work with research data (e.g. TEI/XML, application of automatic text or image analysis, integration of geo-coordinates, ...).
- c) Ways and benefits of publishing research data, obstacles and opportunities for academic recognition (e.g. Zenodo, project website, Researchgate, data journal).

**FRIDAY June 11** **3:00 - 5:30**

**02-SES 00: RE-NARRATING 'THE SOCIAL': 1ST ISCHE TWITTER CONFERENCE #TWISCHE42**

Twitter Session (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German)

**Re-Narrating 'The Social': 1st ISCHE Twitter Conference #twISCHE42**

Jona Tomke Garz (Humboldt-University Berlin // University of Zurich), Fanny Isensee (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Chelsea Angela Rodriguez (University of Groningen), Arnis Strazdins (University of Latvia), Daniel Töpper (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Josefine Wähler (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin//DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education)

In this first-ever ISCHE twitter conference, #twISCHE42 invites international researchers at all levels to "re-narrate the social" in histories of education and childhood. This unique conference format will see research papers "presented" through a series of tweets, in order to reach a wider audience by going beyond traditional means of communication, exchange, and practice in the field of History of Education. These re-narrations will range from critical diagnoses of the contemporary to narrations that tread completely different paths and approaches, proposing unique, surprising, and unusual angles to give impetus to the research community. For more information, go to the official twitter page @tw\_ISCHE!

**FRIDAY June 11** **6:00 - 7:30**

**03-SES 00: CONFERENCE OPENING, KEYNOTES AND BRIEF EXCHANGE WITH KEYNOTE SPEAKERS**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg), Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

**ISCHE 42 Keynotes**

**Making the Model Worker-Citizen: Revisiting the History of Vocational Education in Brazil**

Barbara Weinstein (New York University)

**Explaining the 19th Century Educational Revolution - the Swedish Case**

Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University)

**MONDAY June 14** **9:00 - 10:30**

**01-SES 01: EXPLORING STREET-LEVEL ORIENTED METHODS IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION POLITICS. VOICES FROM THE MARGINS**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Mette Buchardt (Centre for Education Policy Research, Aalborg University), Kaisa Reetta Vehkalahti (University of Oulu)

**Exploring street-level oriented methods in the Social History of Education Politics. Voices from the margins**

An ongoing discussion between historians and policy scholars of education is how to understand the processes of school laws from central political decision making and to the implementation of what political scientists such as Lipsky, Brodtkin et al. have dubbed the street level. This conceptualization aims at grasping the dilemmas of the so-called street-level bureaucrats, e.g. public service workers such as the teacher and the social worker, when they act within the frame of policies in daily life institutional practices (Lipsky 1980; Brodtkin 2012).

For Historians of Education especially, the question of how to explore policy history beyond the central governmental level, the emergence and stipulation of actual juridical guidelines and the political reform processes leading up to them in order to open up the magnitude of experiences of education reforms thus become the center of attention. This also includes that a concrete school reform can be understood as a magnitude of different reforms depending on the local recontextualizing and on the perspective with regard to the social position of the local actors experiencing such recontextualizing processes (Bernstein 2000). The challenges for Historians of Education and State thus include the question of how to include marginalized voices of education when researching education policy, not least the voices from the school practice level, such as teachers and students, but also in the sense of

voices from minoritized and subordinate positions with regard to for instance class, gender and racialization and the intersections between them (e.g. Proctor & Driscoll 2017; Li 2018; Buchardt 2019).

A possible source for giving voice to such marginalized and subordinate voices is to include the methodological practice of oral history when doing education policy history (McLeod 2016). However, this implicates the risk of over-reproducing the present-day perspective and thus present-day mentalities and power structures. Another possible source material is the ever increasing amount of qualitative data material, e.g. interviews, surveys and observations collected 'back in time', in school settings as part of the social engineering of the modern states. During the 20th century an increasing amount of data was hence collected in the context of a wide range of state institutions, and in the case of the state education system such data have for instance been produced in experimental educational projects, meaning that data were either accumulated as documentation of the pedagogical experiments that took place or as a knowledge base paving the way for designing pedagogical experiments, or both (Latham 2000; Hansen & Jespersen 2008; Buchardt 2012). Here the actors were often university scholars and teachers in collaboration, and in several cases the data collected contain an attempt to uncover the students' experience. Thus such data from experimental projects also offer new opportunities to uncover and write local and power-sensitive social histories of education policy while mirroring hidden power struggles and interests at the time the data bodies were collected. These need to be explored along with a re-analysis of the empirical collections in question.

This panel session thus aims at discussing, firstly, new methodological ways to approach a social history of education policies taking its point of departure in methods to include marginalized voices from the street level of and surrounding education institutions through rethinking source collection and source construction, and secondly, how such methodologies can facilitate a scholarly turn from education policy history and into a social history of education politics sensitive to power structures, power negotiations and power struggles beyond the parliament.

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### **Working With And Against The Welfare System. Greek Post-war Migrants Raising Children With Disability In Australia**

Helen Proctor (The University of Sydney), Ilektra Spandagou (The University of Sydney)

More than 200,000 people who identified as culturally Greek migrated to Australia between 1947 and 1977, and for many the transition involved movement from rural, close-knit communities into the large bureaucratised cities of Sydney and Melbourne. Concentrating on the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, this paper is an early product of a new oral history project about the experiences of post-war Greek origin migrants who are now the parents of adult children with disabilities, examining their understandings and recollections of "disability" and migration. The project looks at the life span of these participants within what we theorise as "community": a community that was left behind, and a new community that was created in the new country and still changes and evolves. The parents and their children are approached as active creators of community, both in making meaning and also in defining what is possible. This paper reports how parents, mainly mothers, recall their early interactions in Australia with schoolteachers and paraprofessionals involved in their children's education and care. We are especially interested in how the interviewees represent the networks and supports available to them, and the constructions of disability they formulated at different times in navigating institutional-policy systems of diagnosis and education.

Partly this is a conventional "recuperative" oral history project (Sangster 2016) and our dissemination strategy encompasses celebratory community activity such as a presentation at the annual Sydney Greek Festival. In a more critical vein, we propose that centralising these ostensibly marginal voices offers opportunities to challenge dominant understandings of key concepts within "mainstream" fields.

As a project in which education history meets disability studies, we embrace the possibility of speaking to present practical concerns, rather than seeing present perspectives as antithetical to good history. We aim to use historical tools to contribute to a literature of contemporary disability that is "reflexive and politicised" (e.g. Goodley et al 2019). Our focus on the local interactions between migrant parents and school employees responds to a call by education historians Myers et al (2018) for a new grounded engagement with the detail and complexity of migrant experience that attends to intercultural encounter and decentres (although does not ignore) the nation-making narratives of high level policy change. The project also speaks to theorisations of the twentieth century Keynesian state that focus on the distinctive Australian politics of state-facilitated citizen participation in the so called



“democratic-participative” era of Australian public administration, i.e. the 1970s and 1980s (Yeatman 1990). During this period state and federal governments met calls for increased community voice from various quarters including both migrant and parent organisations, with the development of new mechanisms to enable citizen participation under certain conditions.

In this paper we examine how the participants in our study describe and make sense, decades later, how they navigated state or quasi state institutional systems through everyday encounters with “street level” employees (Lipsky 1980) that addressed them as either or both migrants and parents, under the shifting contemporary policy regimes and classificatory practices of “multiculturalism” and “special education”.

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### **Schooling “Foreign Workers’ Children”. Experiencing Class Between Written Curriculum And Practiced School Politics In Oral Histories Of Former Students**

Jin Hui Li (Aalborg University)

In the current moral panic discourses on how students with migratory histories (particularly students perceived as non-western descendants) are not performing well enough in education in a Danish context (Fabrin & Buchardt, 2015; Gilliam, 2009) there is an embedded assumption of the need for an upward class mobility through education for this group of students. Historically, Danish education politics have since the 1970s targeted these groups of students as groups needing extracurricular education efforts for inclusion (Buchardt, 2016). In the 1970s’ education policy, these groups of students were labeled “foreign workers’ children”. The students were often the children of migrant guest workers who took part in the so-called “guest worker programs” from the early 1960s. These programs were created in response to an increased demand for manual labor in Northern European nation-states caused by the economic boom, which the workforce was insufficient in numbers to fulfill. The children of migrants entered the Danish schools as many of the guest worker migrants achieved family reunification with their families and settled permanently. Alongside the increased numbers of migrant students from the 1970s and onwards, numbers of interventions and policies (both national and international) for integration have been targeting this particular group. In the media, policy and pedagogical materials catering to this group tended to emphasize the “foreign part” (often interpreted as foreign ethnic culture) of the foreign workers’ children (Buchardt, 2016) and did not focus on “the worker part” of it. There seem to be some historical tensions between the societal expectation of class mobility through education on one hand and the neglect of issues of class in the curriculum of schooling

for migrant students on the other. Using oral histories of migrant students' experiences of schooling in the Danish context from the 1970s to 1990s this paper seeks to unfold the tensions through the migrant students' own voices. Methodologically, that means giving voice to minoritized positions whose 'ordinary' experiences usually are not heard in standard histories (McLeod, 2016). This is done by exploring how the migrant student has been experiencing the lived class (Skeggs, 1997) as the tensions between the written curriculum where class is a neglected issue and the practices of school politics where class is experienced by students as intersecting with racialization. The term racialization refers to how the category of race is created through a complex historical sedimentation process that classifies and sets boundaries (Myong, 2007). Hence, I analyze migrant students' lived experiences of class and how these class experiences interlock with race. Furthermore, I examine how the historical interlocking of class and race is (re)produced over time in Danish schooling from the 1970s to 1990s. Therefore this paper deals with history of education politics through not only analyzing the processes of how class is lived but also how schooling becomes part of the circumstances of possibility that make class (Skeggs, 2004).

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### **Political Projects Of Schooling And Remaking Young People. Narrative Memory And Policy Histories Of Alternative Schooling In The 1970s**

Julie Elizabeth McLeod (The University of Melbourne)

This paper explores the memory narratives of young people, now in mid-life, who were students at alternative or radical schools in the 1970s, considering these accounts in critical dialogue with policy reforms at the time, commentaries on deschooling, and a new wave of equality and social movement politics infusing educational agendas. Radical critiques of conventional schooling were matched with optimism in the potential of education to disrupt entrenched power inequalities. Student-led curriculum, participatory learning and less hierarchical relations between teachers and students were advocated, along with broader calls for schooling to become more democratic, with the socially transformative potential of education at the forefront. The personal was political and it was pedagogical (McLeod 2019). Memories of a golden-age political project in which education was a site of empowerment are counter-posed to regrets for lost personal and political opportunities and a mixed sense of cultural injury (McLeod 2016). The social and interpersonal dimensions of those experiences remain powerful – an emphasis on freedom, community, individual voice and relentless self-responsibility – and such motifs continue to shape former students' values and orientations to work and choice-making. They intersect with and amplify potent memories of schooling as a narrative of youthful becoming and complicate the construction of policy histories and the emotional life of schooling, dramatizing the ways in which the educational present inherits and is constituted by emotional legacies – hope, nostalgia, bitterness, sentimentality, loss.

Noting the 1970s as a period of educational experiment, this paper examines the ambivalences felt by young people who were the subjects of this social movement, rescued from the constraints of conventional schooling. These memories narratives are cut through with gender and class differentiation, complicated by the mix of state community and private progressive schooling and the social purpose and promise of such schools – from therapeutic self-discovery to re-engagement of marginalised students. Methodologically, it tackles the challenge of 1) juxtaposing different forms of archival and personal memory, zooming in and zooming out from the biographical to the social without mystifying either; and 2) navigating the temporality of memory, which, while a persistent dilemma for oral histories (e.g. Perks and Thomson 2016), has particular resonances for the construction of past and present educational imaginaries. Conceptually, it proposes that notions of collective nostalgia and forgetting offer fruitful points of entry for navigating these challenges and for tracing the movement of memory across generations. Nostalgia is not always or only about the past, as Boym (2001) argues: Nostalgia 'can be retrospective but also prospective. Fantasies of the past determined by the needs of the present have a direct impact on realities of the future'. Further, Koselleck's (2004) categories of 'space of experience' and 'horizon of expectation' bring analytical attention 'to the assimilation of the past into the present ... and to the 'future made present'. These approaches are engaged to help understand biographical memory of schooling, alongside generational and cultural memory of educational reform and possibilities as part of the social history of educational politics.

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## **Experimental Projects In The Nordic Welfare States As Source For Social History Of Education Politics From The 1970s Onwards**

Mette Buchardt (Aalborg University)

Experimental projects and the teachers and researchers involved in them have in the Nordic states played a central role in implementing as well as pushing for education reform. Since the decades following WWII, e.g. the Swedish and the Danish state increasingly used experimental schools and experimental projects to implement and detail reforms and to solve educational and societal challenge through more or less science-based experiments (e.g. Richardson 2010). This development was continued in the late 1960s and during the 1970s. In respectively Sweden with the school act of 1962, followed up in 1969, and Denmark, starting out in 1958-62 and culminating in the school act of 1975, education reforms were passed for the primary and lower secondary school, both reform processes being part of creating a comprehensive school “for all” in line with the broader political goals in the mainly Social Democrat-led Nordic welfare states during the 20th century (Mediås et al 2006; Buchardt, Markkola & Valtonen 2013).

In Sweden, Skolöverstyrelsen financed and co-organized experimental projects, often in collaboration with, designed by and carried out by staff members from the in-service training institution for teachers in Stockholm, Lärarhögskolan, among them projects aiming to produce knowledge on the children’s so-called “life questions” based on organized production of children’s texts as a means to implement the pedagogical principle of MAKIS, the abbreviation for Motivation – Activity – Concretizing – Individualization – Cooperation, that was stipulated in the education reform of 1962, a concept also designed by scholars from the in-service institution for teachers in Stockholm (Hartman, Pettersson & Westling 1973).

In Denmark, similar interests in the experience and life world of children were a significant goal for many experimental projects from the 1960s onwards, including professional and academic interests in the experience and “background” of immigrant children in the Danish school system that increased from the late 1970s. The Danmarks Lærerhøjskole [Royal Danish School of Education], the Danish in-service institution for teachers, minor experimental projects and reports were produced in connection with the courses that aimed at qualifying teachers for instructing what was seen as a new group of pupils in the Danish welfare state school, described as “foreign pupils” and “foreign-language pupils”, often pointing to their different and split cultural background (Arbejdsrapporter 1980-81; Buchardt 2018).

Based on the two cases, the paper seeks to discuss how the archives of experimental projects including their data collection can serve as a source to understand bottom-up production of education and curricular politics. More specifically, it addresses 1) how teachers and researchers (categories that were sometimes overlapping) who took part in the experimental projects as street-level political actors can be understood in intersections and dilemmas between supporting the state and disobeying and challenging the state (Lundgren 1979; Hofstetter & Schneuwly 2002; Brodtkin 2012) and 2) how this shaped the goals of giving voice to the dominated within the school institution: “children” as a generalized and celebrated category and minoritized children as a particular and problematized category.

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## **02-SES 01: SOCIAL INTERACTIONS AS CATALYSTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN SCHOOL FORM**

Preformed Panel (English, French)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Giorgia Masoni (HEP VAUD), Anja Giudici (University of Oxford)

### **Social Interactions As Catalysts For The Development Of The Modern School Form**

This panel focuses on the implementation and massification of public education during the 19th and early 20th centuries in the West understood as a priority social concern by the emerging nation states. While for Vincent (2008), the appearance of the modern school form is firstly a change in the modes of transmission of knowledge, Schneuwly and Hofstetter (2017) consider necessary to go beyond this conception to conceive the school form as an "all-encompassing social whole" (p. 162). Indeed, "this new school form, known as the modern one, while marked by the emergence of the elementary school, is part of a context influenced by the bourgeoisie's raise to power, the Industrial Revolution, the

struggles for democracy and the widespread access to education" (Tinembart, 2020, forthcoming). The modern school form thus assumes three dimensions: the accessibility to education for all for a given period; the development and organization of school knowledge gradually structured into subjects and the deployment of means adapted to its transmission, that goes hand in hand with the professionalization of teachers. The development of public education thereby led to new specific forms of relationships. Thus, an analysis focused only on the pedagogical relationship involving teachers and pupils is no longer enough and needs to be extended to other interactions involving the various actors in education (school and political authorities, parents, pedagogues, etc.). The exchanges between these multiple actors, coming from the educational world as much as the political or economic ones, alter the teaching methods and means, the material infrastructures, etc. While at first glance these elements seem to standardize gradually, their reappropriation depends on their relying political, economic and social context (Fontaine, 2015). The aim of this symposium is therefore to question the transnational circulation and the reappropriation of school knowledges, their methods and means of transmission. Drawing on the cultural transfers theory (Espagne, 1999) and socio-historical perspectives, the contributors will show that the implementation of the modern school form and its components assumes, on the one hand, regional, national and transnational specificities and, on the other hand, is also highly dependent on social interactions between the concerned actors. We hypothesize that these interactions act as catalysts for the transformation and renewal of the methods, teaching resources and material infrastructures necessary for the massification of public education.

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### **From School Administration To School Policy – Mass Schooling And Modernization In 19th Century Costa Rica**

Marianne Helfenberger (University of Zürich)

According to Costa Rican historiography, massification of education has been one of the main objectives to all statesmen since independence from Spain in 1821 (e.g. Quesada Camacho, 1997). Indeed, most of the yearly presidential speeches at Congress emphasize the government's engagement in education claiming that education is utterly important for society and republicanism. Insofar, Costa Rica is to be considered as another 19th century occidental new nation-state. Despite



knowledge circulation and cultural transfer between Costa Rica, Europe and the USA, the Costa Rican context in which education and schools underwent modernization differs significantly from the European one. Descendants from Spanish colonists, bourgeois and noblemen gained local power and formed elite groups with a cultural background based on colonial experience and thus different from European bourgeoisie. Industrialization began late in the 20th century and the political democracy understood in its modern meaning was not at stake during the 19th century. Also, modern schooling's characteristics need to be contextualized (Tinembart, 2020, forthcoming). As in pre-revolutionary Europe towards the end of the 18th century (e.g. De Vincenti, 2015 for the Swiss case), a first significant educational expansion followed the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy from 1812, thus taking place before independence. Education became constitutionally compulsory for boys and girls in 1869; a fact that has been interpreted as democratization in the sense of political democracy due to Costa Rica's narrative of a historical dependency between democracy and education (e.g. Zelaya, 1986). General and timely specified accessibility to school knowledge, progressive organization of school knowledges in subjects, school media and teacher professionalization did not historically coincide with each other nor did they follow a pre-determined program. General accessibility to a commonly shared knowledge base was not de jure given even after the modernizing reform of 1886. Starting from these historical developments, this paper focuses on knowledge transfer and circulation that underwent a twofold re-semanticization (Fontaine, 2015) process: political elites juxtaposed foreign concepts to local political and social practices and concepts of school and school organization. Thus, our thesis is that school as social activity gradually transformed from a government's administrative to a political task and state affair. This paper seeks to answer the question: how did (political) context, actors and modernizing factors contribute to the re-semanticization of school organization in 19th century Costa Rica and what are the remaining continuities? The answer will be looked for within state documents from Costa Rica National Archives, newspaper articles among others.

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### **"Productive Appropriations" Of Tools And Plans For Individualized Learning: Transatlantic Cultural Transfers In The Early 20th Century**

Marie Vergnon (Université de Caen)

While at the beginning of the 20th century the teaching as a simultaneous lecture organized "in curriculum grades" (Perrenoud, 2010, p. 103) had become the dominant form, in a context in which

the instruction of all was a major and shared concern, some pedagogues considered the need to take every individual into account. Thus, in the progressive and new education movement especially, the first tools and plans for individualized learning emerged in an attempt to take into account individuals' specificities within the classroom. Among the pedagogical proposals that "challenged the structures and rules that constitute the grammar of schooling" – understood as "the organizational framework that shapes the conditions under which teachers instruct students" (Tyack & Tobin, 1994, p. 455) –, Tyack & Tobin (1994) cite Helen Parkhurst's Dalton Plan. Indeed, according to the authors, "Parkhurst challenged essential components of the graded school in which teachers sought to instruct pupils en masse in the prescribed curriculum." (p.463). The laboratory plan and assignments designed by Helen Parkhurst as well as the self-correcting individual work files developed by Carleton W. Washburne are two American examples of these pedagogical attempts that quickly found echoes in Europe (Vergnon, 2020, forthcoming). As a counterpoint to the construction of a new dominant norm of "school form" and its variations in an international circulation of ideas and practices, an equally international reflection has grown on how to take everyone into consideration beyond the instruction of all. Why and how did these proposals originate in the United States? What were the vectors of their diffusion towards Europe? What interest did European educationists find in them with regard to their own problems and contexts of exercise? How did they appropriate them? These questions will guide our study of some of the "productive appropriation[s]" (Lüsebrink, 2003) to which these pedagogical proposals from the United States have given rise in Europe in this "dynamic of resemantisation" (Espagne, 2013).

#### **“Appropriations Productives” D’Outils Et Dispositifs D’Individualisation : Transferts Culturels Transatlantiques Au Début Du 20<sup>ème</sup> Siècle**

Alors qu’au début du 20<sup>ème</sup> siècle l’enseignement magistral simultané organisé « en degrés de programme » (Perrenoud, 2010, p.103) se fait dominant, dans un contexte où l’instruction de tous constitue une préoccupation majeure et partagée, certains pédagogues se posent la question de la prise en compte de chacun. Ainsi émergent, dans le mouvement de l’Education nouvelle notamment, les premiers outils et dispositifs d’individualisation des apprentissages pour tenter de prendre en compte les individus dans leurs spécificités dans les classes. Au nombre des propositions pédagogiques qui « remettent en cause les structures et les règles qui constituent la "grammaire" de l’éducation scolaire » - entendue comme « le système organisationnel qui sculpte les cadres dans lesquels les enseignants instruisent leurs élèves » (Tyack & Tobin, 1994, p.455) -, Tyack & Tobin (1994) citent ainsi le Plan Dalton d’Helen Parkhurst. En effet, pour les auteurs, « Parkhurst a remis en question des éléments constitutifs de la structure scolaire en degrés dans laquelle les enseignants cherchaient à enseigner aux élèves *en masse* le programme prescrit. » (p.463). Le fonctionnement en laboratoires et le plan de travail imaginés par Helen Parkhurst mais aussi les fichiers de travail individuel autocorrectifs élaborés par Carleton W. Washburne sont deux exemples américains de ces tentatives pédagogiques qui trouvèrent rapidement des échos en Europe (Vergnon, à paraître en 2020). En contrepoint de la construction d’une nouvelle norme dominante de la « forme scolaire » et de ses déclinaisons dans les circulations internationales se développe une réflexion tout aussi internationale sur la manière de faire une place à chacun au-delà de l’accueil de tous. Pourquoi et comment ces propositions sont-elles nées aux Etats-Unis ? Quels ont été les vecteurs de leur diffusion vers l’Europe ? Quel intérêt les européens ont-ils pu y trouver au regard de leurs propres problématiques et contextes d’exercice ? Comment se les sont-ils appropriés ? Ces questions guideront notre étude de certaines des « appropriation[s] productive[s] » (Lüsebrink, 2003) auxquelles ces propositions pédagogiques venues des États-Unis ont pu donner lieu en Europe dans cette « dynamique de resémantisation » (Espagne, 2013).

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## **Towards A First Democratization Of The Modern School Form: The Experience Of Mutual Education In Switzerland (1816-1830)**

Sylviane Tinembart (HEP Vaud), Giorgia Masoni (HEP Vaud)

During the first half of the 19th century, several Swiss cantons implemented the mutual education system developed in England by Bell and Lancaster. By circulating between various cultural areas, mutualism led to reinterpretations of its modalities and initial components (Tinembart & Pahud, 2019). The observation of the implementation of this method in the "educational laboratory" that Switzerland was at the time, represents a privileged field of study for understanding the process of building the modern school form. Developed and used as an answer to different economic, social and cultural necessities, mutual teaching, and especially the discussions, disagreements and dissents that followed it, seem to have played a leading role in the debates on the need to institute public education. Moreover, this pedagogical experience encouraged a reflection on the choice of school knowledge selection and its methods and means of transmission. While adopting an approach inspired by prosopography, this paper aims to retrace the many exchanges and decisions taken by the various actors involved in the development of mutual education in selected Swiss cantons between 1816 and 1830. Through the theory of cultural transfers, the study of the development, experience and controversies linked to mutual education schools allows to understand the declination of this teaching method and the reasons for this choice, while underlining the role played by the focused actors and their works in this dynamic, whose character is purely transcantonal and transnational. On the basis of this approach, several sources will be analyzed: the programs of several mutual schools, the private correspondence of the concerned actors, school books, newspapers and several archive sources linked to the cantonal administrations concerned. This paper will identify the leading role that mutual education has played in introducing a reflection on public schools into the public debate, and in particular in the development of public schools, as well as the political, economic and cultural challenges underlying the modernization of the State. Thus, while adopting a national focus, the study of the Swiss case will allow to grasp the points of continuity and those of global and international changes linked to the movement for the democratization of public education.

## **Vers Une Première Démocratisation De La Forme Scolaire Moderne : L'Expérience De L'Enseignement Mutuel En Suisse (1816-1830)**

Au cours de la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, plusieurs cantons suisses ont mis en œuvre l'enseignement mutuel développé en Angleterre par Bell et Lancaster. En circulant entre des aires culturelles diverses, le mutualisme a abouti à des réinterprétations de ses modalités et de ses composantes initiales (Tinembart & Pahud, 2019). L'observation de l'implantation de cette méthode dans le « laboratoire pédagogique » qu'est la Suisse à l'époque, représente un champ d'étude privilégié pour la compréhension de la mise en place du processus d'édification de la forme scolaire moderne. Déployé et utilisé comme réponse à des nécessités économiques, sociales et culturelles différentes, l'enseignement mutuel et notamment les discussions, les désaccords et les dissidences qui l'ont accompagné, semblent avoir joué un rôle moteur dans les débats sur la nécessité d'instituer l'Instruction publique. De plus, cette expérience pédagogique favorise le déclenchement d'une réflexion relative aux choix des savoirs scolaires et des leurs méthodes et moyens de transmission. Tout en adoptant une démarche inspirée de la prosopographie cette communication vise à retracer les multiples échanges et les décisions prises par les divers acteurs impliqués dans le développement de l'enseignement mutuel dans certains cantons suisses entre 1816 et 1830.

Par le biais de la théorie des transferts culturels (Espagne, 1999 ; Fontaine, 2015), l'étude du développement, de l'expérience et des controverses liés aux écoles d'enseignement mutuel permet de comprendre la déclinaison de cette méthode d'enseignement et les raisons de ce choix, tout en soulignant le rôle joué par certains personnages et certains ouvrages dans cette dynamique dont le caractère est purement transcantonal et transnational. Sur la base de cette approche seront ainsi analysées des sources différentes, à savoir les programmes de plusieurs écoles mutuelles, les correspondances privés des acteurs étudiés, les ouvrages scolaires, plusieurs journaux et plusieurs sources d'archive liés aux administrations cantonales concernées. La communication proposée permettra de cerner le rôle moteur que l'enseignement mutuel a eu dans l'introduction au sein du débat public de la réflexion sur l'école publique et notamment dans le développement de celle-ci, ainsi que les défis politiques, économiques et culturels à la base de la modernisation de l'État. Ainsi, tout en adoptant une focale nationale, l'étude du cas suisse saisira les points de continuité des changements globaux et d'envergure internationale liés au mouvement de démocratisation de l'Instruction publique.

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## **03-SES 01: ADULT EDUCATION: EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS, U3AS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Anne Elisabeth Berg (Uppsala universitet)

## **Reconstruction of Beixia Countryside by Jiangsu Provincial Education College**

Hongying liu Hongying liu (Jiangnan university)

Denmark is the birthplace of popular education, which originated in the 1830s. Popular education targeted youth and adults as educational objects, and its main purpose was to improve humanistic quality. It swept across northern Europe in the 1880s and rose in China's rural construction movement in the late 1920s. Jiangsu provincial Education College was the first local university in modern China aiming at training teachers for Popular education. The wuxi Beixia public education experimental area was founded in 1932, which carried out effective reconstruction of the Beixia countryside. It can be said that Jiangsu Provincial Education College linked education with society closely in the process of running a school. At present, researches on universities and rural construction mainly focus on the experimental areas established by comprehensive universities or missionary universities such as Yenching University, Daxia university, Jinan university and sun yat-sen university, while the research on local universities and rural construction lacks attention. In addition, there are only sporadic discussions on Beixia public education experimental area. And its setting background, operation status and basic features are still very vague, so no in-depth research has been carried out. Therefore, this paper takes Beixia public education experimental area as the research object, investigating its setting background, experimental purpose and process, especially focusing on its reconstruction of the Beixia rural society. The results show that under the auspices of the Jiangsu Provincial Education College, Beixia public education experimental area established a public education system in which children's education, youth education and adult education were interrelated. Secondly, Beixia public education experimental area also taught people production knowledge and skills and set up production cooperatives, which improved people's livelihood. Finally, based on the prevalence of bad habits such as gambling and drug abuse in the countryside, Beixia public education experimental area took the public school and the newspaper "new Beixia" as the tools to guide the public to reject the bad habits and live a healthy and full life. History is a mirror and its historical experience is of great significance for understanding the interaction between Chinese universities and society.

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## **From elite language to vernaculars of the masses - Scandinavian Human Rights Education during the early Cold War**

Kjersti Brathagen (University of Southeastern Norway)

Human rights arguably constituted a language of international elites during the early Cold War (Moyn 2010). These elites outlined different projects for how to disseminate knowledge and understanding of human rights as part of their efforts to shape a future peace. One avenue they identified was mass education, and the idea that human rights should become part of the curriculum. Organised transnationally, teachers reportedly embraced the project, but had "a clear preference ... for a task

freely undertaken by them according to their own lights, rather than for a mission imposed on them from the outside” (UNESCO 1952). Teachers became translators of the elite language into ‘vernaculars’ for use in national educational efforts. This paper looks at how Scandinavian teachers and other actors involved in education understood human rights and their arguments for how best to teach them to children of different ages. At times, they had the support of others with particular interest in the dissemination of human rights knowledge; e.g. Adolf Sandbo’s activities in Norway to disseminate the Universal Declaration in a revised form (Brathagen 2018). Situated in Scandinavia, this study allows for discussions of the translation of international human rights into a social and political context dominated at the time by Social Democratic ideas.

This paper draws on archival materials and open sources from the years prior to the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights until the mid-1950s. This is a period that is somewhat understudied in the history of Human Rights Education, often presented as starting in the 1970s. Here, it is argued that it takes many narratives to constitute the history of such phenomena and that periods of interest to historians will vary with geographical location (Jensen and Burke (2017). For these three states, the years immediately after World War II offers an interesting time in terms of the introduction of human rights education as a change in how to teach international affairs in schools. In terms of relevance for today, the question of how to teach human rights remains at the heart of international politics, e.g. in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. Not founded on a belief in history as a provider of instrumental examples to be reapplied in the present, the paper does align with Collingwood’s ideas of history as a gateway to improved understanding of the human condition (Collingwood 1994). It puts an emphasis on human agency in the changing of social structures, including when the projects to do so come ‘from above’.

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### **'Putting Social Inclusiveness Back Into U3A And Adult Education: Laslett's Theory And Vision For OPE In Later 20th Century'**

Margaret McDonough-Glenn (University of Sydney)

This paper concerns the history of the University of the Third Age (U3A) in Britain and Australia. It is particularly interested in the development and attempted implementation of the ideas of Peter Laslett, a strong influence in the 1980s and 1990s on the development of adult education in Britain and subsequently in Australia, one of the turns in the history of education.



The history of adult education, and U3A in particular, needs rethinking. Peter Laslett co-founder of the British Model of the University of the Third Age hoped that all members of society would participate in the new educational institutions he proposed, and not just a minority from the educated middle class. From the early nineteenth-century onwards, adult education in Britain and Australia involved few from the working class in organisations such as Mechanics Institutes, University Extension courses and even Workers Education Associations; they were mostly attended by the educated middle class. However, despite the best intentions behind Laslett ideas to include poorer adults, the majority of participants of U3A were yet again drawn from the educated middle class.

Peter Laslett's theory and vision about socially inclusive education for adults of all classes, as expressed through such works as his 1989 publication 'A Fresh Map of Life – The Emergence of the Third Age' and his May 1980 report, 'The education of the elderly in Britain' has been neglected by academics and some U3A's. The University of the Third Age has been his legacy. Yet, in a final section, this paper examines the reasons for the lack of success in the method of implementation of U3A in Australia and Britain to be more socially inclusive despite its promising beginnings.

This paper is informed by the ideas of Gita Steiner Khamsi (2004) who as a contributor to the field of knowledge transfer creates architectures of intellectual influence regarding education. Even though these expressions of adult education such as U3A were not representative of British society, they were British inventions which had Australian versions which Steiner Khamsi would call borrowings. These Australian versions, borrowings were examples of knowledge transfer can be examined through the lens of transnational history.

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### **Adult and Non-Formal Education A Justification for Accessing Human Rights in Nigeria in the 21st Century**

Hannah Adebola Aderonke Okediji (Member of History of Education Society of Nigeria (HOEDSON) and ISCHE)

Human rights are the legitimate benefits accrued to a citizen of a particular nation, or society. Adult and Non-Formal Education as an aspect of education has the potential to impart knowledge and skills on citizens who have never being to school or left formal school early, but need a second opportunity to learn. It also serves those who are educated, but are ignorant in certain area of skills. This study therefore probes into the rate at which the citizens of Nigeria have access to adult and non-formal education as a fundamental human right, and the justification of the policies on the beneficiaries in Nigeria. Historical Research design was adopted for the study. Data were collected and analyzed by

using primary and secondary sources of information. The study focused on historical background of Adult and Non Formal Education in Nigeria; Establishment of the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education, Policy issues on Adult and Non-Formal Education, and Human rights in Nigeria in the 21st century and constraints of accessing Adult and Non-Formal Education as human rights in Nigeria in the 21st C. Extent of Access to Adult And Non-formal Education as a human right in Nigeria in the 21st century and offer few recommendations. The findings of the study revealed that: the primary purpose of adult and non-formal education is to justify that, Nigeria is a signatory to the global declaration on "Education For All". Government was giving opportunity to the poor people in the society to access education it provided, functional and basic education for adults and youths, provided remedial and lifelong education for youths and adults as well as in-service training as contained in the Nigerian constitution; National Policy on Education. Vocational and professional training for different categories of workers: NMEC was established by Decree 1 of 1990 to eradicate illiteracy for national development, and provide non-formal continuing and lifelong education. 7.3 million children were out of school, 60 percent of them were girls, mostly from the northern Nigeria, according to FME. Baseline Report of 2004. The adult literacy level in Nigeria is still low, considering the teeming population of non-literates and semi-literates in the country. Moreso, when compared to the set target of 50 percent reduction of illiteracy by 2015 by the UN international Literacy Decade, between 2003- 2015 specification. Constraints like inadequate funding, personnel and mobility, infrastructural decays, inadequate use of ICT, religious barriers, quality assurance problems, health and domestic problems among others have hampered access to adult and non-formal education as a human right in Nigeria in the 21st century.

It is therefore recommended that, government and other stakeholders should stop paying lip service to policies made on access to adult and non formal education. There should be enough funding, personnel, ICT and other infrastructural facilities, training and re training programmes should be organized for facilitators, instructors and administrators in the programme. Sensitization and public awareness programmes should be rampant for mobilizing the various communities for enrolment among others.

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#### **04-SES 01: TRANSFER AND BORROWING IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Joakim Landahl (Institutionen för pedagogik och didaktik)

#### **Sino-German Higher Education Cooperation in Scientific and Technological Field (1921-1941)**

Xueyuan Han (Georg-Eckert Institute)

The May Fourth Movement broke out in 1919 in China out of the objection against the Versailles contract which transferred German privileges in Shandong to Japan. What happened in Paris made the Chinese desire for national improvement fervent. The backwardness of China and the advancement of western powers were ascribed eventually to ideology. Traditional thoughts represented by Confucianism was criticized severely and was regarded as the root cause hindering the progress of China. The supremacy of Confucianism was replaced by "science" and "democracy" from western. The productive function of natural science and applied technologies, scientific spirit; empirical research methods were advocated during this time. People were required no more follow ancient sages but to be in an independent mind and maximize their potential which was the prerequisite to fulfil democracy. "The May Fourth Movement has been portrayed as a turning point in Chinese history, a moment in which modernity and enlightenment arrived in China."

During a period of radical change in thoughts and because of the scarcity of industrial professionals, like managers, entrepreneurs, engineers, technicians and other members on the directing staff, resulting from the development of national capitalism since the late Qing Dynasty, especially during the Great War, the educational system should coordinate with social evolution. In 1922, Renxu School System was promulgated, which was known by its practicality and flexibility, stressing vocational and professional education and considering regional speciality and individual development fully. After that, engineering majors achieved finally the same status as liberal arts and science at university. Also, students at professional colleges could obtain comparable qualifications as university graduates. The changes in the school system were not just a response to social demands but indicated also people's attitude towards studying science and applied technologies converted.

Germany, its experience of rising rapidly in Europe and its powerful military and industrial strength gave the Chinese an impressive image. Early during the Westernization Movement from the 1860s to

the 1890s, German industrial products and technology were imported in China. Besides, students and craftsmen were also sent directly by the Qing government to Germany to learn military management and weapon manufacturing. After the Great War, Germany lost all its privileges in China, which made it different for Chinese compared with other western powers. Furthermore, with the signature of the Sino-German Treaty in 1921 completed based on equality, it did establish the basis for almost two decades of strong diplomatic and economic ties between China and Germany. In the educational field, it can describe the exchange of both sides from three aspects, Chinese students studying in Germany (going out), German professors teaching in China (bringing in), and the initiatives of supportive organizations (bridge).

By the research on the educational communication between China and Germany, it can reveal how politics and economy give influence education and what role education plays in social and national development.

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### **Tomé Rodrigues Sobral Scientific links with Sweden and Europe**

Aires Antunes Diniz (Not Affiliated)

Joannis Antonnis Scopoli, that initially marked Coimbra Chemistry Teaching after University Pombal Reform, is mainly a Botanic as we can see at Fundamenta Botanica published in Vienna at 1786 by Wapplerum Bibliopolam. He was syntonised with Coimbra University Professor Domenico Vandelli, that was also a botanic and chemist, that was highlighted from Upsala received a letter from Carl Nilsson Linnæus written at 12 February 1765.

At a recent work about Professor Tomé Rodrigues Sobral we can see how development of Chemistry in Coimbra through scientific texts of this Professor was deeply indebted to Swedish Chemists. Sobral

taught Chemistry since 1791 until death 1829, being our first chemist and we see read books and articles of leading European scientist at theoretical and practical chemistry.

It was a powerful strategy to break Portuguese scientific dependence from Scopoli, enlarging also Portuguese links to European Science, confirming that globalization can be done by voyages and personal letters, interconnecting global history with microhistory. At this process, it was important commercial relations, as we can see through accounting books where weighs in different places was compared with Lisbon measures, a basis fundamental for commerce of chemical products and also of scientific magazines and books, and so for science transmission. Indeed, to open Portugal to Scientific Research practices was fundamental to read magazines and books from other parts of Europe, breaking our dependence with Stahl phlogiston theory.

Tomé Rodrigues Sobral argued also about social interest of Chemistry to develop Portuguese industry and save many Coimbra inhabitants from illness on account of First French invasion at 1808. All show us that Pombal Reform aims Portugal Industrialization, that was understood as an axis to guide teaching and research, permitting a scarce Institutionalisation of Chemistry in Portugal, but always within an articulation with European Science sustained by chemical jobs creation, that was foreseen at Coimbra University Statutes (Ferraz b), 1998, p. 33) and predicted by Humphry Davy at 1802. So, he cited frequently Jöns Jacob Berzelius, that was known in Sweden as "the Father of Swedish Chemistry", Carl Wilhelm Scheele, a Swedish Pomeranian and German pharmaceutical chemist; Torbern Olof Bergman, Swedish chemist and naturalist who introduced many improvements on Chemistry Analysis and made important advances in the theory of crystal structure, anticipating Pasteur works.

But, Sobral aims also to develop industrial process to substitute imports from other industrial countries of North Europe and also to protect more efficiently Portuguese people health preparing chemical products for industry and Medicine.

So, we can see how Swedish Science influence Portuguese Science through medicine and pharmaceuticals. But industrial development of glass depends upon attraction of industrial entrepreneur like brothers Stephen as a consequence of affirmative action by Marquis of Pombal. He also wanted to develop extractive industry and thermal use of mineral waters as a manner to develop our countryside.

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## **Soviet Education As Grassroots Educational Movement In Post-war Japan**

Ami Kobayashi (University Landau)

After the Second World War, ideas of both new education and Soviet education were reintroduced to Japan under the label of “New Democratic Education.” The Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, however, initiated a red purge in Japan, leading to the elimination of socialist ideas from the official educational program.

Nevertheless, Soviet education, especially the educational ideas of A. S. Makarenko (1888-1939), continued to inspire left-wing educational scientists as well as the Japanese Teachers Union, particularly teachers in the countryside tackling poverty caused by the War. Many of these teachers were practitioners of a new education movement, the so-called “Northern Education.” While the inter-war new education movement in Japan mainly attracted and targeted middle-class children in urban areas, the “Northern Education” targeted poor children in the countryside in the northern part of Japan. By letting children write about their own daily life, teachers tried to discuss and solve the social problems of pupils. On one hand, these teachers rejected the education during the war. On the other hand, they could not deal with the “individualistic” US-American educational approach either. Those teachers welcomed Makarenko’s education, in which the concept of the self-governing child collective played a central role. For those Japanese teachers it appeared to be a good mixture of disciplinary and child-centered education. Though they did not use the term “Soviet education,” magazines of the Teachers’ Union show that teachers used the term “collective” in the sense of Soviet education and saw it as a means of tackling the governmental and capitalistic educational program which, according to the Teachers’ Union, led only to social alienation.

Though a “collective” mentality is often described as being “typical” or “traditional” to the character of Japanese school education, I argue that the “collective behavior” in the Japanese school setting is actually the outcome of the entangled history of post-war education, which was full of conflicts and negotiations in the context of the Cold War. Using the teachers’ magazine “生活指導 (Life Guidance),” literature at the education library of the Japanese Teachers Union as well as interview sources, I will discuss why Japanese teachers in the countryside tackling social problems of children in the post-war era, especially welcomed Soviet education, and how they understood, reinterpreted and implemented the concept in their own settings. Different from USSR countries, where Makarenko’s ideas were regarded as the official educational program, the Soviet education in Japan was rather an educational grassroots movement “from below”, initiated by public school teachers in the countryside. Moreover, this study on socialist education in a capitalist country (Japan) challenges the common binary perspective during the Cold War that education is either socialist or capitalist.

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### **María de Maeztu Whitney's contribution to the reception of German social pedagogy in Spain**

Christian Roith (Universidad de Almería), Ana Martínez (Universidad de Almería), Teresa Gerdes (Universidad de Almería)

The paper examines the reception of philosophical reflections regarding the potential role of educators in mitigating problems related to the recently identified social question, firstly treated as a topic by German philosophers and educationists at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in a new discipline denominated Sozialpädagogik or social pedagogy, in other European countries, particularly Spain.

Recent research about transfer processes in education has pointed out the important role of key persons. María de Maeztu Whitney (1881 – 1949) was an internationally minded and educated Spanish scholar, who indefatigably worked for modernizing her country through educational reform, especially in the field of female education. Her theoretical concepts, particularly, her idea of feminism, were decisively influenced by German academia, above all Paul Natorp's theory of social pedagogy. This study explores de Maeztu's intellectual biography, especially focussing on her acquisition of knowledge about German reformist educational theories, preferentially in the field of social pedagogy. Furthermore, her role in distributing German philosophical and educational thinking in Spain will be examined with the aim to identify patterns in the process of circulation and transcultural exchange of educational knowledge. In this, the conceptual distinction between centres and peripheries of reformist educational thinking will be used to discuss the hypothesis that de Maeztu, who did not only translate the works of educational reformists, but also published her own works on the topic and distributed these ideas in her teaching, did not participate on an equal footing in the international reformist discourse, because Spain was a peripheral country in this transcultural process.

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## 05-SES 01: RURAL SCHOOLS BETWEEN CENTRE AND PERIPHERY

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University)

### **Between Centre and Periphery, History of School in Sardinia From 1861 to 1914: a Quantitative Approach**

Fabio Pruneri (University of Sassari)

The history of the Italian school, however intensely studied over the last years, is still dominated by an emphasis on pedagogical theories abstractly considered, or educational strategies delivered centrally in the aftermath of the Casati law (1859). Such interpretative standpoint is more passively maintained than unquestionably proved through satisfactory evidence drawn from local archives with an eye to the peculiarities of the several local contexts. On that account, recent research has underlined the importance of the capillary spread of State schooling in the creation of such favourable conditions as might promote social and economic development on a national scale.

The paper is the first attempt to present a national research aimed at elaborating a critical map of the school system as it developed in southern regions of Italy (Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Puglia, Sardinia and Sicily, to a total of 20 provinces) from Italian unification to the Giolittian age (19th-20th century).

The case study focused here is that of Sardinia. An island that is a good sample of the difficulties to adopt national regulations in local school districts and small peripheral schools in villages.

From the methodological point of view, special attention will be devoted to each of the following variables collected on municipal historical archives: number of primary schools actually working; their location; number of active classes; number of students attending; state of the premises and levels of public funding; adopted textbooks; status, retribution and age of teachers; teachings delivered and laboratory activities carried out.

The expected result is that of evaluating, also in a comparative perspective, the advantages of rebuilding school policies and the relationship between education and development, reversing the historiographic approach favouring quantitative research from the bottom up.

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## **God. Nurture. Mischief. How To Write A Social Biography Of A Child From A Peasant Family: Case Of Eastern Latvia**

Arnis Strazdins (University of Latvia)

How to write a biography of an “ordinary” man and reconstruct his/her everyday life? In many cases, it is not an easy task due to the lack of sources. In the same time, this task is worth the effort because everyday life of an ordinary man, especially - the child - allows to extend the horizons of the historical view and better understand the social dimension of the past. The everyday life of a child in the family is one of the central narratives of childhood studies (including the history of childhood) that helps to discover the childhood outside the formal educational institutions.

The absence of historical sources especially leaves in oblivion the everyday life of children from non-elite or marginalized families (workers, peasants, poorest inhabitants of cities) and hinders answers to the most important questions of childhood studies: what was the relationship between the children and their parents; what kind of mischief children did and were they punished; what the children dreamed and feared of. One of the ways how to reconstruct everyday life of the children is by using fiction, social biography and prosopography methods that allow to collect pieces of information from one type of sources (for example, memories) and to project them on fictional character – e.g., boy named Augustus. The fictional character of a peasant family, namely, boy Augustus will serve in this study as a medium for reconstructing the main events of the boy's life during one day: the role of Catholic faith in everyday life, work in the family, relations with parents, mischief and punishment.

Russian Empire, in which the territory of Latvia was included until 1918, was a heterogeneous state in terms of ethnicity and religion, as well as territorial and cultural differences. Differences and inequalities caused the different social life requirements in different regions of the Empire.

The way of life and the conditions created by particular living place had a significant impact on the everyday life of children, their responsibilities in the family and their possibilities to climb the ladder of social hierarchy (education, job opportunities). Hence, the context, particularly the socio-economic conditions, have a key role to play in this study.

Current study will be based on six memories (unpublished and published) that describe everyday life in Russian Empire (Eastern Latvia) at the turn of the 19/20th. centuries. The authors of all six memories are joined by their social origins, religious beliefs (Roman Catholic) and ethnicity (Latvian), as well as the region where they lived. Additionally, data from Russian Empire Census of 1897 will be used in this study, revealing information about the size and structure of families, the number of children in families and the level of family welfare.

The theoretical framework of this study are researches on social biography and fictional character, as well as the works devoted to the childhood as a historical phenomenon and containing conceptualised ideas of transformations of the constructions of the childhood in 19th and 20th centuries.

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### **Welfare, Reforms and School developing at Local Level, 1945-1962**

Åsa Melin (Karlstads universitet)

Those who got the mission to realize the modernization and democratization: how did they handle the development and the reforms and what was social justice in their view? In Sweden after the Second World War, democracy and social justice were parts of the political agenda when building the welfare state. Equal education was one of the debated ideas and a suggestion was to have one 1-9 year compulsory school instead of the system of parallel schools with several forms of elementary schools (ex Folkskola) and secondary schools (ex Läroverk) for boys and for girls. The development from a parallel school system to one unified school, a 9-year compulsory school was part of the democratization and modernization and the municipalities had the responsibility to make the change come true.

In my research, Storfors and Arvika, two smaller municipalities in Sweden are in focus. Archive material from the two municipalities' primary school board and municipal council shows that the development of the school system and solutions regarding different reforms in both the municipalities has similarities and differences. When the development of the school system placed in a local context, it makes it clear that different factors and actors have influenced the development of the school system, both changes, decisions and actions implemented and those not implemented. It is also obvious that the municipalities' views on social justice differed from those of the state and that local circumstances affected how reforms were implemented, or not implemented.[1] In a wider perspective, the research concerns how municipalities handled the modernization and democratization (ex. equal education) that permeated national politics during the second half of the 20th century.

Researchers have primarily studied the school development from a top down perspective: "The State decides and the municipal realize". Even if political decisions do affect changes, they should not be overestimated.[2] The implementation of the new school system and the reforms[3] that followed needs to be problematized from a bottom-up perspective, changes are not as simple as political decisions. In my presentation, I aim to discuss social justice and school development in municipalities during the time from parallel school system to one unified 9-year school, by using example from my empiric material.

[1] Implementation and policy processes should be understood as actions, or non-actions, decisions or non-decisions, consciously or not consciously made at local (municipal) level, based on local circumstances and by various local actors.

[2] Westberg 2014 s 305-307. Also the historian Björn Tropp (1999) have showed that the welfare politic was realised and influenced by local circumstances and that the local welfare could differ depending on municipal. The same with (Larsson 2008, ss 98 f) and (SOU 1974:53 1974; Sundberg et al. 2011, ss 12 och 243)

[3] Example free school lunch, dental care, school buses.

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Storfors kommunarkiv [Storfors municipal archive]

Arvika kommunarkiv [Arvika municipal archive]

**MONDAY June 14                      11:00 - 12:30**

### **01-SES 02: SCIENCE EDUCATION AND NEW MATH: TEACHING THROUGH NATURE**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Daniel Lövheim (Stockholm university)

#### **Scientific Instruments And Science Education In Modern China—Based On Physical And Chemical Instruments Section Of The Nanyang Industrial Exposition**

Kaitian Zhu (Jiangnan University)

Scientific instruments play an important role in science education. However, for a long time, the academic research on modern Chinese science education has mainly focused on the thought and practice of science education of the characters, science practice concerning modern scientific societies, schools and scientific institutions, science textbooks, and the development stage of science education, etc., while neglecting the function of scientific instruments in promoting science education. As a product of modern industrial development, the exhibition was, undoubtedly, the best platform for the latest scientific instruments and equipment. In 1910, the late Qing government learned from western countries and held the first national exhibition in modern China—The Nanyang Industrial Exposition. There was a section in the exposition reserved for the physical and chemical instruments for school teaching, which were mainly from scientific instrument company, school instrument production institute, teachers and students, and other individuals. These exhibits not only reflected the situation of science education in the late Qing dynasty, but also popularized science to the general public at that time, in which way they drew social attention to scientific instruments, and promoted the development of science education in the late Qing dynasty in return. This paper is supposed to study the scientific instruments from the perspective of the history of educational material culture, based on newspapers, magazines, archives, reports, travel notes and other historical materials. Taking the Physical and Chemical Instrument Department of Nanyang Industrial Exposition and the scientific instruments on display as the objects of investigation, it studies the interaction between scientific instruments and modern Chinese science education in order to enrich the research on the history of science education and exhibition in modern China.

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## **New Maths in the Nordic countries – local perspectives**

Bjørn Smestad (Volda University College), Hilde Opsal (Volda University College)

The content of mathematics in primary school was mainly arithmetic in the decades leading up to 1960. But then, “New Maths” arrived on the scene, basing mathematics teaching on set theory and including novel areas in school mathematics, such as statistics and probability. In most European countries, and in the US, new curriculum documents and new textbooks were developed and teacher professional development programmes were implemented in the 1960s.

The history of New Maths is often told with a focus on international developments: reform movements in the 1950s, the launch of Sputnik in 1957 and the Royaumont seminar in 1959. However, the history of New Maths played out differently in different countries, probably depending on a range of local issues, including cultural, economic and political circumstances. In some cases, personal acquaintances seem to have influenced the way New Maths was implemented. Research on the international phenomenon New Maths needs to take into account such local issues.

In the Nordic countries, a Nordic committee was established in 1960, doing research and developing materials to be used in the reform efforts. In one sense, this created a common starting point for the Nordic countries, which makes New Maths an interesting case to study. What do we know about how New Math was implemented, how it was received and what parts of it survived after the New Maths period – and of the different circumstances that may have influenced the different trajectories?

In this systematic review, we set out to summarize the research on New Math in the Nordic countries. The review serves as a basis for comparing the Nordic countries, not just in terms of how New Maths was implemented, but also which cultural, economic and political factors have been taken into account by researchers. We also find out which research projects have taken place in one single Nordic country, which could fruitfully be replicated in one or more other Nordic countries, to make more direct comparisons possible.

The systematic review illuminates the differences within the countries and how this may be connected to the state of mathematics teaching before 1960, to other simultaneous reform efforts, to economic



structures such as the textbook markets in the individual countries, to the reactions (in some cases protests) of parents and teachers, but also to singular events such as the death of a key figure in the case of Norway. It also points to areas where more research is needed. For instance, in the case of Sweden, the forces of the textbooks market have been studied as one influence, while similar studies have not been done in the other Nordic countries. As such, the review can be a foundation for further research.

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### **Bees And The Making Of The Citizen. Revisiting The History Of Science Curricula And The Intertwining With Social Movements**

Kerstin te Heesen (University of Luxembourg), Christina Siry (University of Luxembourg)

The world in the 21st century is shaped by many changes that affect all areas of life - social, cultural, political, economic concerns and needs – each with an impact on local, national, and global levels. When it comes to academic research, these developments offer both, interdisciplinary research opportunities as well as the need to study the processes of change.

Two assumptions are fundamental underpinnings to the study introduced in this proposal:

First, with a perspective oriented towards the challenges of the future, it seems critical to examine the notion of “schooling” within the field of educational sciences. The school is the place where the citizens of tomorrow (at least should) acquire their cognitive and social skills and abilities and (should) get to know about socially-relevant topics.

Second, a look back in time can provide information on how schools have fulfilled this task of preparing the future citizen in the past and how school systems have reacted to socially-relevant topics of the respective time and society.

Our conference contribution examines how socially-relevant topics manifest in primary school teaching materials over time. Science lessons enable a strong relationship to everyday life and the environment and are thus particularly suitable for study. In times of social movements such as Fridays for Future, global attention is focused on protecting and preserving the environment, and it is a task of the school as an educational institution to follow up on social topics in the classroom.

Drawing on a historiographic approach enables us to trace the historical development of enduring topics in [country blinded] primary school science curriculum and teaching, such as bees and fruit trees.

Historically the topic of bees, as one example, was embedded in the everyday experience of schooling, in that this was a primarily agricultural society and schools were in rural locations. Beehives, fruit trees, and even vegetable gardens were a common feature of school grounds, and harvest and preparation of food products was a common occurrence. In current practice by contrast, the topic of bees is reduced to learning names and being able to identify parts of the bee or the beehive.

Using various historical sources such as illustrative material, curricula, and also newspaper reports and other media, the article unravels how nature and environment have been enduring topics both in curriculum and classroom practice. On a meta-level the question is raised if and to what extent schools respond(ed) to social movements, changes and needs or rather stick to the traditional content, and thus, slowly lose the connection to and preparation for everyday life in a changing world.

The historical analysis on the intertwining of social movements and the teaching of science works towards a better understanding of how topics are chosen and why they stay relatively stable in a society on the move. We aim for a re-contextualization of what has been de-contextualized over the decades, guided by a goal of rethinking teaching science in order to emerge with foci that hold direct relevance to a child’s everyday life.

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various primary sources such as illustrative material, curricula, newspaper reports, and images

### **Christianity as a National Value Base in Public Schooling - a hidden aspect of Nordic modernity**

Urban, Clas Claesson (Uppsala University), Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University), Emma Hellström (Uppsala University), Jakob Evertsson (Uppsala University), Merethe Roos (University of South-Eastern Norway), Mette Buchardt (University of Aalborg)

In this session, we intend to present and discuss a new interdisciplinary research network at Uppsala University: the Network for the Historical Study of National Christianities (HNC). A main idea behind this Project is to trace attempts to establish a National Value base based upon Christianity within Public Schooling during a large part of the 20th Century. We use the historical experiences of Sweden as a starting point for Nordic and International comparisons.

The image of Sweden as the Social Democratic middle way during the 20th Century is often pictured as a secular project. Welfare, future optimism, and solid housing meant a contrast to an old age characterized by poverty, oppression and religion. In 20th Century Sweden Christianity however never departed from modernity. New political forces and social strata wanted Christianity to be conveyed in new ways where ethics, solidarity and idealism would replace Luther's small catechism. For a long time, the priests of the Lutheran State Church had represented the so-called Estate of Learning. During the 1920s, Swedish elementary school teachers however emerged as the victorious force within this the Estate of Learning, with a version of Christianity that was liberal, democratically aimed and based upon Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. During the 1930s, a broad counter-reaction to this liberal Christianity was to be formed within the Swedish clergy in the so called High Church movement. Until the 1960s, however, the Swedish primary school would remain as a church for a Christianity of civic virtues. In this project, this surprisingly unexplored religion will be analyzed as an expression of an attempt to create a Swedish national value base, and will be compared with similar projects internationally.

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### 03-SES 02: SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Michèle Hofmann (University of Zurich)

## **The Effect of the Enforcement of the Compulsory Education System of Special Schools on Mentally Retarded Children Institutions in Japan**

Satoko Takano (Toyo university)

In 1947, the School Education Law was enacted in Japan. This law established schools for the blind, schools for the deaf, and special schools for children with disabilities. These special schools were separated into three different types which were for the mentally retarded (MR), the physically disabled and the health impaired. Schools for the blind and the deaf were made compulsory in 1948, however special schools were not. Thus, a cabinet order was issued in November 1973, which suggested that special schools should be made compulsory and this was actualized in April 1979. It was 31 years after that schools for the blind and the deaf became compulsory.

Meanwhile, the MR children institutions provided child support and care 24 hours a day. In other words, the MR institutions also played an alternative function which was school education for 31 years. Therefore, this paper examines the impact of the cabinet order, issued in 1973, had on the MR institutions.

This research was conducted by doing a literature study. The period covered by this study is from April 1973, the year in which the cabinet order was issued, to March 1979, the end of the previous school year in which the compulsory education system of special schools was implemented. The main historical materials used for this study were acquired from two monthly Journals; "Aigo" (Journal of JACTMR), which was published by the Japanese Association for the Care and Training of the Mentally Retarded. In addition "Seishin Haku Jakuji Kenkyu" (Journal of Special Education for the Mentally Retarded), which was published by the Japan Teachers' Association for the Mentally Retarded. Though using the above method and materials, this study analyzes the MR institution perception of special schools being made compulsory, furthermore, it analyzes the situation and problems of the MR institutions at that period of time.

The analysis revealed the following three points. Firstly, the managers and staff of the MR institutions were in favor of the implementation of the compulsory education system of special schools, although they pointed out the problems that it could bring about. Secondly, each institution provided its own original and unique therapeutic education programs for the residing MR children. On the other hand, at some institutions, teachers had been dispatched from special classes at elementary and junior high schools or from special schools to provide school education at the institutions. Thirdly, the MR institutions had a range of challenges and issues such as staff working hours, expertise and the capability of staff, separation from the community, and the ever increasing severity of the children admitted.

On the basis of the above analysis, the MR institutions provided their own therapeutic education programs and some institutions tried to cooperate with special school education. However, the MR institutions did not take the opportunity to deliberate their own educational role before the compulsory education system of special schools was enforced because faced various problems and challenges.

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\* The titles of the articles cited in this study from the above journals will be provided on the day of the presentation.

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### **Working Lives Worth Saving. The Interdependent Pursuit of Socio-economic Citizenship and (Re-)education for Physically Disabled Persons in Interwar Belgium (1920-1937).**

Marisa De Picker (KU Leuven)

By means of the notion problematisation of Michel Foucault [1] (Castel 1994), this paper explores how the participation of physically disabled persons in socio-economic citizenship and (re-)education were pursued as interdependent objectives in interwar Belgium through the organisation of two social protection funds for this group. The 'Common Fund' covered the accommodation and schooling costs of poor, severely impaired pupils in special institutes from 1920 and after 1928 the 'Special fund for the crippled and injured' provided financial support to poor, congenitally disabled adolescents and adults with minimum 30% invalidity who wished to enrol in re-education. At the time, it was medically accepted that smaller invalidities seldom prevented someone to keep his former profession.

Only some international studies have recently started to examine the life chances of physically disabled persons from a combined medico-pedagogical and labour perspective and for Belgium few research exists overall. In the early twentieth century, caring for physically disabled labourers became a responsibility of the Belgian state. After it introduced compensatory measures and supported re-educational initiatives for labour accident and war victims, in the interwar period its attention shifted

more to the impaired from birth. The organisation of both funds in these years was driven by the logic that the long neglected congenitally disabled had a right to existence and a social value too, which should be stimulated through a combination of disability benefits and tuition assistance. By maximising their physical and moral capacities in (re-)education, physically disabled were expected to enhance their future opportunities on the labour market and become self-supportive.

Hence, this paper firstly demonstrates how the legislative development of both funds marked a socio-political reimagining of the relation between disability and public dependence; the importance of special schooling; and the rights and duties of the physically disabled worker in interwar Belgian society. Discussions among policymakers were found in the minutes of the Belgian Parliament and the Council of Ministers. Subsequently, this paper juxtaposes the reconstructed conceptualisations of physically disabled apprentices and labourers to the experiences of school staff and of disabled claimants themselves. Through a close-study of application files, medico-pedagogical observation reports, and the member's periodical of the 'National Federation of Invalids of Work and Peace', it scrutinises the extent to which the funds enabled physically disabled persons to simultaneously attain socio-economic and re-educational success in practice. In this analysis, much attention is paid to the inclusive and exclusive mechanisms behind the funds' eligibility conditions and the ways in which the funds shaped disabled Belgians' future working lives. Lastly, this paper reveals how, paradoxically, precisely the emancipatory objective of (re-)education turned out to be both a great potential asset and obstacle in the execution of the legislation and the achievement of socio-economic citizenship for physically disabled persons.

[1] This notion allows us to explore how and why an unnoticed way of being or a domain of action – such as the socio-economic situation of physically disabled persons – became an object of thought, a problem for which practical solutions needed to be found.

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## **Inclusion Seen Through The Fabrication Of The Disabled Child In Policy Documents**

Anette Bagger (Örebro University), Daniel Östlund (Kristianstad University)

Inclusion is in public debate put in the fore as hindering learning of non-disabled students, who should not be hindered to evolve and improve. A tension exists between who is fabricated as the learner and the social epistemology of what inclusion means, and this seems to be connected to ability and disability. The question is, how this can be understood historically and concerning children with disabilities. A perspective that highly emphasizes ability expectations and the evolving of individuals, can be labeled a transhuman perspective. This has been criticized by Brossard Børhaug & Reindal (2018) who call for a revisiting of inclusion as a ethical responsibility in which the individuals equity, quality of life and agency in their lives at large, are core.

This paper investigates historical aspects of the social epistemology of inclusion and the fabrication of the child with intellectual disabilities (ID) during the 20th century. We claim that the fabrication and the social epistemology constitute and re-create each other. We draw on Popkewitz (2012) theories on our exploration of how the child with ID has been fabricated over time and how this relates to the current social epistemology of inclusion. By social epistemology we refer to the systems of categories that affects how we understand, relate to and approach thoughts and theories of knowledge, and in

this case knowledge about inclusion. This system of concepts and categories which are used to understand and construct the world, becomes undreflected and normalised over time and is therefore important to systematically scrutinize (Popkewitz, 2014). Fabrication refers to how policy documents inscribe prerequisites, terms and possibilities concerning the children with ID and by that also state motives, values, assumptions and what is taken for granted about who that child is and could be (Popkewitz, 2012).

“A school for all” has been an education goal for the past 70 years in Sweden and inclusion has been in the school policy since 1980s. Nevertheless, the intention of an inclusive school has not yet reached far enough to include children with intellectual disabilities (ID), who follow an alternate curricula of the compulsory school for students with disabilities (CSSID). In many cases, they are fabricated as living their future life in the margins. A study following up on 12,269 students with ID showed that 47% participated in daily activities; 22.4% were employed, most of them with some type of wage subsidy; 6.6% participated in various forms of education programs; and a large group (24%) was described as being “elsewhere” (Arvidsson, 2016). From an inclusive education perspective, these results indicates the CSSID and the overall fabrication of this kind of child prepares them for a life in the margins rather than preparing them for a life in an included society. The social epistemology regarding inclusion can be traced to the complex and difficult history people with intellectual disability has, a history including institutionalization, sterilization exclusion from public schooling, and segregation in public schools.

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### **Education Trends For Mentally Retarded Children In New York City During The 1940-50s: A Focus On Day School Education**

Takako Homma (Kokushikan University), Hiroki Yoneda (University of Tsukuba)

The aim of this study was to elucidate the educational trends of day schools for severely intellectually disabled children with an intelligence quotient of under 50 in New York City, in the United States, during the 1940s to 50s.

“Children with intellectual disabilities,” traditionally termed “mentally retarded children(MR children)” or “feeble-minded children,” have been placed in state-supported in-patient institutions (schools) since the 19th century. In US cities since the early 20th century, community day schools started to offer special classes for intellectually disabled people (in NYC, “ungraded classes” were founded in 1899); the criterion for getting enrolled into these classes was to have an IQ of around 50-



75. It was in the late 1930s that challenges in educational and real-life opportunities for severely MR children were acknowledged and fueled vigorous debates among experts on education and welfare of intellectually disabled children in NY State. Thus, problems associated with the lack of day-time educational and real-life opportunities for severely MR children in the community surfaced.<sup>1)2)</sup> However, until the late 1940s, there was no active, organizational responses to educational problems for severely MR children than those with an IQ 50-75 , a borderline intelligence were undertaken by boards of education of NY State or NYC.

The turning point for the education of severely MR children came around 1950. In 1951, the theme for the panel discussion in the Annual Convention of the American Association on Mental Deficiency was Education for Severely MR children:Trainable Retarded Children. The concern for state facility officials and experts was focused on where severely MRchildren and adults could live and how they could receive education and enroll in a program.<sup>3)</sup>Behind these trends was an ardent desire for the realization of a communal life on the part of parents. An organization called AHRC,NYC was organized by parents of children who were enrolled in NY state schools and were active in launching pilot programs to run clinics, kindergartens, day schools, sheltered workshops, and after school programs in the early 1950s in NYC<sup>4)5)</sup>

AHRC took charge of all management activities, including the selection of locations for day schools and the types of buildings to be built. In terms of the educational program, Associate Professor Rosenzweig from Brooklyn College served as a consultant to draw up an outline of the educational program and try and implement the Work-Play program.<sup>6)7)</sup> The aim of the program was to maximize the development and well-being of children and to help parents properly understand their children. The program was not composed of academic subjects, rather it was designed to acquire a set of skills in areas that intellectually disabled children needed to learn. These skills include self-care, household duties, skills in working and playing with others, skills in getting around the community, skills in recognizing numbers, skills in communicating with others, skills in enjoying living, physical and motor development and muscular coordination, and emotional development, in various school life settings and through all kinds of activities including plays, lunch time activities, break time activities, and school trips.

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**MONDAY June 14** **2:00 - 3:30**

**01-SES 03: EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AND ANTI-COLONIAL SETTINGS**

Panel Session (English, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Joaquim António de Sousa Pintassilgo (University of Lisbon)

**Stories Connected by an Evangelistic-educational Project: the Unevangelized Fields Mission in the Americas, Africa, Asia, Europe and Oceania**

Elizânia Sousa do Nascimento (Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo)

This abstract aims to analyze the educational actions of the protestant mission Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM) referring to the knowledge that it disseminates, as well as the medias and technologies utilized in the diffusion of that knowledge. The UFM is an interdenominational protestant mission originated in England, whose constitution dates back to the early 1930s. We focus on its work in the 1950s and take as source a periodical published by the mission called Light and Life, which had international circulation. The research is theoretically based on the notions of Connected History (GRUZINSKY, 2001), circulation (CARVALHO, 2006), press and history of knowledge (BURKE, 2003; CAVALLLO; CHARTIER, 1999). In that period, the mission had offices in England, Canada and United States of America, and its missionary action extended to Brazil, British Guiana, Dominican Republic, Belgian Congo, Haiti, Dutch New Guinea, Papua and Indonesia. The study pointed out formal education as one of the main UFM's strategies of evangelization through the organization schools operating during the day— elementary and secondary schools, biblical institutes, boarding schools and teachers training schools. Eventually, it was possible to capture from these spaces the uses of pedagogical resources received from across the ocean, such as hectograph, flannelgraph, slate, slides and movies projector, and also the application of the Laubach Method to fight illiteracy. The UFM has also significant expression related to press production and circulation with purposes of training readers oriented by predetermined interpretations, revealing the institutional control, mainly, of the reading of the biblical text. In this area, we highlight the translation of the New Testament, the writing and printing of Christian literature, besides the colporteurs and the installation of christian bookstores in the missionary fields. We also observed the production of children's and adults' books, as well as short movies about the people with whom the missionaries worked. Despite being submitted to an agenda which aimed at sensitizing European and American readers to become donators, supportive prayers, or even futures volunteers to those actions, these vectors still circulated a certain knowledge, along with representations and discourses about the territories reached by UFM.

**Histórias Conectadas por um Projeto Evangelístico-educacional: a Unevangelized Fields Mission nas Américas, África, Ásia, Europa e Oceania**

O objetivo do texto é analisar a ação educacional da missão protestante, *Unevangelized Fields Mission* (UFM), no que se refere ao conhecimento que esta faz circular, bem como as mídias e tecnologias que utiliza na divulgação desse conhecimento. A UFM é uma missão protestante interdenominacional de origem inglesa, cuja constituição se deu no início da década de 1930. A análise recai sobre a década de

1950 a partir de um periódico da missão, de circulação internacional, chamado *Light and Life* e encontra-se amparada na noção de História Conectada (GRUZINSKY, 2001), circulação (CARVALHO, 2006), impressos e história do conhecimento (BURKE, 2003. CAVALLLO; CHARTIER, 1999). No período investigado, a missão possuía escritórios na Inglaterra, Canadá e Estados Unidos e sua ação missionária se estendia pelo Brasil, British Guiana, Dominican Republic, Belgian Congo, Haiti, Dutch New Guinea, Papua and Indonesia. A pesquisa evidencia a educação formal como uma das principais estratégias de evangelização da UFM a partir da organização de escolas diurnas – elementares e secundárias, institutos bíblicos, escolas internatos e escolas de formação de professores. Ainda que de forma eventual, ouve-se desses espaços sobre a utilização de recursos pedagógicos recebidos de além mar como o hectógrafo, o flanelógrafo, a ardósia, o projetor de slides e o de filmes, bem como sobre a utilização do Laubach Method no combate ao analfabetismo. Essa missão tem ainda uma significativa expressão no que se refere aos impressos que veicula e faz circular objetivando a formação de leitores dentro de uma determinada chave de interpretação, o que revela o controle institucional, principalmente, sobre a leitura do texto bíblico. Neste campo destaca-se a tradução do Novo Testamento, escrita e impressão de literaturas cristãs ao lado do trabalho de colportagem e da instalação de livrarias cristãs nos campos missionários. Observa-se, também, a produção de livros para adultos e crianças, além de filmes curtos pelos missionários sobre os povos com quem trabalham. Mesmo submetidos a uma agenda que intenciona sensibilizar leitores da Europa e América do Norte a se tornarem contribuintes financeiros, apoiadores em oração, ou mesmo futuros voluntários desses trabalhos, estes vetores não deixam de fazer circular um certo conhecimento, representações e discursos sobre os lugares alcançados pela UFM.

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#### **Cultures of Dissent: Anticolonial and Anti-racist Education One English City, 1930-1990**

Sian Lliwen Roberts (University of Birmingham), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham)

Increasingly there are calls to decolonise educational institutions, curricula, our research practice as historians and the narratives we tell as part of an initiative to promote social justice (Bhambra et al, 2018). Recent historical work has demonstrated that this de-centralising project has a long history, stretching back into the nineteenth century (Gopal, 2019). Migrant anticolonial activists from Britain's imperial dominions engaged in colonial encounters with members of faith and political groups from the host community to foster cultures of dissent and cosmopolitan activism through mutual learning

(Ghandi, 2006; Haggis et al, 2017; Gopal, 2019). As a discipline the history of education has traditionally been slow to engage with issues connected with issues of 'race', the educational experiences of ethnic minority communities, and pedagogical initiatives promoting anti-racist education (Myers 2009, 2015). Recent work has begun to address this (see for example Myers and Grosvenor, 2013; Grosvenor and Myers, 2017). This paper will contribute to this emerging historiography by taking a historical perspective on these issues and exploring 'moments of possibility' in which anti-racist and anticolonial activists collaborated on educational interventions to address racism and promote social justice in England in the twentieth century. These interventions took several different forms – adult education, cultural initiatives and informal community-based learning. For example, the anticolonial activist and founder of the League of Coloured Peoples, Dr Harold Moody (1882-1947), collaborated in 1945 with members of the Religious Society of Friends on a summer school on The Clash of Colour at Woodbrooke College, Birmingham; the documentary filmmaker Philip Donnellan (1924-1999) produced for the BBC in 1964 *The Colony* in which West Indians newly settled in Birmingham reflected on issues of identity, history and belonging; and young black artists organised an exhibition at the University of Birmingham in 1984 to promote 'political art' as a way of creating 'an alternative set of values necessary for better living, stronger communities, [and] contemporary cultural identity,' (Aikens and Robles, 2016). This paper will use these examples (and others) to document anti-colonial and anti-racist educational activism in the English city of Birmingham, a city with deep associations with Empire (Hall, 2002; Myers and Grosvenor, 2013) and to explore the significance of place in mobilising dissent and action.

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## **Merited Collaboration: Colonial Education and the Challenged Legitimacy of Korean Elites**

Jamyung Choi (Sungkyunkwan University)

During the early twentieth century, aspiring Korean youths, like youths in other countries, embraced higher educational credentials and claimed white-collar professions. Yi Hangnyŏng, a county mayor of Hadong and later Changnyeong in the early 1940s, was one such aspirant. Yi was born into a modest family, whose fortune in Chosun Korea was not spectacular, but he entered Keijo Imperial University, the only university in colonial Korea which was established by Japanese colonizers in 1926 and trained the first generation of state officers, legal and medical professionals, teachers and scholars, and became a top elite in colonial Korea.

Yi's story—the ascent of an individual from a modest familial background to a meritocratic elite after the fall of the hereditary system—is a ubiquitous one around the modern world. But as this story unfolded in Korea, then Japan's colony, Yi's social ascent was different from its counterparts in the metropole in that the ascent was mediated by the colonizers. Yi's position, county mayor, was the high-rank officer in the colonial bureaucracy, and during the war, Yi assumed the role to extract material resources from Korean people for Japan's war. After the liberation of Korea from Japan in 1945, Yi continuously expressed his regret with his role during the early 1940s as a colonial bureaucrat, and after the war was stigmatized, along with many others, as the Japanese collaborator.

Through the lens of Yi, this essay explores the impact of the colonial meritocracy on aspiring individuals in Korea. While scholars conducted extensive research in the birth and expansion of higher education in Europe and North America, the similar process has rarely been thoroughly explored beyond the so called West. The Korean experience explored through Yi's case, helps us understand the expansion of meritocracy beyond the West mediated by Japanese colonizers, who imported university education system from the West and constructed its own system in their colonies. This essay attends two kinds of impact of this transplanted meritocracy. First, I will examine the assimilation of aspiring Korean elites to Japanese elites and the birth of the idea of the Japanese collaborator in the elite circle of colonial Korea. Second, I will explore a racial discrimination that those left behind the social ascent of aspiring elites like Yi. Undereducated Korean workers' wages were lower than Japanese workers, and this race-based wage discrimination in Japanese corporations in the peninsula. In other words, Keijo Imperial credential enabled Yi to rise above the discriminated colonial subjects but had him suffer the stigma as the "Japanese collaborator." This study reads Yi's autobiography and interviews to analyze Yi's education, career, and salary, as well as his mental struggle with the stigma of the Japanese collaborator. Also, this essay locates Yi within a broader social history of labor in colonial Korea, by looking also at wages of Korean and Japanese workers in Japanese corporations in Korea.

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I am an assistant professor of history at Sungkyunkwan University, South Korea. I am completing a book manuscript titled *Myth of Meritocracy: Tokyo Imperial University and Social Stratification in Modern Japan*. My articles appeared or will appear in the *Journal of Japanese Studies* and the *International Labor and Working Class History*.

## **The Secret of the Letters. Slavery, Education and Freedom in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 19th Century**

Alexandra Lima da Silva (UERJ)

This paper try to summarize the goal of my book project, which is deciphering the “silence of letters” and to understand the meanings of enslaved and freed people’s education and instruction in Imperial Rio de Janeiro. What are the meanings of enslaved people’s education? How and where did these subjects learn and educate themselves? Who taught them? What did they read? Why? What did they write? Why? For whom? In different times and countries, researchers faced the challenge of analysing the existence of subjects made invisible in academic production: literate and educated enslaved women and men. Through the movement of connections, I believe it is essential to map out the debate around the instruction and education of enslaved people in academic studies of the African diaspora in the Americas. Does studying other African diaspora experiences help understanding Brazil? I suggest reading and learning about other historical experiences with the intent of questioning the widespread understanding that African enslaved people weren’t educated. I defend that reading about the meaning of education and literacy for enslaved people in the Americas allows for a more complex understanding of the Brazilian case, with particular attention given to the city of Rio de Janeiro in the 19th Century.

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## 02-SES 03: HIGHER EDUCATION: SPAIN, CHILE, FRANCE

Panel Session (Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Antonio Fco. Canales (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

### **The Residential Colleges As Spaces For The Modernization Of Spanish Higher Education: The Case Of The Casa Do Brasil (1960s)**

Tatiane de Freitas Ermel (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The Residential Colleges (Colegio Mayor) in Spain has a long history. It is known that the first institution of these characteristics was the “Colegio Mayor de San Clemente”, founded in 1367 by Spanish students residing and studying in Italy. In 1401, in Salamanca, the “Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé”



began its activities, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these academic institutions linked to the universities proliferated in different Spanish cities. The Residential Colleges aimed to “offer the possibility of higher education to some valuable students but lacked the necessary financial means to finance it” (Carabias Toerres, p. 69). The iconic Students Residence (Residencia de Estudiantes) of 1910 is the first attempt to modernize these educational spaces of great importance in the history of higher education in Spain.

After the Civil War the project of the Students Residence continued in 1943 under the name of “Colegio Mayor Ximénez de Cisneros”. From this date on, an important network of Residential Colleges was created in the educational space of the University of Madrid Campus. To this important number of Residential Colleges of the University of Madrid (currently Complutense University of Madrid) it must be added a significant number that were managed by Catholic religious congregations at that time. In the same way, some Latin American countries founded their own institutions in Madrid, among them the “Casa do Brasil” (1962), the “Colegio Mayor Argentina” (1971) and the “Colegio Mayor Universitario Colombiano” (1971).

This paper focuses specifically on the “Casa do Brasil”. The center was the result of an agreement between the governments of Brazil and Spain. Its main aim was to establish in the Spanish capital a residential space for Brazilian university students and other nationalities, as well as the dissemination of Brazilian culture. Documentary research and historiographic analysis in this paper is based on the consultation of plans and projects, the regulations, the reports of academic courses, the Brazilian Culture Magazine and the reports of cultural events and activities promoted during the 1960s and 70s.

In this communication we take as reference the historical studies that have focused their interest in the process of modernization of education in Spain during the Franco regime. More specifically, we follow the line of study opened by Mariano González Delgado (2019) who, beyond the analysis of the continuities or discontinuities that the time of the Franco dictatorship presents with the Second Republic or even with the Transition and Democracy of 1978, places the historiographical interest in international influences as a variable to understand some of the educational and curricular practices that were developed from the 1950s on in Spain.

The Residential Colleges from the 1960s were educational spaces that reflect the impulses of educational modernization that cross the structures of the Franco regime. In the case of the Casa do Brasil, this institution constituted a place of reception of cultures of other countries, especially Spain and Portugal, as well as Latin America, through weekly public events.

### **Los Colegios Mayores Como Espacios De Modernización De La Educación Superior Española: El Caso De La Casa Do Brasil (1960s)**

Los Colegios Mayores en España tienen una larga historia. Se sabe que la primera institución de estas características fue el “Colegio Mayor de San Clemente”, fundado en 1367 por estudiantes españoles que residen y estudian en Italia. En 1401, en Salamanca, el Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé comenzó sus actividades, y durante los siglos XV y XVI, estas instituciones académicas vinculadas a las universidades proliferaron en diferentes ciudades españolas. Los Colegios Mayores tenían como objetivo “ofrecer la posibilidad de una educación superior a algunos estudiantes valiosos, pero carecía de los medios financieros necesarios para financiarla” (Carabias Toerres, p. 69). La icónica Residencia de Estudiantes de 1910 es el primer intento de modernizar estos espacios educativos de gran importancia en la historia de la educación superior en España.

Después de la Guerra Civil, el proyecto de la Residencia de Estudiantes continuó en 1943 bajo el nombre de “Colegio Mayor Ximénez de Cisneros”. A partir de esta fecha, se creó una importante red

de Colegios Residenciales en el espacio educativo del Campus de la Universidad de Madrid. A este importante número de Colegios Mayores de la Universidad de Madrid (actualmente Universidad Complutense de Madrid) se debe agregar un número significativo que fueron administrados por congregaciones religiosas católicas en ese momento. Del mismo modo, algunos países latinoamericanos fundaron sus propias instituciones en Madrid, entre ellas la "Casa do Brasil" (1962), el "Colegio Mayor Argentina" (1971) y el "Colegio Mayor Universitario Colombiano" (1971).

Este trabajo se centra específicamente en la "Casa do Brasil". El centro fue el resultado de un acuerdo entre los gobiernos de Brasil y España. Su objetivo principal era establecer en la capital española un espacio residencial para estudiantes universitarios brasileños y otras nacionalidades, así como la difusión de la cultura brasileña. La investigación documental y el análisis historiográfico en este documento se basan en la consulta de planes y proyectos, las regulaciones, los informes de cursos académicos, la Revista de Cultura Brasileña y los informes de eventos y actividades culturales promovidos durante los años sesenta y setenta.

En esta comunicación tomamos como referencia los estudios históricos que han centrado su interés en el proceso de modernización de la educación en España durante el régimen franquista. Más específicamente, seguimos la línea de estudio abierta por Mariano González Delgado (2019) quien, más allá del análisis de las continuidades o discontinuidades que el tiempo de la dictadura franquista presenta con la Segunda República o incluso con la Transición y la Democracia de 1978, coloca el interés historiográfico en las influencias internacionales como una variable para comprender algunas de las prácticas educativas y curriculares que se desarrollaron desde la década de 1950 en España.

Los colegios residenciales de la década de 1960 fueron espacios educativos que reflejan los impulsos de modernización educativa que cruzan las estructuras del régimen franquista. En el caso de la Casa do Brasil, esta institución constituyó un lugar de recepción de culturas de otros países, especialmente España y Portugal, así como de América Latina, a través de eventos públicos semanales.

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### **The Colegio de España in Paris: model of a community of knowledge**

Susana Gala Pellicer (Universidad de Córdoba)

The College of Spain in Paris is a residence and cultural space funded in 1935 and dependent on the Spanish Government that brings together researchers, professors and artists in the French International University Campus. Despite the great prestige that the institution enjoys, studies devoted to its description are scarce. This paper seeks to analyze the characteristics of the community that coexists and shares knowledge within the framework of the College of Spain. To this end, the intellectual foundations that motivated its establishment in the context of the university reforms undertaken in Europe during the Interwar period will be described first. Next, an analysis of the conditions of communal living among the residents and the institutional involvement of those responsible for the institution's management will be presented. Finally, the observation of the internal dynamics that govern the exchange of knowledge will allow us to understand the scope of the transforming capacity of this community.

### **El Colegio de España de París: modelo de comunidad de conocimiento**

El Colegio de España de París es una residencia y espacio cultural dependiente del Gobierno de España que reúne a investigadores, profesores y artistas en la Ciudad Universitaria Internacional francesa. A pesar de que la entidad cuenta con un notorio prestigio, los estudios dedicados a su descripción son aún escasos. El presente trabajo busca analizar las características de la comunidad que convive y comparte conocimiento en el marco de la institución. Para tal fin, se describen, en primer lugar, los fundamentos intelectuales que motivaron su creación en el contexto de las reformas universitarias acometidas en Europa durante el periodo de Entreguerras. A continuación, se plantea el análisis de las condiciones de convivencia de los residentes y de la implicación institucional de los responsables de su gestión. Por último, la observación de las dinámicas internas que rigen el intercambio de conocimiento permitirá comprender el alcance de la capacidad transformadora de esta comunidad.

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### **Public Policies on the financing of higher education in Chile: 1970-2020**

Jaime Caiceo (Universidad de Santiago de Chile)

Public policies in Chile until 1973 reveal that Higher Education was funded by the state, both in existing Public and Private Universities and normal teacher-training schools. However, with the military dictatorship that began on September 11 of that year, new public policies emerged that drastically changed the situation. Indeed, in 1974 all normal schools were eliminated by decree (DL N° 533), moving to universities, which began to see their state contributions diminished until 1980 and, drastically from 1981, with the Reform to Higher Education: 3 decrees are issued that will refer to the creation and functioning of Universities (DFL N° 1), Professional Institutes (DFL No. 5) and Technical Training Centers (DFL N° 24). In turn, DFL N° 4 is issued on university funding, which will decrease state contributions to universities year after year. In 1990, with the return of democracy, higher education funding remained the same, with all - public and private - having to pay university fees on their students and sell services in order to survive. Different benefits were created such as scholarships or loans so that the most deprived students could accomplish their studies; the most committed is the State Guaranteed Credit, known as the CAE, created during the government of Ricardo Lagos through Law N° 20.027 (2005). This credit had to be returned by students when they became professionals, but the interest was 6% per year and it became a heavy backpack for novice professionals. Finally, Michelle Bachelet's second government established the law of gratuity, which will gradually increase from the fifth lowest-income quintile onwards; is currently at 60%; this was done through Law N° 21.091 of 2018. An analysis of the laws will be done to understand the public policies on higher education financing in Chile, and its transition from being free to having to be paid by students and which will take several years to achieve free for all again.

### **Políticas Públicas sobre financiamiento de la educación superior en Chile; 1970-2020**

Las Políticas Públicas existentes en Chile hasta 1973 revelan que la Educación Superior estaba financiada por el estado, tanto en las Universidades Públicas como Particulares existentes y las escuelas normales formadoras de maestros. Sin embargo, con la dictadura militar que comenzó el 11 de septiembre de ese año, surgieron nuevas políticas públicas que cambiaron drásticamente la situación. En efecto en 1974 se eliminaron por decreto (DL N° 353) todas las escuelas normales, traspasándose a las universidades, las cuales comenzaron a ver disminuidos sus aportes estatales hasta 1980 y, drásticamente a partir de 1981, con la Reforma a la Educación Superior: Se dictan 3 decretos que se referirán a la creación y funcionamiento de las universidades (DFL N° 1), de los Institutos Profesionales (DFL N° 5) y de los Centros de Formación Técnica (DFL N° 24). A su vez se dicta el DFL N° 4 acerca del financiamiento de las universidades, el cual irá disminuyendo los aportes estatales a las universidades año tras año. En 1990, con el retorno de la democracia, el financiamiento de la educación superior siguió igual, debiendo todas -públicas y privadas- ir subiendo los aranceles a sus estudiantes y vender servicios para poder subsistir. Se crearon diferentes beneficios como becas o préstamos para que los estudiantes más desprovistos pudieran realizar sus estudios; el más comentado es el Crédito con Garantía del Estado, conocido como el CAE, creado durante el gobierno de Ricardo Lagos a través de la Ley N° 20.027 (2005). Este crédito debían devolverlo los estudiantes

cuando fueran profesionales, pero el interés era de un 6% anual y se transformó en una pesada mochila para los noveles profesionales. Finalmente, en el segundo gobierno de Michelle Bachelet se establece la ley de gratuidad para la educación superior, la cual irá paulatinamente aumentando desde el quinto quintil de menores ingresos en adelante; actualmente se encuentra en el 60%; ello se hizo a través de la Ley N° 21.091 de 2018. Se hará un análisis de las leyes para comprender las políticas públicas sobre financiamiento de la educación superior en Chile, que pasó de gratuito a pagado por los estudiantes y tardará varios años para lograr nuevamente la gratuidad para todos.

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### **Student mobility in the periphery, how to explain the Internationalist Schools program on the Cuban Island of Youth?**

Dayana Murguía Méndez (Instituto de Historia de Cuba & Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

It has been suggested that Cuba's activism in civil collaboration has been much more continuous, diversified and extended to a greater number of countries than the military aid offered to the global South, mainly in Africa, as support to self-determination, decolonization or post-independence projects (González López 2002). However, within civilian collaboration, yet remains scarce research of many of Cuba's offers to the Third World in the area of education, even though its large-scale internationalism is considered by some a promising aid strategy that could address the global crisis of quantity and quality in education (Corona González, Hickling-Hudson and Lehr 2012).

The "Internationalist Schools" on the Isle of Youth (1977-2012) constitute one of those little known experiences of Cuba's international collaboration in education. They were a major investment by the Cuban government that combined a great many students, of multiple cultures and generations, structured in a program of free complete education scholarships - from primary to tertiary education -, aimed at about 40 countries in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

These transnational circulations of children, adolescents and youth to and from the Isle of Youth took place between the expansion of official scholarships by rival ideological forces during the Cold War and the transition to a unipolar world. On the other hand, the life of the program took place in the context

of political, economic and cultural changes of the construction of the socialist society in Cuba, which were particularly intense in the Isle of Youth. In these global, national and local scenarios, the paper - a result of my current PhD research- analyses South-South cooperation and the history of official international scholarships as critical fields of study for the holistic understanding of the Cuban Isle of Youth Internationalist School program. The theoretical-methodological assumptions that these fields provide make it possible to explain the multifaceted dimension of the programme by taking into account both its functioning, the trajectories and world views of the students over the long term, and the impacts of that education on the future.

### **Movilidad estudiantil en la periferia, ¿cómo explicar las Escuelas Internacionalistas de la Isla de la Juventud cubana?**

Se ha señalado que el activismo de Cuba en colaboración civil ha sido mucho más continuo, diversificado y extendido a un número mayor de países que la ayuda militar ofrecida al Sur global, principalmente en África, como respaldo a proyectos de autodeterminación, descolonización o postindependencias (González López 2002). No obstante, en lo que concierne al ámbito educacional dentro de la colaboración civil todavía es escasa la investigación sobre muchas de las ofertas de Cuba al Tercer Mundo, pese a que grosso modo su internacionalismo a gran escala se considere por algunos una estrategia de ayuda prometedora que podría hacer frente a la crisis mundial de cantidad y calidad en la enseñanza (Corona González, Hickling-Hudson, Corona González and Lehr 2012).

Las “Escuelas Internacionalistas” de la Isla de la Juventud (1977-2012) constituyen una de esas experiencias poco conocidas de la colaboración internacional de Cuba en educación. Se trataron de una gran inversión del gobierno cubano que combinó masividad, multiculturalidad e intergeneracionalidad, estructurada en un programa de becas de formación completa gratuito -desde la enseñanza primaria a la terciaria-, dirigido a alrededor de 40 países de África, Medio Oriente, Asia y América Latina.

Las circulaciones transnacionales de niños, adolescentes y jóvenes hacia y desde la Isla de la Juventud se realizaron entre la expansión de las becas oficiales por parte de fuerzas ideológicas rivales durante la Guerra Fría y el tránsito a un mundo unipolar. Por otro lado, la vida del programa transcurrió en el contexto de cambios políticos, económicos y culturales de la construcción de la sociedad socialista en Cuba, que fueron particularmente intensos en la Isla de la Juventud. En estos escenarios globales, nacionales y locales, la ponencia –un resultado de mi actual proyecto de doctorado- analiza la cooperación Sur-Sur e historia de las becas oficiales internacionales como campos de estudios críticos para la comprensión holística de las Escuelas Internacionalistas de la Isla de la Juventud cubana. Los supuestos teórico-metodológicos que estos campos proporcionan permiten explicar la dimensión multifacética del programa tomando en cuenta tanto su funcionamiento, las trayectorias y cosmovisiones de los estudiantes en el largo plazo, como los impactos de esa educación de cara al futuro.

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### 03-SES 03: SCIENCE EDUCATION: NATURAL HISTORY, CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS

Panel Session (English, Spanish, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Inês Félix (Umeå university)

#### **From Ruhmkorff Coil To Mendeleev Periodic Table - Evolution Of The Teaching Of Experimental Physics And Chemistry In Portuguese Liceus**

Rodrigo Martins Pinto de Azevedo (CITCEM da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto), Paula Cristina Silva (CITCEM da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto)

In 1836, in the context of the implementation of Liberalism in Portugal, Passos Manuel created high school education. Due to political instability and economic hardships, the installation process of the high schools extended until 1853.

In this paper, has the goal to first, starting from the curricular evolution that happened between the Reforms of 1836 and 1905, understand the curricular role given to the teaching of Physics and Chemistry, furthermore, and concisely, analyses its programmatic evolution, comparing it with the very relevant progress of the on this two areas of knowledge. In a second moment and using the concrete example of the Liceu de Braga, which started functioning in 1845, it is intended to understand in which the high schools were or were not, ready to receive the laboratories that the teaching of the disciplines needed. Moreover, how the government or other central or local organizations tended to the need to equip them with the apparatus and parietal boards, which are indispensable to the experimental teaching, or if these needs were systematically ignored. It will also be revealed the role of the donations by individuals – old students, teachers and emigrants in Brazil – as a supplementary or the only mean to acquire the referred equipment. Additionally, the degree of update of the existing equipment will be analyze, in terms of the programmatic and laboratory evolutions that the discipline underwent during the analyzed period, and particularly, the effect of the application of the 1914 decree, authored by Bernardino Machado, concerning the realization of what was called individual educative works in this discipline.

There will also be an emphasis on the bibliographic area. Thus, based in a vast estate of the historical library of Braga’s high school, we will lift the veil regarding the textbooks and books, which were in a vast majority in a foreign language, mostly French and German that the teachers used to prepare the classes and the students used to study.

The Escola Secundária Sá de Miranda, is the successor of Liceu de Braga, operating since 1921 in the grounds of the old Espírito Santo college. In the context of the last requalification works of the building, in 2010, a museum was create, where there is currently a permanent exposition of equipment, parietal

boards, scientific instruments, among other things, which were used since the beginning of the high school in the different areas here taught. Temporary expositions are regularly done in the museum, where some of the ones referring to Physics and Chemistry can be highlighted, like the ones celebrating key moments for these two sciences and using some of the referred estates. Some of it is also regularly used in conferences, formations for teachers, and experimental classes. This effort will also be noted in this paper.

The sources used have very different from each other: legislation, the minutes books of teachers council and the copiers of dispatched correspondence, and also other documents available in the archive and the referee textbooks, bibliography, and acquisitions.

### **Da Bobina De Ruhmkorff À Tabela De Mendeleiev - Evolução Do Ensino Experimental De Física E Química Nos Liceus Portugueses**

Em 1836 Passos Manuel criou, no contexto do processo de implantação do Liberalismo em Portugal, o Ensino Liceal. Devido à instabilidade política e às dificuldades económicas, o processo de instalação dos liceus prolongou-se até 1853.

Nesta comunicação visa-se, num primeiro momento, partindo da evolução curricular verificada entre a Reforma de 1836 e a de 1905, compreender o papel curricular atribuído ao ensino da Física e da Química, e ainda, de forma sumária, analisar a sua evolução programática, comparando-a com o relevantíssimo progresso dos conhecimentos verificado nestas duas áreas do conhecimento. Num segundo momento e a partir de um exemplo concreto, o do Liceu de Braga, que entrou em funcionamento em 1845, pretende-se compreender de que forma os liceus foram, ou não, preparados para receberem os laboratórios, que a leccionação da disciplina exigia, e como os Governos, ou outros organismos centrais ou locais, atenderam à necessidade de os equiparem com aparatos e quadros parietais indispensáveis à realização de um ensino experimental, ou a ignoraram sistematicamente. Será também relevado o papel das ofertas efetuadas por particulares – antigos alunos, professores, e emigrantes no Brasil – como meio supletivo, ou único, de obtenção dos referidos equipamentos. Para além disso, será analisado o grau de atualização do equipamento existente, quanto às evoluções programáticas e laboratoriais que a disciplina foi sofrendo no curso do período em análise e, muito particularmente, quanto à aplicação do decreto de 1914, da autoria de Bernardino Machado, no concernente à realização dos então chamados trabalhos individuais educativos nesta disciplina.

Uma outra área, a bibliográfica, será também destacada. Assim, partindo do rico espólio da biblioteca histórica do liceu bracarense, iremos levantar o véu relativo aos manuais utilizados e aos livros, a maioria dos quais em língua estrangeira, com destaque para o Francês e o Alemão, que os professores nela encontravam para prepararem as aulas e os alunos para realizarem o seu estudo.

A Escola Secundária Sá de Miranda é a continuadora do Liceu bracarense, funcionando, desde 1921 nas instalações do antigo Colégio do Espírito Santo, que aquele ocupou. No âmbito das últimas obras de requalificação do edifício, em 2010, foi criado um museu onde, hoje em dia, existe uma exposição permanente de equipamentos, mapas, quadros parietais, instrumentos científicos, entre outros, que foram utilizados a partir da criação do liceu, nas diversas áreas do saber aqui lecionadas. No museu são realizadas, com regularidade, exposições temporárias, de que se têm destacado algumas relativas exatamente à Física e à Química, celebrando datas fundamentais destas duas ciências e utilizando muito do espólio que temos vindo a referir, guardado na reserva e no arquivo. Partes deste espólio também são regularmente utilizadas em conferências, ações de formação de docentes e aulas práticas. Deste labor igualmente se dará conta nesta comunicação.

As fontes utilizadas são de diversa ordem: legislação, os livros de atas do Conselho de professores e os copiadores de correspondência expedida, bem como outros documentos existentes no arquivo, os manuais, a bibliografia e o espólio referidos.

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### **The Maison Paul Rousseau & Cie And The Teaching Of Natural Sciences In Sao Paulo: A Transnational Approach (1883-1898)**

Wiara Rosa Alcântara (Universidade Federal de São Paulo)

The objective of this work is to approach, from a perspective of transnational and economic history, the performance of the French company Maison Paul Rousseau e Cie, in the supply of objects, substances and devices for the teaching of Physics and Chemistry in schools in São Paulo in the last decades of the century 19th century. The initial temporal delimitation, 1883, refers to the year of the first purchases of scientific objects for the Normal Schools of São Paulo. 1899 is the year of the last purchase notes of the same company, located at the Polytechnic School of São Paulo. The methodological procedure consisted of confronting different types of sources, produced in Brazil and France, which help to understand the transnational circulation of Paul Rousseau & Cie's, as well as its relations with Brazilian institutions. Such a confrontation required an interdisciplinary look at the object that interrelates transnational history, economic history, material culture, history of education and history of science teaching, in São Paulo. The Maison Paul Rousseau & Cie was a French company that manufactures physics, chemistry, scientific materials and laboratory utensils. In the "Catalogue General Illustré", from the year 1888, located in the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (Conservatoire numérique des Arts et Métiers - Paris / France), the company informs that, in 1843, M. Émile Rousseau, the father, then professor of Chemistry, he stopped teaching to found his own establishment. The businesses built by Émile Rousseau were inherited by son Paul Rousseau, a plant and a commercial establishment, located at 17 Soufflot Street. The Maison Paul Rousseau & Cie has expanded its business not only in France, but in different parts of the world. Within the scope of this work, the emphasis is on the sale of substances, objects and devices for the teaching of natural sciences by Paul Rousseau & Cie to Brazilian institutions, especially schools in São Paulo. About the Normal Schools of São Paulo, invoices specify the dates of purchases, the materials that were purchased with the respective prices, as well as a set of information about the Maison. In the Historical Archive of the Polytechnic School of São Paulo, it was possible to locate 115 pages of invoices from Paul Rousseau & Cie, between the years 1891 and 1899. The detailed analysis of trades, invoices and customs clearance shows that the realization of the teaching of Physics and Chemistry, in many Brazilian schools, depended on the transnational commercialization of scientific objects and, for this, contributes significantly to Maison Paul Rousseau & Cie, from Paris. Explore this movement, from the perspective of a transnational and economic history of the school, helps to understand more broadly the implementation and history of teaching natural sciences in São Paulo.

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### **The history of the Natural History subject: prescriptions, contents and materials (1890 - 1930)**

Andrezza Silva Cameski (PONTIFÍCIA UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA DE SÃO PAULO)

This research understands that, at the end of the 19th century, there is an intense movement towards the establishment of scientific scholar subjects in Brazil, even though there is a predominance of the idea of classical humanities in the curriculum. This movement coincides with new ideals sought by the recently proclaimed Republic, which asks for scientific knowledge, constituting new school needs. The work seeks to investigate the course of constitution of the scholar subject called Natural History in the state of São Paulo, approaching the circulating knowledge and the knowledge produced in relation to secondary education, thinking about their prescriptions, contents and teaching materials. The central question is: how was Natural History constituted as a school discipline thinking about science education in its prescriptive character? The working hypothesis is that Natural History was constituted by a set of knowledge dialogued from an ideal of scientific science that circulated through natural history museums, the knowledge of naturalists, contents and materials designed in different spaces, the study of nature from the observation of which educational interests are not separated. For the study, documents located in the Arquivo Público de São Paulo, in the Arquivo Histórico da Assembleia Legislativa de São Paulo, in the Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD), in the Centro de Referência em Educação Mario Covas, in the Marista Arquidiocesano de São Paulo School and public schools in São Paulo: Gymnasio São Paulo and "Otoniel Mota" (Gymnasio de Ribeirão Preto), such as minutes of congregations, textbooks, scientific objects, crafts, newspapers, yearbooks, reports, legislation, etc. . The history of school subject is studied in terms of its constitution, its objectives and its school

practices, based on the studies of Chervel (1990), Goodson (1997, 2018) and Bittencourt (2003). Finally, as a result, we identified the idea of scientific education conceived for secondary education in Natural History through the use of scientific objects that sought to reproduce nature as close to reality as possible. Pieces that were used to provide the development of dedicated observation, which would allow the development of skills such as accurate description, data collection, analysis and conclusions from the experimentation of the concrete.

### **A história da disciplina de História Natural: prescrições, conteúdos e materiais (1890 – 1930)**

Esta pesquisa entende que, no final do século XIX, há um intenso movimento para o estabelecimento de disciplinas científicas no Brasil, ainda que haja a predominância da ideia de humanidades clássicas no currículo. Este movimento coincide com novos ideais pretendidos pela República recém proclamada, que pede pelo conhecimento científico, constituindo novas necessidades escolares. O trabalho procura investigar o percurso de constituição da disciplina de História Natural no estado de São Paulo, aproximando-nos dos saberes circulantes e dos saberes produzidos em relação ao ensino secundário, pensando suas prescrições, conteúdos e materiais de ensino. A questão central é: como a História Natural foi constituída como disciplina escolar pensando a educação científica no seu caráter prescritivo? A hipótese de trabalho é que a História Natural foi sendo constituída por um conjunto de conhecimentos dialogados a partir de um ideário de educação científica circulante que perpassava os museus de história natural, o conhecimento de naturalistas, conteúdos e materiais pensados em diferentes espaços, o estudo da natureza a partir da observação do qual não se separa os interesses educacionais. Para o estudo, foram investigados documentos localizados no Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, no Arquivo Histórico da Assembleia Legislativa de São Paulo, na Biblioteca do Livro Didático (BLD), no Centro de Referência em Educação Mario Covas, no Colégio Marista Arquidiocesano de São Paulo e nas escolas estaduais “São Paulo” (Gymnasio São Paulo), e “Otoniel Mota” (Gymnasio de Ribeirão Preto), tais como atas de congregações, livros didáticos, objetos científicos, ofícios, jornais, anuários, relatórios, legislação etc. Estuda-se a história da disciplina escolar tratando da sua constituição, seus objetivos e de suas práticas escolares, a partir dos estudos de Chervel (1990), Goodson (1997, 2018) e Bittencourt (2003). Por fim, como resultado, identificamos a ideia de educação científica concebida para o ensino secundário em História Natural por meio da utilização dos objetos científicos que procuraram reproduzir a natureza o mais próximo do real possível. Peças que eram utilizadas para proporcionarem o desenvolvimento da observação dedicada, que permitiria o desenvolvimento de habilidades como descrição apurada, coleta de dados, análise e conclusões a partir da experimentação do concreto.

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### **Science and sensations in José Cecilio del Valle. Education and dissemination of science during the emancipation of Central America.**

Andres Eduardo Garcia Lainez (UERJ, Programa Estudante Convênio de Pós-graduação, PEC-PG)

Between 1820 and 1823 Central America went through its process of emancipation of the Spanish Colony (1821) and the Mexican Empire of Agustín Iturbide (1823). In that context, the Honduran

intellectual José Cecilio del Valle appears, first with the drafting of the Central American independence act signed on September 15, 1821, and then with his important role in the Mexican congress in 1822 and 1823. However, its vast academic production bequeathed important documents to think about science and education during the emancipation process of Central America in which the traditional or scholastic system operated. That is why the present work focuses on exploring the thesis of José Cecilio del Valle (1820) on science: “Man feels the action of the beings that work in it, and his feelings are of two kinds: pleasant and annoying. He wants to increase the number of the former and decrease that of the latter; look for in nature the beings that can fill this desire; accumulate ideas and observations; ponder the methods that can make them serve their purpose, and this orderly sum, this methodical system of knowledge is what it calls Science” (p. 69). This thesis is registered and developed throughout the 48 issues of his newspaper *El Amigo de la Patria* (1820-1822) and systematized in his text *Memory on Education* (1823). In the first one, several publications are observed in which it manifests the need to disseminate the sciences to illustrate society. Its axes of action are part of the review of the European scientific literature focused on the economy, commerce and politics, marking a kind of backwardness in relation to the knowledge that surrounded the Guatemalan society at that time; at the same time, there are his criticisms and suggestions articulated to teaching methods of some classes of the Guatemalan Economic Society. In the second case, we see this structured thesis in an educational system proposal based on the precepts of the Hazelwood school in Birmingham; It also defines the profile of the teacher and the implementation of scientific societies. In conclusion, we see, through Valle, the lifting of an alternative proposal to the scholastic, taking as main resource the dissemination of sciences as a civilizing and homogenizing element of Central American society during its emancipation process under its first thesis: “increase the pleasant sensations and decrease the annoying ones”.

### **Ciencia y sensaciones en José Cecilio del Valle. Educación y divulgación de las ciencias durante la emancipación de América Central.**

Entre 1820 y 1823 América Central pasó por su proceso de emancipación de la Colonia Española (1821) y del Imperio Mexicano de Agustín Iturbide (1823). En ese contexto, figura el intelectual hondureño José Cecilio del Valle, primero con la redacción del acta de independencia de América Central firmada el 15 de septiembre de 1821 y, luego, con su importante papel en el congreso mexicano en 1822 y 1823. No obstante, su vasta producción académica legó importantes documentos para pensar las ciencias y la educación durante el proceso de emancipación de América Central en el cual operaba el sistema tradicional o escolástico. Es por eso por lo que el presente trabajo tiene como foco explorar la tesis de José Cecilio del Valle (1820) sobre las ciencias: “El hombre siente la acción de los seres que obran en él, y sus sensaciones son de dos clases: agradables y molestas. Quiere aumentar el número de las primeras y disminuir el de las segundas; busca en la naturaleza los seres que pueden llenar este deseo; acumula ideas y observaciones; medita los métodos que pueden hacerlos servir a su objeto, y esta suma ordenada, este sistema metódico de conocimientos es lo que llama Ciencia” (pág. 69). Esta tesis se encuentra inscrita y desarrollada a lo largo de los 48 números de su periódico *El Amigo de la Patria* (1820-1822) y sistematizada en su texto *Memoria sobre la Educación* (1823). En el primero se observan diversas publicaciones en las cuales manifiesta la necesidad de divulgar las ciencias para ilustrar a la sociedad. Sus ejes de acción se inscriben en la revisión de la literatura científica europea enfocada a la economía, comercio y política marcando una especie de atraso con relación al conocimiento que circundaba en la sociedad guatemalteca en ese momento; al mismo tiempo, se encuentran sus críticas y sugerencias articuladas a métodos de enseñanza de algunas clases de la Sociedad Económica de Guatemala. En el segundo caso, vemos dicha tesis estructurada en una propuesta de sistema educativo tomando como base los preceptos de la escuela Hazelwood de Birmingham; así también define el perfil del profesor y la implementación de las sociedades científicas.

En conclusión, vemos, por medio de Valle, el levantamiento de una propuesta alternativa a la escolástica, tomando como recurso principal la divulgación de las ciencias como un elemento civilizador y homogeneizador de la sociedad centroamericana durante su proceso de emancipación bajo su tesis primera: “aumentar las sensaciones agradables y disminuir las molestas”.

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**MONDAY June 14                      4:00 - 5:30**

**01-SES 04: OBJECTS, GENDER AND EDUCATION. MATERIALITY AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL HISTORY**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Ulrich Leitner (University of Innsbruck), Christina Antenhofer (University of Salzburg)

## **Objects, Gender And Education. Materiality As A Source Of Social History**

In the last decade materiality as a source of social history has been widely discussed in social and cultural studies. In educational sciences, especially the relationship between space, material arrangements and bodily activities has been investigated. With our panel we want to take up the new approaches of the material and spatial turns in social and cultural studies to address the still pressing question of how the social is produced by materiality. Especially we want to focus on the role objects play in the construction of gender relations in educational processes. With regard to the question of this year's ISCHE conference topic on the social in the history of education we want to investigate different educational contexts in a wide historical perspective. Based on the methodological set of approaches, developed by Bourdieu and Foucault, as well as on their further discussion in gender studies (Dolphin/van der Tuin 2012) we want to discuss how different types of historical sources related to the history of education can be analyzed as "coagulated", materialized social structures of gender and the power relationships embedded therein. Using these ideas historical objects can firstly be understood as the results of the actions of actors in social structures or frames, and secondly the actors can be regarded as participants in the reproduction of these structures. In our opinion, the interplay between the materiality of space, body and objects is particularly important in order to work out historically, in different periods and social fields, the relationships between gender, power and education. The following questions will be discussed:

- 1) What does materiality tell us about gender constructions, gender roles, gender expectations and norms in educational contexts?
- 2) Which objects are affiliated with education and do they have impact on gender relationships? Do they facilitate educational processes and enhance dichotomies between male and female education?
- 3) Which objects are important for which pedagogical situation and which material is used for which educational practices?
- 4) How do objects influence images and projections of male and female education? What role do these images play for the segregation of female and male education?
- 5) How can objects and spatial arrangements be used as sources for the history of education beyond written sources?
- 6) What role does the materiality of written sources play in the educational process?
- 7) Speaking more generally: How do material resources, their availability (books, paper, writing utensils etc.) influence the history of education in different social contexts? How does the availability of sources shape certain educational situations (like lectures due to lack of books, multiple age groups in one class in small mountain schools etc.)? How does this shape the history of education both socially and historically above all concerning segregated forms of education (elite schooling, reformatories etc.)
- 8) How can material sources be used to detect forms of education beyond modern schooling?

An interdisciplinary team of historians and educational scientists from three different universities and from two national contexts will analyze case studies from ancient history to the 20th century. The broad historical approach will allow to focus on changing or persisting concepts of education and knowledge as well as of gender and the related social structures challenging master narratives rooted in the bourgeois milieu of the 19th century which historically had the most lasting impact on the

historiography of both the history of education and gender. A special focus will be given on methodological aspects.

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### **Gender As A Category Of Knowledge In Relation to Medieval Female Book-Ownership Mechthild's OfThe Palatinate Book Collection (1462) InTheLightOf Gender-Knowledge**

Ruth Isser (University of Salzburg)

The question of gender plays a role in medieval literature in a variety of ways and is linked to inner- and intertextual dynamics as well as to the materiality of the books. The regulation of the content and access of knowledge and the associated restrictions in the transfer and acquisition of knowledge represent a central social differentiation mechanism that must be seen in close relation to gender orders. This paper will deal with the intertwining of the categories of difference and knowledge formations. According to the literary scientist, Susanne Schul, gender is understood as a category that delimits an inherent subject area within a broad field of knowledge, specifies specific dispositions of knowledge and discursively produces gender-knowledge shaped by cultural history. This definition of gender is connected to constructions of masculinity as well as femininity, structures social formations of gender differences and is integrated into processual reproductions of gender-related knowledge orders. In this approach gender-knowledge is interpreted and analyzed in so far as the attribution of practices, characteristics and positions to a gender group also limits possible behavior and resources of power according to gender. Related to this, fictional narrations are to be understood as part of a discursive transfer and shaping of knowledge as well as carriers of specific knowledge systems that present different drafts of gender-knowledge and process value systems shaped by status. This approach opens up the possibility to create unusual combinations of knowledge, to cross social boundaries and to try out different concepts of knowledge. In this context, Susanne Schul asks which narrative concepts of knowledge and non-knowledge are presented in intra- and inter-gender gender relations, which hierarchical mechanisms are conveyed and which possibilities of a norm deviating exchange of knowledge fictional texts can design.

This paper applies Susanne Schul's considerations in a case study: Mechthild of the Palatinate (1419-1482) reportedly had an impressive collection of books and a part of this book collection will be analyzed based on Schul's method for extracting gender-knowledge from fictional medieval literature. Second, the books themselves and the library in their materiality will be taken into focus to consider



the panel's broad view on the interrelation of gender, materiality and education. The limited availability of books before the age of printing makes book ownership more exclusive and a unique source of education regarding areas of knowledge the books represent. Interest will also be given to practices of reading and using of books. Special focus will be given to the question of how fictional literature interacts with the education and knowledge of a noble women of the late Middle Ages. Gender-specific knowledge and non-knowledge conveyed in literary texts transports norms, values and categories within specific cultural and historical contexts. The paper thus wants to show that gender-knowledge presented in fictional medieval narratives can be seen both as a product and as a producer of social structures that construct gender relations.

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### **The Social Structuralisation Of Gender In Ward Files Of The Federal State Of Salzburg In The Period From 1945 To 1975**

Birgit Bütow (University of Salzburg), Dorian Spitzer (University of Salzburg), Vanessa Blaha (University of Salzburg)

This paper discusses preliminary results of the research project on the development of child and youth welfare in the tension between “Heilpädagogik”<sup>\*</sup> and the child psychiatry and youth psychiatry in the federal state of Salzburg in the period from 1945 to 1975. The aim of this project is to reconstruct the core topics and problem areas of socio-pedagogical thinking of this time.

The ward files used in the local youth welfare departments and in the state youth welfare department are the most important source. Ralser (2017) already delivered a detailed description of this type of document. The files served the youth welfare departments mostly to fulfill their function as a legal guardian. The documents contained in the ward files refer to different contexts and practices. This includes official forms, judicial decisions, official documents, minutes of conversations and home visits, psychological and psychiatric reports and school certificates. This compilation allows the reconstruction of the social structure behind this child welfare system through the habitual and normative framework within the welfare regime. Gender makes a significant difference, when cases are generated within the files. The concept of neglect (“Verwahrlosung”) is a key term of welfare regime in this period. Since it is legally binding, but its content is relatively vague, it is filled with gender-specific stereotypes. For example, girls and young women were typically judged in terms of their sexuality especially they were presented as dangerous. The ward files were mostly created and maintained by female carers. On the other hand, men mostly signed documents such as expert opinions or court orders. In addition to the gender of the actors, their professional background and social position are also relevant. The methodological link between the perspective of the official and professional actors and that of the social structuring of welfare is Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus relates to a social field and the possibilities of action inscribed therein (Bourdieu 1976). The concept puts the body in the focus of research. With regard to the ward files, field means the interaction of social spaces and actors. This interaction constructs the pupils and their bodies as addressees or victims of educational practices. The references of the files to each other allow a reconstruction of the relationships between the social practices. Power relationships shape these social practices. The “Heilpädagogische Institut”<sup>\*</sup> set up in 1954, for example, provided the diagnoses, which operated as a hub for deciding how to proceed with the pupils (Dietrich-Daum 2018). Stigmas produced by such diagnoses could hardly be revised in the further course of the ‘treatment’. Last but not least, the political and social situation must also be taken into account.

In view of the topic of the panel, the paper focuses mainly on the interplay of social spaces and the bodies of the pupils that become visible in these ward files to address the question on the interplay between materiality, gender and education.

\*“Heilpädagogik” means a pedagogical approach using psychiatric concepts.

\*This institute worked similar to a clearing house.

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## **“Materialising The Past”. How Spatial, Bodily And Sensory Experiences Affect The Memory Of Former Male Boarding School Students**

Ulrich Leitner (University of Innsbruck), Annemarie Augschöll Blasbichler (Free University of Bolzano)

„The past is not only discussed and thought about, it is also materialised in bodies, things, buildings and places.“ Based on this basic thesis raised by the ethnologist Sharon McDonald (2003) in her book “Memorylands” the paper asks, which role spatial as well as bodily and sensory experiences play in autobiographical sources of former boarding school students. In this context “Materialising the past” means a methodological approach, which wants to take a close look on the interplay between the material reality and bodily activities expressed in so called “ego-documents” (Schulze 2003).

The paper focuses on episcopal minor seminaries in South Tyrol (Italy), which were founded at the end of the nineteenth century as training institutions for future priests. These institutions were characterised by a rigid and disciplining catholic pedagogy, a closed spatial arrangement and their monoeducational concept. For many former students the experiences in these boarding schools were characterised by different forms of violence and humiliation. Some of them decided to deal with the past by writing autobiographies and diaries or by producing autobiographically inspired films. In recent times some of them shared their experiences with scholars in form of biographical narrative interviews. In all of these different modes of generating memories spatial as well as bodily and sensory experiences play an outstanding role. With regard to the topic of this panel on gender and materiality one special observation can be highlighted: The former boarding school students often argue, that the minor seminaries were not just places of gender segregation, the seminaries also propagated a special “male habitus”. Furthermore, the former seminarists say, that they incorporated this kind of habitus, which was not just important for the life within the institution and the hierarchy amongst the young men. The special habitus as seminarist had also influence on their future live, especially their relationship to the opposite sex.

The presentation will first give an overview of the broad lines of the catholic education of male students in minor seminaries. In a second step the different sorts of sources will be presented by turning the lens especially on methodological challenges when working with different types of ego-documents. Finally, the focus will be given on the relationship between the “gendered space” of the seminaries and a special “male habitus”. Overall, the presentation wants to contribute to the question, how approaches of new materialism and gender studies can enrich educational historical research based on ego-documents.

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## 02-SES 04: NEGOTIATING EXPERIENCE: STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN WAR AND PEACE

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Heather Ellis (University of Sheffield)

### **Experiencing Study Abroad: Educational Travel and Identities among British Students in the Postwar Period**

Heather Ellis (University of Sheffield)

Historians of education have paid increasing attention in recent years to the history of the study abroad movement, particularly in the USA and China (Hoffa & Depaul, 2010; Brawner Bevis, 2013). Yet there has been little research on the movements and migrations of British students who studied overseas. Britain has figured almost exclusively as the host and receiver of foreign students (Perraton, 2014).

As this paper will suggest, there is strong evidence that Britain was one of the most active countries in sending its students overseas as part of inter-governmental and university exchange programmes. Recent research into post-war study abroad programmes in France, Germany and the USA has emphasised the strong connections which existed between sponsorship of study abroad programmes and state-directed cultural diplomacy especially in the interwar and Cold War periods (Bu, 1999; Windsor, 2014; Asada, 2019).

Less attention, by contrast, has been paid to the perspectives, experiences and identities of students themselves. In this paper, I will draw on a range of sources including oral history interviews with former study abroad students, personal accounts of study abroad experiences as well as published and unpublished letters to explore the complex and sometimes contradictory meanings which the experience of study abroad held for the students involved.

Drawing on methodological insights from the history of experiences and identity, I will argue that the experience of study abroad provoked a range of reflections on identity among British students at a number of levels – national, European and international. It frequently stimulated new thinking about individual and collective identity as well as their own actions and behaviour in relation to questions of social justice and human rights, pacifism and internationalism. I will also seek to place these observations about British students in the context of existing studies of study abroad students from other parts of the world.

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### **Children's Philanthropy During the First World War: A History of Experience and the Emotions**

Stephanie Olsen (Tampere University)

Children throughout the British Empire were encouraged by schools, organizations and communities to participate in the First World War as future citizens and humanitarians. Their emotions, and their experiences, were cultivated collectively. Children responded to these appeals in multiple and creative ways. They raised money by holding bazaars and teas, selling handmade goods and home-cooked food. They collected for the Red Cross, the Belgian and Serbian Relief funds and many other specific causes during the course of the war. They visited soldiers in hospital and brought them presents. They collected leeches, scraps and metal. From Indian Head Saskatchewan to Melbourne Australia, children wrote essays, drew pictures, and composed letters for education ministers, youth leaders and other adults detailing their thoughts and efforts.

Children, through these actions, and their numerous everyday contributions (often non-material and leaving no trace) contributed to the enormous emotional effort of the war. This paper will detail these efforts and showcase the remaining traces of child-directed efforts. The bulk of the paper will move beyond this analysis to ask why so many children were motivated to contribute in such substantial ways to the war effort. What sort of emotional formation was required in order to stir children to action? And from where was the impetus – social, school, community, family, peer, and/or individual? In recognizing these multi-layered influences – from above and from peers - a complex understanding of the “social” emerges. In attempting to address these questions, the paper will also discuss those children who did not (or could not) participate in First World War philanthropy and the tensions and emotive failure they faced.

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see paper

### **Becoming Peaceful: Memories of British Peace Movement Activists, 1920s-1960s**

Susannah Lisbet Wright (Oxford Brookes University)

The 1920s to 1960s saw the direct aftermath of one World War, encompassed another, and the development and use of nuclear weapons. Peace organisations in Britain constituted a significant social movement and enjoyed periods of mass membership and significant public attention. Research to date into 'primary' peace organisations (cf Ceadel)<sup>1</sup> –the League of Nations Union, the Peace Pledge Union, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament - has focused on major campaigns, executive committees, and heroic individuals, and notably on actions and convictions of adults. I argue, however, that if we are to understand the social collective of the peace movement over a sustained period, there is value in considering the stories of a broader cross-section of individual activists, and, importantly, in attending

to the place and significance of childhood and youth, and of relationships between children and adults, in the movement. As well as the mass demonstrations, the publicity statements, and the figureheads. intergenerational relationships and informal/nonformal learning within homes, schools, churches, the community, shaped the ideals and internal dynamics of the British peace movement and help to explain how the movement was sustained, and changed, over time.

This paper examines (1) the influences and relationships in childhood and youth which drew campaigners, and, to a lesser extent, (2) what these campaigners thought, and did, as adults, concerning children and their involvement in the movement, and (3) methodological questions about collective memory in a social movement. I draw on oral history interviews with 30 activists born between 1900 and 1940 (archived in the British Library and Imperial War Museum sound collections). These interviews, which examine in some detail individual activists' lives, facilitate attention to their childhoods, to relationships between them as children and adults, and how they as adults related to children, as well as issues of how they draw on their memories and what the historian can – and cannot – do to piece together a collective story. Archived oral histories present methodological challenges, not least concerning the accuracy of memories which are recorded retrospectively and often many years after the original event, and the self-selection of interviewees. They are, moreover, drawn on at a later date still by a historian influenced by their own research questions and the social, cultural and political climate of their time. These oral histories, I suggest, do not provide a coherent collective memory – despite overlaps the memories, relationships, and learning experiences which they narrate are unique to the individuals involved. Yet taken together these recordings constitute a record which offers a sense of activism at the local level and of patterns, connections, relationships, and of similarities and differences between individuals within the collective entity of the peace movement. I argue (cf Gleason and Miller among others)<sup>2</sup> for the value of this analysis in shedding light on a range of individual experiences, and agentic responses, including cooperation, intergenerational alliances, and resistance, all of which drew different individuals, in different ways. into a collective body and to campaign for similar aims.

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## **03-SES 04: STRUGGLES FOR EQUALITY**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Ana Laura Abramowski (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, UNGS; Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO)

### **Movimiento Cooperativo De Escuela Popular, Both In The Community And In The Classroom: The Case Of Vallecas In The 1980s**

Alba María Gómez Sánchez (University of Salamanca)

For the Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular (MCEP – Cooperative Movement of Popular Schooling), or the Freinet movement in Spain, the struggle to establish a public and popular schooling system went beyond a set of teaching methods. Their willingness to get involved in the fabric of Spain's society to drive forward a different vision (both educational and social) defined these progressive educators as a group which – rather than existing in their own little bubble – forged links with other collectives of teachers, as well as political parties, trade unions, neighbourhood associations, parent associations, democratic institutions, and more. The goal of all this was to improve life in schools and, ultimately, create a fairer, more democratic society.

Traditionally, hitherto, the Freinet movement in Spain has been studied, understood and interpreted in pedagogical terms, with scant attention paid to the group's various efforts to deal with the difficulties faced by the community. Generally, they addressed social issues, which varied from one territory to another. Thus, each Grupo Territorial (GT – Territorial Group) dealt with different problems that were specific to the community or area in which they were working.

In the 1980s, a significant portion of the population of Vallecas, under the Madrid GT, were different to those in other areas of Madrid, and other groups. The general situation was crushing poverty and unliveable conditions, due to insufficient housing, unemployment, hunger, malnutrition, poor hygiene, rampant disease, alcoholism and drug addiction, amongst other afflictions. The schools were like huge echo chambers which amplified this situation. The pupils lacked cultural stimulation, often suffered from psychological instability or, in the most extreme cases, were described as «criminals in the making». Thus, school days were fraught with difficulty.

In response to this situation, faced with the «smallmindedness of the legislation and an administration that is radically opposed to any sort of reform to the schooling system», Freinet's disciples in Madrid worked side by side with local people to promote an educational-cultural project for Vallecas. The aim was to humanise Vallecas, making it somewhere that children and those around them would feel themselves active participants in their community. This research closely examines the cultural-educational project tailored to Vallecas, and begins by asking to what extent these actions contributed to the establishment of a new and different type of school. We also study the defining features of the desired school. Finally, we ask whether projects such as this addressed issues beyond the bounds of school, raising awareness among the groups, by demanding a range of resources be put in place in their district – e.g. a network of school canteens, housing, and sanitation – without which any effort to generate cultural awareness would have surely been fruitless.

Exclusively original documentary sources have been consulted for this project – specifically, those belonging to the MCEP's historic archive.

### **Movimiento Cooperativo De Escuela Popular, Both In The Community And In The Classroom: The Case Of Vallecas In The 1980s**

Para el Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular (MCEP) o movimiento Freinet en España la lucha por una escuela pública y popular iba más allá de unas técnicas pedagógicas. La necesidad de incidir en el conjunto social para animar una visión –educativa y social– diferente les definió como un colectivo que no vivía encerrado en sí mismo y se relacionaba no solo con otros colectivos pedagógicos, sino también con partidos, sindicatos, asociaciones vecinales y de padres, instituciones democráticas, etc. Ello con el objetivo de mejorar la vida escolar y lograr una sociedad más justa y democrática.

Tradicionalmente, el movimiento Freinet en España ha sido estudiado, entendido e interpretado en términos pedagógicos, dejando de lado los distintos esfuerzos que este grupo realizó para enfrentar los problemas o dificultades presentes en la comunidad. Generalmente, estos problemas o dificultades

a las que se enfrentaron eran de carácter social y variaban en función de las características de cada territorio. De esta forma cada Grupo Territorial (GT) se ocupó de distintas problemáticas específicas de la comunidad o barrio dentro de la cual desarrollaba su labor.

En los años '80 gran parte de la población de Vallecas, donde el GT de Madrid operaba, presentaba unas características diferentes a las de otros grupos y barrios de Madrid. La panorámica general englobaba situaciones de pobreza y miseria insostenibles como resultado de la escasez de viviendas, paro, hambre, desnutrición, falta de higiene, propensión a las enfermedades, alcoholismo y drogadicción, entre otros. Las escuelas actuaban como grandes cajas de resonancia de esta situación y a ellas acudían niños con falta de estímulos culturales, muchas veces con desequilibrios psicológicos, o calificados como «pre-delincuentes» en los casos más extremos. Así, el desarrollo de las jornadas escolares era duro y lleno de dificultades.

En respuesta a esta situación y enfrentándose al «cerrilismo de la legislación y a una administración radicalmente opuesta a cualquier reforma en la escuela», los maestros freinetianos de Madrid colaboraron codo con codo con la gente de estos barrios para promover un proyecto educativo-cultural para Vallecas. El objetivo era convertir Vallecas en un barrio humanizado donde niños y convecinos se sintieran miembros partícipes de su comunidad. Esta investigación dialoga con este proyecto educativo-cultural específico para Vallecas y se cuestiona, en primer lugar, en qué medida la puesta en marcha de estas acciones comunes ayudaron al nacimiento de otra escuela. De otra parte, ¿qué características presentaba esa escuela deseada? Finalmente, nos preguntamos si proyectos como este atendieron asuntos que iban más allá de lo escolar y sirvieron para crear conciencia entre los grupos a la hora de exigir en su distrito un abanico de medios y recursos –por ejemplo: una red de comedores escolares, la vivienda, o la sanidad– sin los cuales cualquier esfuerzo en generar interés por la cultura hubiera sido estéril.

Las fuentes documentales que han posibilitado este estudio son exclusivamente originales y pertenecen al archivo histórico del Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular.

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### **Social Movements and Formal Education: Students and Educational Reform in Myanmar**

Tamar Groves (Extremadura University), Trude Stapnes (PRIO)

Although there is a growing body of literature concerning the educational implications of social movements, main stream educational research tends to overlook this phenomenon (Niesz, 2018). As formal education encapsulates the core social ideas of given societies, social movements attempt to influence it by targeting laws, curriculum, institutional organisation, etc. The civil right movement and



its impacts on formal education in the USA is maybe the most famous example, but researchers have studied social movements' influence on formal education in varied parts of the world, such as India (Niesz, T., & Krishnamurthy, 2013) and Brazil (Diniz-Pereira, 2005).

In this paper, we look at the social mobilization of students against the new National Education Law (NEL) in 2014. The law was enacted by the semi-civil government elected in 2010, as part of the regime's declared attempt to move towards democracy. The NEL aim was to improve the country's education system, but large segments of society believed that it did not eventually bring to any significant reform (Shah, Aung, and Lopes Cardozo 2019). Students organised as they perceived the legalisation as unjust (Stapnes, Carlquist, and Horst 2019)

Students have a long tradition of mobilization in Myanmar since the colonial era. When the military seized power in 1962, The cracking down of demonstrators at Yangon University and the destruction of the student union building became a symbol of the military regime's brutality and the students' determination (Metro 2017). After a period of underground activities, the students got involved in all the major democratic protests, in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. As the military regime moved towards reform at the beginning of the 21st century they also took part in the augmenting social conflict.

Using interviews with students activists and secondary sources our paper traces the interaction between state policies and social movements in order to illuminate how state-society relations are influencing educational reform in Contemporary Myanmar, and how education is perceived as a vital element in the struggle over the country's future.

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### **The Spanish Socialist Workers Party and the Organic Law of the Right to Education (1985): Church, State, rights and freedoms**

Javier González-Moreno (Universidad de Murcia)

In 1982 the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) arrives at the Government. At that time, the construction of the new political regime out of the Transition was quite advanced. However, although in education there was a Constitutional Block formed by the Constitution and the Sentence of the Constitutional Court of 1981 on the Organic Law of the Statute of School Centers, there was still no

organic law accepted by all political actors that resolved the major issues of Spanish education policy: clarify the role of the Church's school apparatus and solve poor schooling. The PSOE had already resolved its internal debates on secularization and schooling by renouncing the traditional state ideas of the Spanish left. The Socialists saw themselves as the party that was going to fulfill the "historical task" of establishing a modern state integrated in Europe, for which they had to avoid a school war with the Church that endangered the new political regime. The PSOE's interpretation of the Constitutional Block for the Organic Law of the Right to Education (LODE) that would be enacted in 1985 was that the State should respect the inherited private sector (mainly owned by the Church), but also guarantee the right to education, all through a school map that will rationalize the education system. Private centers would collaborate in providing the public education service through concerts that would cover the free education, in exchange for counterparts in participation of the school community and non-discrimination. Thus, a State programmer of education was born that would try to guarantee decent and free school positions through compulsory public and private school networks at mandatory levels. For the Socialists, it was necessary to reorder as peacefully as possible the relations between private and public school networks before undertaking the expansion and extension of compulsory schooling to European levels. The PSOE tried to enact a law accepted by all actors and constitutional, for which he negotiated at all times with the ecclesiastical sectors and Catalan nationalists. However, there were strong controversies about the nature of the centers and the freedom of professorship, zoning and freedom of choice of center, and the rest of "concurrent freedoms" in education. The private school sectors organized a large campaign against and resorted to the LODE before the Constitutional Court, which ruled an interpretative ruling of the law. Even so, the LODE was in danger until the last moment, and was only saved with meetings between the minister and the bishops. Finally, practically the entire school apparatus of the Church passed the Transition intact. This study is part of an ongoing doctoral thesis and has analyzed the publications of the Ministry of Education, the Cortes and the PSOE of the time, as well as internal documentation of the Ministry, works of the Socialists, press and multiple studies. It also has interviews with leading actors in socialist educational policy, such as Victorino Mayoral, José Torreblanca or Manuel de Puelles.

### **El Partido Socialista Obrero Español y la Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación (1985): Iglesia, Estado, derechos y libertades**

En 1982 el Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) llega al Gobierno. Por entonces, la construcción del nuevo régimen político salido de la Transición estaba bastante avanzada. Sin embargo, aunque en educación existía un Bloque Constitucional formado por la Constitución y la Sentencia del Tribunal Constitucional de 1981 sobre la Ley Orgánica del Estatuto de Centros Escolares, aún no había una ley orgánica aceptada por todos los actores políticos que resolviera las grandes cuestiones de la política educativa española: clarificar el papel del aparato escolar de la Iglesia y solucionar la deficiente escolarización.

El PSOE ya había resuelto sus debates internos sobre secularización y escolarización renunciando a las ideas estatalizadoras tradicionales de la izquierda española. Los socialistas se veían como el partido que iba a cumplir la "tarea histórica" de asentar un Estado moderno integrado en Europa, para lo cual debían evitar una guerra escolar con la Iglesia que pusiera en peligro el nuevo régimen político.

La interpretación del PSOE sobre el Bloque Constitucional para la Ley Orgánica del Derecho a la Educación (LODE) que conseguirían promulgar en 1985 era que el Estado debía respetar al sector privado heredado (propiedad principalmente de la Iglesia), pero también garantizar el derecho a la educación, todo ello mediante un mapa escolar que racionalizara el sistema educativo. Los centros privados colaborarían en la prestación del servicio público de la educación mediante unos conciertos que cubrirían la gratuidad de la enseñanza, a cambio de contrapartidas en participación de la

comunidad escolar y no discriminación. Nacía así un Estado programador de la enseñanza que intentaría garantizar mediante las redes escolares pública y privada concertada puestos escolares dignos y gratuitos en los niveles obligatorios. Para los socialistas, era necesario reordenar lo más pacíficamente posible las relaciones entre las redes escolares privada y pública antes de acometer la expansión y extensión de la escolaridad obligatoria hasta niveles europeos.

El PSOE trató de promulgar una ley aceptada por todos los actores y constitucional, para lo cual negoció en todo momento con los sectores eclesiásticos y los nacionalistas catalanes. No obstante, hubo fuertes polémicas sobre el carácter propio de los centros y la libertad de cátedra, la zonificación y la libertad de elección de centro, y el resto de “libertades concurrentes” en educación. Los sectores de la escuela privada organizaron una gran campaña en contra y recurrieron la LODE ante el Tribunal Constitucional, que falló una sentencia interpretativa de la ley. Aun así, la LODE estuvo en peligro hasta el último momento, y sólo se salvó con reuniones entre el ministro y los obispos. Finalmente, prácticamente todo el aparato escolar de la Iglesia pasó intacto la Transición.

Este estudio es parte de una tesis doctoral en curso y ha analizado las publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, las Cortes y el PSOE de la época, así como documentación interna del Ministerio, obras de los socialistas, prensa y múltiples estudios. Cuenta asimismo con entrevistas con destacados protagonistas de la política educativa socialista, como, por ejemplo, Victorino Mayoral, José Torreblanca o Manuel de Puelles.

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### **The Influence Of Public And Pedagogical Movement On The Development Of The Ukrainian School (In The Late XIX Century –1917)**

Larysa Berezivska (V. O. Sukhomlynskyi State Scientific and Pedagogical Library of Ukraine), Alla Durdas (V. O. Sukhomlynskyi State Scientific and Pedagogical Library of Ukraine; Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University)

Today, in the conditions of the development of independent Ukraine in the context of external threats and internal socio-political, socio-economic and cultural changes, the reference to the history of public organizations' activities on the Ukrainian lands that were part of the Russian Empire in the late XIX – early XX centuries is becoming relevant – during the period of autocratic denationalization and Russification policies and the absence of the Ukrainian school.

At this time, under the influence of the reform processes in Western Europe and the United States, a new powerful wave as an alternative to state educational policy on the Ukrainian lands launched a social and pedagogical movement for a fundamental reform of the class system of education, which did not meet the needs of the society and did not satisfy the educational community. The absence of the Ukrainian school was one of the main socio-pedagogical problems of the Ukrainian people. With a number of shameful decrees, the Ukrainian language was forced out of the Ukraine's educational institutions. The Ukrainian language in educational institutions was strictly prohibited. The school for the Ukrainian children was foreign not only in language, but also in programs, textbooks, which told only about the Russian people, their customs, life, history. A Ukrainian child did not learn anything about his or her Motherland in a Russian school. This was the reason for the low level of interest in knowledge and relapses of illiteracy.

Public associations launched a large-scale social and educational activities. In Kyiv, centre of education and culture, the central units of various public organizations were concentrated and their branches functioned in the regions. Among these organizations especially notable were Kyiv Literacy Society (1882-1908), Kyiv Pedagogical Society for Mutual Assistance (1898-1906), Kyiv Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society (1906-1910), Froebel Society (1908-1917) and others. The interests of the national minorities were represented by public organizations that were involved in cultural and educational activities among a certain ethnic minority, namely: Jan Amos Komensky Czech Training

and Educational Society in Kyiv, Kyiv Polish Women's Union, and others. The public initiative played a leading role in the dissemination of literacy and knowledge among the Ukrainian population, the development of various areas of education, and pedagogical science.

Unfortunately, the activities of public organizations did not lead to the creation of a Ukrainian school, however, they played an exceptional role in consolidating teachers, scientists, public figures around this idea as the basis of a democratic education system, in developing its theoretical foundations (teaching in the native language; introducing the Ukrainian language and literature, history and geography of Ukraine into the curricula; publication of educational literature in the Ukrainian language, training of appropriate personnel for the Ukrainian school). The ideas of educators and public figures became the theoretical basis for the development of Ukrainian school education in other historical periods, in particular the development of the New Ukrainian School in independent Ukraine.

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#### **04-SES 04: THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF HISTORY OF EDUCATION**

Panel Session (English, French)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Johanna Ringarp (Södertörn university)

##### **History of Education: a Bibliometric Analysis**

Leonora Dugonjic-Rodwin (Uppsala Universitet), Rita Hofstetter (University of Geneva)

This paper rethinks the “social” in the history of education through a methodological lens, in a reflexive way. It calls for an auto-socio-analysis of the researchers within the discipline viewed as a field in Pierre Bourdieu’s sense of the term and in yet an unexplored way. Using Scopus, an online technology for data collection and analysis on publishing, we propose a bibliometric analysis of the history of education based on R, the freely available and open-source program for data analysis, which is increasingly being used for quantitative research in the social sciences and humanities. We propose a comprehensive science mapping analysis using the R package “bibliometrix” (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017) including measures of annual scientific production, co-citation networks among countries, conceptual citations, documents’ highest contribution, most-cited documents, keyword co-occurrences, most productive authors, most productive countries, top author production over time, and topics.

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##### **The Use And Abuse Of Educational History In Swedish Official School Reports**

Johan Samuelsson (Karlstad university), Anna Larsson (Umeå university), Magnus Hulten (Linköping university)

Official school investigations are usually based on a vast collection of existing knowledge. For example, empirical surveys, research overviews, and analyses of foreign school systems have been completed and used as grounds for the official school investigations. These collections often also include

educational history reviews. Many times, these reviews have had a normative inclination in its orientation to the past, present and the future.

It has been concluded that historical narratives often include an orientation towards the future (Rüsen, 2017; Koselleck, 2004). Previous studies of Swedish school history have shown examples of how school reformers have used school history as a way to legitimate changes in school and society by starting with a contemporary problem, and engaging history both as explanation and as legitimating future change in teaching, curriculum or organisation (Larsson, 2012; Samuelsson, 2019).

This paper takes a starting point in the assumption that historical reviews have filled a twofold function for the investigations. They have had empirical relevance by providing important information, but they have also served as an ideological resource in order to legitimate change. School history has thereby been both used and abused (Cf. Rüsen, 2017).

In this paper, we will analyse and discuss three official school reports, which all have highly influenced the Swedish school. The chosen reports are the main report of The School Commission of 1946 (SOU 1948:27); the report of the "SIA investigation", Skolans arbetsmiljö (SOU 1974:58) and the report Skola för bildning (SOU 1992:94) from the The Curriculum commission. One central task is to analyse how perceived contemporary problems have generated historical flashbacks in combination with normative orientations towards the future.

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## **The Social Relevance Of The History Of Education And Its Use In University Training Courses**

Giulia Fasan (Università degli Studi di Padova)

This contribution aims to highlight the important educational and social implications of the history of education within teacher training courses. History of education is here considered as a formative matter that is dedicated to the task of creating a link between the past and the present, designing the educational moment as an event that precedes the action but also creates the conditions for its development. The element of reflexivity inherent within it becomes its greatest challenge and opportunity. By raising new issues and challenging old ones, the discipline of the history of education becomes an interpretive lens in the training course, proposing contents that are not pre-packaged, but working on them through encouraging a critical and reflective approach.

The aim, therefore, is to support theoretically the direct interconnection between the history of education and the promotion of the pedagogical categories of identity, utopia (the state of constant striving and research in pursuit of the ideal) and critical thinking; this contributes to generating, within teacher training, that historical consciousness which promotes a balanced formulation and well thought-out reflection of ideas, a recognition of the knowledge of the past and the use of the past, and consideration of its value (Van Nieuwenhuysse, Simon and Depaepe, 2014). The promotion of these

categories is precisely what reaffirms the relevance of the social aspect in the teaching of this discipline, endowing it with a generative function in promoting the construction and strengthening of a historiographical habitus and of a well-considered and critical decision-making memory (Tomamichel, 2016). Thus, a properly educated teacher needs to balance the tension between an understanding of historical context, of past and present ideas and educational practices, and the promotion of autonomous thought and the possibility of building new pedagogical, social and educational settings, the highest expressions of a social and democratic education. This perspective avoids the risk of supporting the logics of performance, standardization and managerialism in teaching, encouraging instead that social and educational responsibility which is indispensable for the teaching profession and hence the shaping of the future and professional identities (the category of identity encompassing not only the image of the professional self but also responsibility and ethics).

This proposal is part of a wider study that has investigated the meaning and relevance of the teaching of the history of education within university training courses. In terms of methodology, this study has adopted a historiographical, interpretative and theoretical approach, involving Italian and international articles and texts as sources. The sources used concern the teaching and social aim of the discipline and, more broadly, its educational value.

The conceptual framework involves the social history of education but also the Italian tradition in teaching the history of educational ideas, trying to connect this traditional approach to the most recent international trends in the discipline and its social utility. This social relevance finds its *raison d'être* in part in the university training courses for the educational professions.

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### **At Althusser's School, a Research Laboratory For Another History Of Education?**

Xavier Riondet (Université de Lorraine)

For ISCHE 42 édition, we propose to revisit a forgotten episode in the history of contemporary French philosophy when Althusser and his collaborators, discussed, as part of the collective project "Schools", the way in which Marxism-Leninism could take place in a context where the understanding of

educational facts was mainly grasped by certain humanities in a context of reproduction of social production relationships.

The singularity of this collective work was based on several types of issues: completing the Marxist theory, conducting the concrete analysis of the concrete situation in which the French School was in the seventies, understanding the actions of resistance and struggles carried out school system. This seminar did not go through with these projects and the general public was content with several separate contributions that came from the same seminar : Notes on A.I.E. (Althusser, 1970), The Capitalist School in France (Baudelot and Establet, 1971) , The Intellectual Quotient (Tort, 1974), The fictional French (Balibar, 1974), National French (Balibar and Laporte, 1974).

In the context of this communication, working from the Althusser archives and the unpublished fragments of this collective work, we would like to understand how this group viewed the historical issue, particularly about educational thematics, and we would like to describe the possible matrix for another history of education, influenced by the Althusserian marxism, taking into account the social and political dimensions and the situation in which history of education is in work.

### **A l'École d'Althusser, Un Laboratoire De Recherche Pour Une Autre Histoire De l'Éducation?**

A l'occasion de ISCHE 42, nous proposons de revenir sur un épisode oublié de l'histoire de la philosophie contemporaine française lorsqu'Althusser et ses collaborateurs, issus principalement du Groupe Spinoza, ont abordé, dans le cadre du projet collectif "Ecoles"], la manière dont le marxisme-léninisme (en l'occurrence althussérien) pouvait intervenir dans un contexte où la compréhension des faits éducatifs était principalement saisie par certaines sciences humaines dans une conjoncture de reproduction des rapports sociaux de production.

La singularité de ce travail collectif reposait sur plusieurs types d'enjeux : compléter la théorie marxiste, mener l'analyse concrète de la situation concrète dans laquelle se trouvait l'École française, comprendre les actions de résistance et de luttes menées dans l'appareil scolaire. Ce séminaire n'alla pas au bout de ces projets et le grand public se contenta de plusieurs contributions séparées qui provenaient pourtant du même travail collectif : Notes sur les A.I.E. (Althusser, 1970), L'École capitaliste en France (Baudelot et Establet, 1971), Le quotient intellectuel (Tort, 1974), Les français fictifs (Balibar, 1974), Le français national (Balibar et Laporte, 1974).

Dans le cadre de cette communication, en travaillant à partir des archives du fonds Althusser, nous souhaiterions revenir sur la manière dont ce groupe envisageait la question historique, et notamment relative au champ éducatif et scolaire, et la matrice possible pour une autre histoire de l'éducation prenant en compte les dimensions sociales et politiques et la conjoncture dans laquelle elle prend place, que l'on pourrait reconstruire à partir des fragments non publiés de ce collectif.

[1] Louis Althusser (1918-1990) et son réseau de proches, anciens élèves, collaborateurs et/ou camarades, formèrent un groupe de travail sur la question scolaire dans les années 1970, et qui donna lieu à différentes productions : Notes sur les A.I.E. (Althusser, 1970), L'École capitaliste en France (Baudelot et Establet, 1971), Le quotient intellectuel (Tort, 1974), Les français fictifs (Balibar, 1974), Le français national (Balibar et Laporte, 1974).

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### 05-SES 04: PROFESSORS, PHDS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Joakim Landahl (Institutionen för pedagogik och didaktik)

#### **Professors as the Neglected Social Construct in the History of Education: A View from International Relations Studies**

Natalia Tsvetkova (St.Petersburg State University)

Studies on the history of education underestimate the professorate as a distinct construct in scholarly analysis. Although universities have always played a political role in the system of international relations, historians of education have neglected to analyze the professorate as a group with the power to impact international politics. In comparison, students have often attracted the attention of researchers due not only to the availability of historical documents concerning student activism but also to the publicity of students' actions.

This paper discusses some theories, notably realism and constructivism in terms of international relations studies that can be applied to history of education studies. While adherents of realism agree that education as a part of public diplomacy helps promote foreign policy aims, social constructivists argue that education and academic exchanges in particular shape a system of values and norms that, in turn, shape identity, perceptions, and social, political, and economic constructs of the world. Moreover, other entities' webs of traditions, practices, identities, and interests can limit the intentions of a political power, state, or foreign policy.

To illustrate the width of this interdisciplinary approach, we apply a special case study of universities during the Cold War. The Cold War was a confrontation of values between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1945–1990. The values clash between the superpowers led to harsh transformations at universities around the world, exacerbating anxiety and fear among the professorate, who faced losing their positions and were forced to revise their stance. This paper will cover stories from universities in West and East Germany, North and South Vietnam, Guatemala, Cuba, and, finally, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. The key takeaway is that all of the transformations encountered some degree of opposition from the community of professors who did not admire the Americanization

or Sovietization of their national universities and worked to sustain local traditions instead. This research shows that, despite the power of the U.S. and Soviet reforms, the professors were able to save traditional and coherent features of the local universities.

The paper reveals the professors as a social factor that impacted national policies, showing that realism and social constructivism are appropriate within and useful to the history of education. Professors are a social construct that must not be ignored in the field of international education and state university policy, as this social group has a strong impact on the final outcomes of the relative studies.

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### **The Contribution Of Emeritus Professors' Memoirs Books \ Life Histories To The Fields Of History Of education And Social History**

Yuval Dror (Tel Aviv University School of Education)

According to the theme of this conference, the methodological "turns" in social history in general and history of education in particular include "a constant widening of research interests to include fields such as [...] the social and entangled histories of [...] memory"- I will present a study of memory (or life history, biography and autobiography, autoethnography, and narrative that are similar and overlapping terms) that dealt with "the social".

The method of this study was the inductive "grounded theory". The study aimed to show how this unique genre contributes to the history of education and social history in general and its potential reflections on policy making. Therefore, I analyzed and drawn "emic" categories from four autobiographic memoirs books written by emeritus professors of education (Rina Shapira and Chaim Adler), by agricultural (Shimshon Ben-Yehoshua) and by historian (the late Zeev Tzahor). This study population was selected because the authors reflect different life and education periods in their writing, offering historical and social depth.

The next step was comparing the inner "emic" categories with the external "etic" categories which align with "the social" within the theoretical literature: "Memories can be transmitted [...] between individuals and groups [...]. The means may be according to written record (diaries, letters, autobiographies, articles, memos" (Roberts 2002: 140); "Life history research [...] is the study of biographies [and] autobiographies. The interest may be in social history" (Gomm 2009: 190); "Biographical research has both general and specific purposes. The general- to provide greater insight into the nature and the meaning of individual lives or groups of lives. Given that individual lives are part of a cultural network, information gained through biographical research will relate to an

understanding of the wider society. The specific purpose– the analysis of a particular life or lives for some designated reason – for example in examining the world of work (Erben 1998: 4); "[...] dairies, letters, autobiographies are highly valuable documentary sources for historians and social researchers. They offer different things but also have much in common with each other for the insights they offer" (McCulloch 2004: 127); "Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience" (Ellis, Adams & Bochner 2011:1); As with life history, narratives may focus on the individual participant or may seek to generalize across experiences (Hammond & Wellington 2013:110). After classifying and interpreting the data of the memoirs books, and comparing them to the existing literature [Ibid.:56, 82], I concluded with three contributions to "the social: of this genre: (1) Adding supplementary angles and personal points of view to the existing primary and secondary sources on educational institutions (schools, youth movements, higher education). (2) Documentation and analysis of some very unique educational frameworks that were hardly studied (youth care boarding schools, institutions for children and youth at risk, adult education for disadvantage parents, etc.). (3) Generalizations of educational and social insights (connections between past, present and future; partnerships of 'academia' and the 'field'; the necessity of holistic approach towards education and community).

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### **Doctoral Education in Russia: Historical Roots of Current Problems**

Saule Bekova (Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation), Ivan Kislenko (Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation)

Russian doctoral programs faced many challenges since the Soviet Union collapse: lack of financial support, brain-drain from academia and country, decreasing quality of the thesis, and formation of thesis black market, declining completion rate, growing time-to-degree, etc. (Maloshonok & Terentev 2019; Bekova 2019). Last decades were full of different reforms for doctoral education in Russia: model of doctoral students-advisor relationship, students workload, thesis requirements, state audit frequency, distribution of pots covered by the state budget, and other aspects were changed, some of them were changed several times back and forth. However, most of the reforms tried to cope with issues that are rather symptoms than reasons for the current state of doctoral programs. In our work, we tried to look back on the history of formation and development of doctoral education in our country to trace where the key features of the current system originate. Our research is focused on analyzing the issues of doctoral programs in Russia as deeply rooted in the institutional characteristics of doctoral education in the Russian Empire and the USSR.

We considered the degree-awarding system from its very start in 1791 to 1991. We analyzed normative documents, acts, historical records and sources for this period, we made a picture of doctoral education development during almost two centuries and tried to answer the following questions. How doctoral education in Russia transformed through the tsarist and soviet periods? Which characteristics of the foreign doctoral degree-awarding system were used as a basis for building the national system and how these features were implemented? How university's dependence on the state framed doctoral education? Which aspects of doctoral programs rely on strong ties between Universities and the government? How state needs defined reforms of doctoral education on each major step in history? What are the origins of current issues Russian doctoral education faces? Finally what recommendations for the further development of doctoral education can be made both on the national and University level?

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**MONDAY June 14                      6:00 - 8:00**

### **ECR SPECIAL EVENT 01: ECR MEET'N GREET**

ECR Special Event

#### **ECR Meet'n Greet**

This introductory event offers students and recent doctoral graduates the chance to connect with other early career researchers (ECRs) at ISCHE42. The meet'n greet will be [partly] taking place in the ISCHE Gather.town, where participants will be able to take a break from zoom to interact and socialize in a simulated conference space.

The event is created and chaired by the current members of the ISCHE ECR THINKERING INITIATIVE (<https://www.ische.org/ecr-thinkering-initiative/>):

Inês Félix (Umeå university), Josefine Wähler (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin//DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education), Arnis Strazdiņš (University of Latvia), Fanny Isensee

(Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Jona Garz (Humboldt-University Berlin // University of Zurich), Chelsea Rodriguez (University of Groningen), Lilli Riettiens (University of Cologne), Franziska Primus (Örebro University), Daniel Töpper (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Lisbeth Matzer (LMU Munich)

For questions regarding the event contact [er-ische42@ische.org](mailto:er-ische42@ische.org)

**TUESDAY June 15** **9:00 - 10:30**

**01-SES 05: VULNERABLE CHILDHOODS**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Anna Larsson (Umeå University)

**The History of Alternative and Innovative Methods Used in Early Childhood Education at the Hungarian section in Romania**

Erzsebet Habinyak (EDUCATION AND SOCIETY" DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF EDUCATION University of Pécs)

The quality of education, innovation and the application of the alternative methods play a particularly important role in today's Hungarian kindergartens in Romania. In order to identify the origin of these aspects, I turned my attention to the appearance of the first Hungarian kindergartens and to the pedagogical reform efforts pursued at the turn of the 19th-20th century. My goal is to get an overview on the way several positive traditions and methodological practices of the preschool education in Hungary carried over in time and space into the Hungarian kindergartens in Romania. The aim of my project is to identify and present the first Hungarian kindergartens, to describe their development, changes, how they gained elements of pedagogical reform to describe their development. In this presentation I will provide information on the teaching methods and tools used in that period, and which of these were handed down and are still used in today's Hungarian preschool education in Romania. I will briefly examine the way the first kindergarten teacher training was carried out and what were the conditions needed to be fulfilled in order to become a kindergarten teacher. I will present the difficulties encountered during the foundation of kindergartens and their operation. . I will give an overview about the social and political background, and the way they affected the operation of kindergartens, the methods, contents used by teachers, and the preservation of the institutions. I will compare these important research results with the current situation of today's Hungarian kindergartens in Romania, using the sources and methods of the education history, as well as the aspects of the comparative education science. Hungarian society in Romania seems a little preoccupied with the development of the education system than the majority Romanians. This phenomenon can be explained by the eternal fear of the Hungarian minority by the new methods of open assimilation of the state. Mill demography does not forgive any minority or the majority. The mill has its heavy laws, and they are heavier and questions from teachers about the future of Hungarian education in bilingual areas.

Source identification, historical source examination and comparison played a central role during my research. I analyzed in details the educational tools and pedagogical methods due to the Froebel effect and later due to the effect of the pedagogical reforms. Finally, using the comparison method, I

identified those common elements that – transcending time and space – can still be found in today's pre-school education in the Hungarian kindergartens in Romania.

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### **The case of Casas da Criança in the History of Education in Portugal**

Rooney Figueiredo Pinto (University of Coimbra), Maiza Trigo (University of Coimbra)

From 1933 to 1974, Portugal underwent a dictatorship period, referred as Estado Novo [Portuguese for New State], and Oliveira Salazar followed a European trend, for example, also felt in Spain through Franquismo and in Italy with Mussolini. Bissaya Barreto, using his position as physician and politician and his friendship with Salazar, started a set of social work projects, which he entitled Obra Social [Portuguese for Social Work], to assist families and children in the context of high rates of illiteracy, poverty and child mortality Portugal was in at the beginning of the 20th century. Amongst these projects, Bissaya Barreto emphasized the importance to take care of children and that's how Casas da Criança emerged as a "solution". The project Casas da Criança reflected the international montessorian models such as Casas dei Bambini in Italy or La Maison de L'Enfance in France. As part of an ongoing research project, this paper narrows its reflection to present the following topics: how can childhood be described in Portugal during Estado Novo; how Casas da Criança are perceived; and what do documents from Casas da Criança can tell about their educational and care actions. Suported by Barreto's work itself (1970) and the theoretical works of Cambi (1999), Torgal (2009), Carvalho (2011), Ferreira and Mota (2012), Fajardo and Cidia (2013) and Vasconcelos (2015), a qualitative approach was adopted with the use of documentary analysis in order to treat the data recorded from individual internship reports (1950-1960) and the newspapers. This analysis allowed us to verify the functioning of Casas da Criança, the flow of children, the social-economic situation and the literacy of assisted families, reflecting a portrait of the country at the time. Hygienist techniques, garden uses, reception of children in need and the assistance and educative actions reveal an alignment with innovative European practices of Montessori Schooling matrix. The case of Casas da Criança presents a strong and positive social and educational impact of its social support towards childhood, family and education. Its paradox relies on the equation where childhood is balanced between social work, power and the dictatorial regime.

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### **Independence of dependent children: The job-parent (Shokuoya, Hogojutakusha) system in Japan after the Second World War**

Yukako Tanaka (Shibaura Institute of Technology), Mariko Omori (Hiroshima University)

The job-parent (Shokuoya, Hogojutakusha) system was a public child welfare service of aftercare and vocational guidance for children who were dependent on alternative care from sources other than their biological parents (hereon referred to as “dependent children”), in Japan, after the Second World War. Job parents were those who were supposed to help such dependent children adjust to society by adopting them from child welfare institutions or foster homes and providing them with vocational guidance and training. In this presentation, we would like to explain the practice of job parents and discuss how independence of dependent children was difficult to obtain in Japan and how job parents sought independence for the children.

The job-parent system was established as per the 1951 amendment to the Child Welfare Law to provide aftercare for older dependent children. In the post-war period, the issue of the rapid increase of orphans and vagrants, caused by the war and repatriation, suddenly and exponentially increased in Japan [Dower 1999:60-64]. In December 1947, the Child Welfare Law was enacted as the first comprehensive law for children in Japan, promoting the establishment of children's nursing homes and providing foster parents in various parts of the country. The General Headquarters/Public Health and Welfare placed the highest priority on fostering children [Markuson, and GHQ/PHW 1949]. However, in reality, there were many cases of foster parents abusing the system for ulterior motives. Some children were adopted for the purposes of family succession, while others were adopted for labor in farming and fishing villages. Thus, the foster care system was abused for human trafficking [Tsuchiya 2014:177-179, Fujino 2012:197-198]. In addition, by the beginning of the 1950s, it was difficult for such children to find a job after graduating from junior high school and leaving foster or nursing homes. Consequently, the job-parent system was established to prevent child labor and provide aftercare [Kida 2019:85-89]. This system was also the first to use the term "Jiritsu (independence)," which is regularly used with reference to child welfare in Japan today. However, the number of children entrusted to the system peaked at about 220 in the mid-1950s and dropped below 100 in the 1960s, before it was abolished in 2004 [Hasegawa 2007].

Besides Goodman's study [2001:15-61], which gave an outline of the system with respect to the history of child protection in Japan, there is no other previous research about job-parents in any language other than Japanese. Further, the Japanese studies mentioned earlier described an overview of the system and policies based on government documents such as Diet debates and the Ministry of Health and Welfare notifications. In contrast, this presentation also focuses on the job parents' practices of vocational guidance using newspaper, magazine articles, and collections of case work. By analyzing not only the intentions of the creators of the system but also the activities of job parents, we address how job parents sought ways to provide "juvenile independence" and identify their roles and limitations in ensuring independence for the children they adopted.

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### **The Perspective Of Vulnerability In Research On The History Of Education**

Carsten Heinze (Technische Universität Dresden)

This contribution is based on the thesis that the vulnerability of children has hardly been considered as an analytical dimension in the research on the history of education. However, the historical perspective on the individually different and socially related conditions of vulnerability makes it possible to reconstruct the history of education from the perspective of children. Above all, it is possible to reconstruct the dependence of the child in the pedagogical relationship of care and to grasp the danger of pedagogical action in violent practices of upbringing (see Heinze 2017). Moreover, vulnerability is to be considered as a constitutive element of the generational relationship, because child needs are deduced from vulnerability, operationalised and pedagogised (see Heinze 2017; Depaepe 2012/1998).

In a first step, a concept of vulnerability is introduced, which is useful to describe the phenomenon in its historical development (see Heinze 2016, 2017). Upbringing of human beings is understood here as a process of subjectivation, opening up a space of possibility for understanding oneself as a subject and being able to act (see Ricken 2006; Butler 2012/2004). The respective historical conditions of vulnerability are an essential condition for this process, among other things in the context of social inequalities and processes of inclusion and exclusion (see Heinze 2016, 2017).

The research approach will then be illustrated using the example of the history of educational punishment (see Heinze/Heinze 2013; Herman et al. 2007). Based on the assumption that punishment in pedagogy can be characterised as an instrumentalisation of child vulnerability, punishment has to be interpreted as the pedagogisation of violence (see Heinze 2016).

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## **02-SES 05: MANAGING COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 1950-1990 – ACTORS, TRANSLATIONS AND NETWORKS**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Christian Lundahl (Örebro university)

### **Managing Comparative Educational Research 1950-1990 – Actors, Translations and Networks**

The panel presents findings from the project ‘The Disembedded Laboratory – Torsten Husén and the Internationalisation of Educational Research for Policy’, that examines the accelerated growth of educational research in post-war Europe and the US, through an in-depth study of its articulation, dissemination and consolidation as an international phenomenon. Using the unique archive of the internationally renowned Swedish scholar Torsten Husén the panel presents some preliminary ideas and early findings from three time periods in Husén’s career – the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s – and will discuss how socio-material actors, translations and networks contributed to the development of comparative educational research.

Torsten Husén (1916-2009), whose international career spans the mid/ late 20th century, will be the key lens for the papers presented in the panel. In particular, Husén’s archive, stored in the Swedish National Archive and far under-researched and unknown, is a treasure trove for the study of the construction of the international education research arena and particularly of the field of comparative education. It consists of 38 metres of files, and holds all of Husén’s correspondence, from his key roles in the IEA and the IIEP-UNESCO, as well as his extensive scientific networking across the globe.

However, why focus on Husén? What can the study of a single actor illuminate about the rise of a whole scientific field with its machinations, collaborations, ruptures and linkages over the long decades of the European post-war reconstruction? The papers in the panel follows a sociology of science theoretical frame in order to examine the Husén archive as a container of a 'disembedded laboratory'. The disembedded laboratory consists of volatile transnational networks that contribute to the development of social science research beyond fixed time and space dimensions, that extends science beyond individual ideas, researchers, environments, institutions and universities. These are practices that create, mobilise, sustain and challenge relations between actors in innovations, knowledge creation and various social activities (Latour 1987). In other words, the archive represents the socio-material manifestation not only of the intellectual trajectory of a key education actor (as widely evidenced for far by, amongst others, Agar and Smith 1998; Latour 2005; Bijker et al 1987) but of a whole scientific field (Bourdieu 1993).

The historical context here is a crucial backdrop to the papers in the panel. The decades that saw the slow yet methodical construction of education comparative data for policy-making will be examined as well as the rise of cross border and international comparisons and the role of a modern, comprehensive education in these processes. Through a detailed analysis of the interactions of a range of actors, materials and institutions, the socio-cognitive processes that saw education as the sole pathway towards the governing of 'a better society' will be explored. Such imaginaries of education have been in existence for centuries, nevertheless the notion that education science can and should be informing the making of education policy was a novel idea in the 20th century.

Similarly innovative was the concept of cross-border research. Although ideas had always travelled, post-war Europe education science – with Husén at its helm – becomes systematic, organised and institutionalised; it is materialised through the controversies and consensus of expert networks; and it becomes legitimised in institutions, through the successful set-up of education research organisations like the IEA. The three papers illuminate aspects of the production of knowledge for policy and the rise of the international education community through a focus on the ideational, value-based, moral, political and cognitive processes that brought previously dispersed scientists into an organised, cosmopolitan, and – crucially – legitimate disembedded scientific laboratory that wrote the first pages of the global education research for policy post-war.

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### **Creating a Narrative about Oneself: Torsten Husen, the Frankfurt Research Workshop of 1952**

Martin Lawn (Edinburgh)

My interest is in the flows of people and ideas across borders. Indeed while still holding onto the idea of place – of construction, of values, of practices – the idea of space has been important to analyse cross border travel, the movement and impact of ideas and objects, and the way space is imagined [in relation to nation, community, work or project]. These two elements are bound together in my way of understanding the flows of ideas, objects and practices in education sciences. Place [the setting or location] is often the laboratory, widely conceived as the practice and discussions of a group or network, from which they communicate and exchange with other places and their actors elsewhere. This is the space they work across – literally – but more often imaginatively, thinking about shared work or projects. Space is not a container but a medium for action, and a taken for granted field of action

In 1952, in Frankfurt, an educational research workshop was organized by the US Zone forces in which many senior German and European researchers met. It lasted for more than a month. It was held in a refurbished school which housed the newly established research institute [later known as DiPF]. Torsten Husen was invited to, or he persuaded them to allow him, to attend.

A number of themes will be touched upon in the presentation: the veracity of accounts; the idea of significance, the missing elements and problem of critique in research.

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### **Creating Conditions for Cross-national Comparisons: IEA and the Early History of International Assessments**

Joakim Landahl (Stockholm university)

The paper is about the emergence of a transnational network of scholars, working with empirical methods, trying to study educational performance in numerous countries. Formed in 1958 as a group connected with Unesco Institute for Education, what became known as the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) pioneered the use of international testing, starting with a pilot study published in 1962, a mathematics study in 1967 and the so called six subject study in 1973-1976. The basic idea of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) was that the educational world could be seen as a natural laboratory. Individual countries were considered as too small and homogenous to provide explanations for differences in

school performance. This perspective implied a certain way of organizing research. From its inception the IEA was conceived as a transnational collaborative project with researchers from different national and professional backgrounds. This presentation aims at exploring some of the ways in which this transnational network was created, how it worked and how it was sustained as well as challenged. It seeks to analyze the building blocks of this community and how it grew out as a response to social transformations, including the advent of the cold war, the development of jet-travel, the emergence of educational research, the rise of economic perspectives on education and the transformation of educational systems from selective to comprehensive systems. This will mainly be done through the lens of IEAS's chairman during the period 1962-1978, Torsten Husén, and his correspondence with his coworkers. Focusing on the crucial period of the 1970s, in which the IEA launched its ambitious six subject survey, I will discuss how the IEA tried to create suitable conditions for cross-national comparisons. Three of the aspects that will be discussed are funding, recruitment of participating countries and the use of computers.

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### **Learning the Management of a Collective Encyclopedic Writing**

Christian Lundahl (Örebro university)

The International Encyclopaedia of Education (IEE) from 1985, and thoroughly revised in 1994, had as its ambition to be the first true international encyclopaedia of education. This meant being a comprehensive collection of all relevant educational knowledge from around the world; breaking with ethnocentrism and reaching out to educational systems in the Third World. The purpose of this paper is to provide an understanding of the re/production of encyclopaedic knowledge of international education.

The International Encyclopaedia of Education, IEE – both versions edited by Torsten Husén (1916-2009) and Neville Postlethwaite (1933-2009) – was a huge project and contracted some 500 authors from 100 different countries, resulting after five years of work in 10 volumes with an index of more than 45,000 entries. The second edition was rewritten to 90 percent.

Many people tend to perceive encyclopedic facts as solid, truthful and fair representations of the reality. But how fair are really these representations? This paper investigates the effect of discursive trends and of practical realities in the writing and editing of probably the most influential encyclopedia of education. A special attention is given to the issue of how research can strengthen public education globally and therefore some 60 country system reports from Asia, Europe, North- and Central America are compared and analyzed.

Issues concerning representativeness in what has been displayed as internationally valid knowledge and knowledge of educational systems world wide, will be discussed. IEE articles as well as archive material consisting of meeting protocols and editorial correspondence from the Torsten Husén archive will be used. By comparing the 60 different country system reports in both editions of IEE it is possible to show the influence of chosen/available authors and of discursive trends on the texts. Combining modern text analysis with archive studies of editorial documents the difficulties and challenges in keeping a project like this within agreed upon standards will be illustrated. It is also possible to show a learning curve between the first and second edition even though the project met big challenges in rewriting the world of education during the ending of the cold war.

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## **03-SES 05: SCANDINAVIAN SEX EDUCATION – IDEAL, ACTORS AND CONTENT**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Anne-Li Lindgren (Stockholm University)

### **Scandinavian Sex Education – ideal, actors and content.**

The importance of studying sex education cannot be emphasized enough. Questions on sexuality and sexual knowledge give us a crucial understanding on values from different times and societies. In terms of educational history, sex education has an especially interesting position since it is a school subject that in most countries was established during mid or late 20th century. Thus, it represents a clear break with how sexual knowledge was conveyed from one generation to the other. As a new school subject, sex education was by far not something taken for granted, but instead a subject to debates on pedagogical content and mediation. In this sense, sex education in the 20th century is a great example of the formation of a subject. The purpose of this Nordic and interdisciplinary session is to highlight new perspectives on how sex education has been formed over time, using Sweden and Norway as examples. Main questions for the panel are: How did historical actors influence the subject during the time when the formation took place? What ideals, norms and values have been conveyed by sex education? What should Scandinavian schoolchildren learn from sex education? What part have schoolchildren taken in formation of the subject? The different papers presented in this panel have different methodological approaches. Thus, this panel also provides a contribution on how a specific



object of study – in this case sex education – can be discussed and understood from different viewpoints.

### **Sex Education in School and Public Health (1930-1972): the role of Karl Evang in Norwegian policy.**

Kari H. Nordberg (University of South-Eastern Norway)

Karl Evang (1902-1981) is a central figure in the history of the Norwegian welfare state in the twentieth century. For more than 30 years, he was the General Director of Health (1938-1972), and before his appointment, he was the main editor and founder of the Popular Journal for Sex Education (1932-1935). The journal got Danish and Swedish offshoots, and after the war, Evang edited and re-published parts of the articles as reference books. Evang's work on sex education was however not only limited to this very public endeavour. From his position as General Director of Health, he played an important, although more bureaucratic, role in Norwegian sex education policy. The paper examines Evang's work in two arenas: his popular scientific work, (that mainly took place in the 1930s), and his bureaucratic and professional influence, especially with regard to sex education in school, (that primarily took place after the war).

Evang's work highlights two aspects in the history of sex education in Norway: (1) The intertwining of school and health (hygiene) and (2) the role of historical actors in the circulation of sexual knowledge. Today, life skills and public health are promoted as an interdisciplinary topic in Norwegian schools, and sex education is an integral part of this. Evang was an early proponent of the idea of sexual hygiene, and he firmly believed in the power of enlightenment and knowledge in this field. The foundation for the sexual knowledge that he promoted can be found in the 1930s Popular Journal for Sex Education, which combined Marxist and Freudian ideas, and regarded sexual knowledge, social conditions and society's morals as interconnected. After the war, Evang played a part in the implementation of sex education in Norwegian schools. Encouraged by the pedagogue Anna Sethne, Evang asked the Ministry of Education to take action to ensure that the students received sex education in schools, and after his initiative, the Ministry actually instructed the schools that sex education (or reproduction education, which was the official term) should be regarded as compulsory. The role of Evang illustrates the importance of historical actors in a field where the theoretical framing has often been inspired by Foucault's work. A focus on discourses are important in the history of sex education; however, in empirical studies on sex education during specific periods and places, the role of historical actors should not be ignored. Evang was an influential, yet also controversial figure. In the paper I want to show how Evang became emblematic of a certain kind of historical sexual and political knowledge, and how he, as an active participant in policy, shaped Norwegian sex education.

### **Becoming Social by talking about sexuality: Effects of the Schoolification of State Sexual Politics in Sweden in the 1940s**

Anne-Li Lindgren (Stockholm University), Sara Backman Prytz (Stockholm University)

In history of sex education national initiatives to include sex education in the curricula has been highlighted, as well as the role of private initiatives and non-governmental organizations to promote the need for sex education in schools. In addition, struggles between teachers', priests', physicians' and parents' as to whom is best suited to perform sex education has been held out. However, even though children and young people have been the target group for sex education their role in sex education pedagogy has rarely been mentioned. In this paper we study how children and young people

were addressed as a resource when Swedish sex education became part of state politics in the 1940s. We show how the children and young people were supposed to bring in their experience and knowledge in the actual education. In fact, it was formulated as a responsibility for the teachers to actively include the children and young people (age seven to seventeen) in the education by inviting and discussing questions from them. The teachers were encouraged to use a pedagogy where conversation were the main didactical tool. Hence, teachers and children were supposed to talk with each other about sexuality and intimate relationships, including love and the reproduction of human and more-than-human animals and plants. There were several instructions for the teachers about how to create conversations applicable for this topic. We argue, that this way of approaching sex education in school were supposed to have wider societal repercussions. It was a way to form a citizenship identity around intimate relationships where inherently social skills were developed at the same time and as part of the didactics; children and teachers were stimulated to have well-balanced and sensitive conversations about a school subject otherwise described as of most delicate nature. Our way of studying sex education give new insights into how educational history can be approached when including children and young people into the analysis.

### **Menstruation in Handbooks on Sex Education – Continuity and Change**

Sara Backman Prytz (Stockholm University), Hanna Sveen (Stockholm University)

In the present paper, we will present a diachronic study of menstruation in teacher handbooks on sex education in Sweden. More specifically, the paper will examine how the handbooks instructed teachers to educate pupils about a female biological phenomenon – menstruation – during the period 1945-2014.

Sex education was included in the Swedish school curriculum as early as in the 1940s, and became mandatory in 1955. As a result of the official status in the curriculum, there was a demand for teacher handbooks on sex education, as the subject was new to most teachers. The first handbook on sex education from Swedish central school authorities was published in 1945, followed by new editions throughout the century. The handbooks were detailed and gave a clear indication on what content school authorities wished the teachers to convey, namely primarily two aspects of sex education: 1) adult sexual life and reproduction, and 2) issues connected to adolescence and the life of the young schoolgirls and -boys. For both aspects, a biological perspective was dominant. As concerns the second aspect, menstruation was one such issue, as girls normally reach the age of menarche during their school years.

The paper will address issues such as how a primarily biological phenomenon – menstruation – was shaped socially in a school context in terms of gender and age.

The focus is on the period 1945-2014 and the material consists of Swedish school authorities' handbooks on sex education. By examining a longer period, the intention is to put a special focus on changes occurring over time. Further, the handbooks are analyzed in terms of gender- and age-appropriate education: to what extent did they recommend different content, and how was the content presented, depending on whether the education targeted girls or boys? And what content was recommended as suitable for different ages?

### **04-SES 05: MUSEUMS, WEBSITES, AND MEMORIES**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Germund Larsson (Örebro universitet)

### **ANALYSIS OF MUSEUM EDUCATION WEBSITES in Hungary**

Katalin Kempf (Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Education and Psychology), Beatrix Vincze (Eötvös Loránd University Faculty of Education and Psychology)

The aim of the study is to analyze the websites of the leading museums in Budapest and across the country by means of content analysis and the form, target audience, pedagogical methodology of the online contents related to museum pedagogy. We are seeking for answers for how the relationship between museums and schools are created by the individual institutions. Based on two aspects, the geographical location and the field of knowledge these museums can be categorized, the study is highlighting how the offline learning/educational contents have changed over the past decades by adapting to the online cyberspace.

Special attention is given to the museum pedagogical forms of activity: information campaigns materials (both offline and online), games, competitions for different ages (individual/groups/family), educational materials for teachers (exhibition guides, worksheets).

The informal learning is being promoted along with the non-formal learning because on a diverse scale (family, community or via the cyberspace) can getting knowledge and personal development be contributed. (Coombs, 1969).

The most important questions are the following: How acquiring knowledge both personally or virtually in cyberspace is supported by the museum web pages, how learning and entertainment (that is, edutainment) services are provided via these websites? Can virtual space be enough for providing the cultural experience and the knowledge the interested public is seeking for without the personal presence, that is either at home or school environment?

For the research we used the methodology of the content analysis when dealing with the texts found on the museum websites. The traditional web content analysis methodology is based on the researches by Hering (2009) and Weare-Lin (2000). In this setting the internet is only an intermediary medium and not the environment generating the content. The research is using quantitative methodology, and is examining educational themes, programmes, educational assistance, not the words, syntactic units or text features.

The research is linked to the existing website content analysis researches (Losoncz, 2017; Géring, 2014; Saiki, 2010) and closely related to the new trends in learning / teaching theories of the 21st century (constructivism and connectivism). It offers using practices for museums which are made using the non-formal learning methods.

The results of the survey is enriching the innovation of the public education and the museum pedagogy, helps the pedagogues and museum professionals / researchers awareness and satisfy the versatile demands and expectations of the various visitors.

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## **Research on the Museum of Jing-zhi Female School from the Perspective of Curriculum**

Siqing Chen (Jiangnan University)

Influenced by the spread of western learning to the east, a set of Modern education system with the new style school as the core was gradually established in the late Qing Dynasty. Compared with traditional old-style private schools, the curriculum content of new-style schools is greatly expanded, and Modern subjects based on the Modern Western knowledge classification system, such as Museum and Science, are introduced into new schools. At the same time, intuitive teaching has replaced the traditional form of recitation memory, and become an important teaching method of various subjects. It was against this background that the museum was introduced into the new school, and the first Nantong Museum, which was created by the Chinese themselves, soon appeared. Since then, with the manifestation of the educational function of museums, the academic community has also begun to pay attention to the development history of school museums. Jing-zhi female school is a new type of female school founded by Modern educator Mr. Hou Hongjian in Wuxi. As an outstanding representative of Modern Southern Jiangsu's female school, the museum of Jing-zhi female school has played an important role in the school's curriculum and teaching. Many mineral specimens and physical and chemical instruments in its museum enriched the curriculum resources of geography, natural history, and other subjects at the time, providing possibilities for intuitive teaching. Meanwhile, the students' achievements in the classroom further supplemented the museum exhibits, providing a paradigm for subsequent students to learn. At present, the educational role once played by museums is gradually returning to the academic field of vision, and the research on the history of museum

development is increasingly rich, but most of them stay at the level of historical research. The analysis of school museums from the perspective of curriculum and teaching is still blank. In this article, I will start from the perspective of curriculum history, based on the curriculum and teaching of the subjects of natural history, geography and art, and reveal how the establishment and use of the school's museum serves the school's new curriculum and teaching, through exploring the educational value of the school museum in the curriculum, I hope to provide historical enlightenment for the current school museum construction.

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### **‘Social Narratives’ – Exhibited in School Museums in Berlin?**

Stefan Johann Schatz (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

This presentation has a dual approach: on one hand, it looks at the underlying conditions of school museums to be created in the region of Berlin-Brandenburg. On the other hand, it discusses the self-presentation of school museums today. The historical context in which museums of school history were established in Germany varied strongly. For example, several collections were founded by teachers' associations in the 19th century, primarily to familiarise primary school teachers with the latest teaching materials, to offer teacher training and to make the most important pedagogical works, such as journals and literature available to them. Moreover, its purpose was to raise societal appreciation of the profession of primary school teachers. The presentation aims to address the following questions: Which kind of documentaries were shown in the context of exhibitions? Was social history (youth movements, teachers' unions, social environments) addressed as a topic? How did the intention of the described associations change over time and how did that reflect in the selection of exhibits? However, other exhibitions were installed during the 2nd half of the 20th century, often in private or municipal sponsorship, with the intention to illustrate the history of school life. The presentation will address similar questions in regard to museums all over Germany. For which reasons were the museums founded? Who were the initiators? The second part of the presentation will focus on the situation today: What is the content of exhibitions today? Are there different thematic approaches to school education? Does the exhibition also address issues that go beyond school education – in particular, are social issues also being addressed? And: Does an exchange between museums and university research take place?

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**TUESDAY June 15                      11:00 - 12:30**

### **01-SES 06: TARGETING THE "DISADVANTAGED": SOCIAL ISSUES AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN THE EUROPEAN HISTORY OF EDUCATION**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Michael Geiss (University of Zurich), Anne Elisabeth Berg (Uppsala universitet)

#### **Targeting the "Disadvantaged": Social Issues and Educational Reforms in the European History of Education**

Educational reforms can pursue very different objectives. Economic and political concerns stand alongside cultural or ecological ones (Ginsberg, 1991; Labaree, 2012; Kass, 2018). Since the late 19th century, however, numerous educational reforms have been explicitly concerned with social issues. The "social question" played an important role in the 1800s and was explicitly linked to education in the fin de siècle (Albisetti, 1983, p. 163; Ortiz, 2001). Meanwhile, the expansion of access opportunities to higher education since the 1950s directly addressed socially disadvantaged groups (Silver & Silver, 1991; Zigler & Muenchow, 1992; Crook, 2007). In this context, gender, parents' educational and economic background, and disability were central to the formulation of educational reform programmes. In addition, the decisive influence of migration on educational opportunities was increasingly discussed. To date, these factors are considered in order to refer to the persisting social inequalities in public education systems (Windolf, 1998; Hadjar & Becker, 2009; Schofer, 2019).

This preformed panel is devoted to the question as to how different groups, considered to be socially disadvantaged, have been addressed by educational reforms since the late 19th century. It examines the knowledge base upon which certain categories of addressees were established and how these were incorporated into the formulation of certain reform programmes. However, it also discusses the extent to which the addressed groups took advantage of educational reforms in order to highlight their

own concerns. Further, it focuses on the historical question concerning the sources of resistance to the imposition of a certain form of targeting.

Educational reforms are still often understood as top-down processes. Since the 1980s, however, this perspective has been challenged by educational historians. Research on educational reforms has a long tradition in the history of education. Indeed, the history of progressive education is full of new curricular approaches that were meant to improve schools and classroom practices. Further, the school history of the 20th century is also typically narrated as a history of reforms. However, the fact that reforms often have unintended side effects and rarely achieve their goals has been a major issue in the history of education (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The special role of the lower and middle levels of the administrations responsible for shaping the education system has been pointed out (Tyack, 1976). In addition, the rhetoric of reform has been compared with actual classroom practices (Cuban, 1984; Cuban, 1998). These topics are methodically negotiated under the term “grammar of schooling” (Tyack & Tobin, 1994).

This concentration on curricular issues and teacher behaviour was extended with the thesis of the “educationalization of social problems” (Smeyers & Depaepe, 2008). The phenomenon frequently encountered in educational history, that social problems are reinterpreted as educational problems, was increasingly discussed in this context. The school appears to be the institution to which all those problems that cannot - or do not want to - be solved structurally can be delegated.

This preformed panel takes up these previous works, but focuses on a particular aspect of the history of educational reform: the definition of socially disadvantaged groups and the formulation of reform programmes tailored to meet their needs. It starts with the social question at the end of the 19th century, takes into account the discussions of the 1950s and examines the reform programmes since the 1970s. The focus is on Europe from a comparative perspective and at the supranational level.

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### **The Social Question in European Late 19th- and Early 20th-century Education and Secularization Reform**

Mette Buchardt (Aalborg University)

Since the late 19th century, the state education systems across Europe have been central political tools in not only state-crafting but also in the solving of social problems. This is not least the case with regard to the Nordic states, where an education system, allegedly 'for all', evolved along with the modernization and consolidation of the current five Nordic nation-states and with the development of what was, since the mid-20th century, often labelled 'the Nordic welfare state model'. In the words of welfare state historian Mary Hilson, the Nordic model is, however, to be historically understood as a model with five exceptions, with each of the states in question being an exception (Hilson, 2008; Buchardt, Markkola & Valtonen, 2013). We might also question to what degree the Nordic education reforms from the late 19th century and throughout the 20th century were either following the same traces or at least sought to develop answers to the same questions and challenges, as was the case in other parts of Europe.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a groundbreaking period for not only Nordic but also other European education reforms, as in, for instance, the French Third Republic, the so-called social question - how to handle poverty while still retaining class society and difference in social status and income - was a key political question cutting across the nation-states and (declining) empires of Europe. Education politics, often overlapping with social politics, was seen as a main tool with which to find new strategies to solve this political challenge. However, the political efforts concerning the social question did not only address social difference, but also e.g. religious difference, something



which was increasingly seen as a cultural question. Also the education systems were considered a means for creating social and cultural cohesion, which, in different ways, aimed at shifting religion from a churchly to a cultural matter and, in some cases, even a social glue of the state. Though allegedly different with regard to church-state relation models - in France, a radical division model was chosen, whereas in the Nordic states an integration model was implemented in the same period - in both cases, the social and the religious question intersected with in education reform (Moberger, 1962; Mayeur & Rebérioux, 1987; Mayeur, 2004; Kettunen, 2011; Cabanel, 2016; Buchardt, 2017).

Through an examination of late 19th- and early 20th-century education reforms in the Nordic states of Sweden and Denmark in comparison with the French Third Republic's *laïcité* reforms - secularization reforms implemented not least through the education system - the paper will address how, by analysing differences and similarities in such reforms, we can understand the demands put upon and the role played by the state education system as an educator of social cohesion and how the drafting of education- and secularization models intersected with each other in this context, in turn contributing to the creation of new social imaginaries (Taylor, 2007; Evtuhov & Kotkin, 2003; Cohen & O'Connor, 2004).

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### **Conservative Parties in an Era of Education Change**

Jane Gingrich (University of Oxford), Tom Chevalier (Sciences Po), Anja Giudici (University of Oxford), Matthias Haslberger (University of Oxford)

Throughout the 19th century, Conservative parties often adopted a sceptical stance towards the developing of public state education – openly resisting its expansion, secularization and centralization in many cases (Ansell and Lindvall 2013). However, by the early post-war period, most countries had moved towards the adoption of universal primary and secondary education, albeit with highly different forms. Conservative parties both entering (or re-entering) competitive democratic electoral systems after periods of fascist rule faced a series of electoral challenges in approaching education reform: what we label the challenges of differentiation, urbanization, and secularization. This paper asks, how did Conservative parties develop a new educational approach in an era in which their historically preferred options – limited and differentiated education, localized provision and devolution to religious actors – were all under pressure?

First, mass publics increasingly supported the extension of public intervention in education to a greater number of pupils. Reticence towards educational expansion was neither a winning strategy among voters in fully enfranchised democratic systems, nor did it garner support among business interests groups in an increasingly industrial economic structure. Ideologically, conservative parties during this period faced a challenge of re-articulating their traditional support for more limited and differentiated educational provision while also appealing to upwardly mobile new middle class voters who tended to support a more expansive role of the state in guaranteeing and supporting mass high-quality education. Second, the post-war economic boom was geographically centered in industrial areas, leading to substantial internal migration towards cities in many European countries. These shifts put pressure on rural voters, and public service provision in rural areas, areas that were electorally key support bases for many conservative parties. Supporting highly decentralized rural and one-room schools often had political support among conservative voters, but led to inefficiencies in provision and increasing difficulties in providing skills demanded by employers. Third, in many countries, the movements of post-war population (displaced peoples, colonial migrants, and economic migration) meant a growing social diversification – for instance, first rising numbers of Protestants in Catholic areas (such as Bavaria), followed by non-Christian migrants from former colonies or elsewhere, and increasing social secularization. Delegating educational provision to churches was increasingly controversial.

We look at how conservative parties responded to the challenges of differentiation, urbanization, and secularization from 1945 to 1980, in a conservative dominant case – Bavaria, one with mixed dominance – the French fifth republic – and a social democratic dominant case Sweden. We focus on three categories of policies, comprehensive education, rural school consolidation, and church-state relations. We show how different patterns of approaches emerged through this time period on each dimension, as a response to the electoral and strategic challenges at play. Over time, these led to heterogenous policy approaches among conservative parties in response to new “social questions”.

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### **Bringing Women into Technology: European Policies and the Role of Education after 1975**

Rosalía Guerrero (University of Zurich), Michael Geiss (University of Zurich)

The inclusion of women in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) is currently a much-debated topic. Today, government initiatives seek to promote gender equality in technology-oriented education, as do non-governmental organizations, civil society groups and private companies. In this paper, we will show that current initiatives to bring more women into technology have a longer history, starting with the European policy initiatives of the late 1970s and 1980s. While the broader developments have already been dealt with in historical and sociological research (Peterson & Sharp, 1998; Elzinga & Jamison, 1995), the gender aspect of technology policy initiatives has hardly been studied to date (although see Rees, 1998).

Methodically, the presentation follows the approach of historical research into policymaking in education (Lowe, 2019). In theoretical terms, it is based on the concept of “technology corporatism”, which assumes that technology policy in the last third of the 20th century served as a catalyst for shaping other policy areas (Bornschiefer, 2000). We seek to analyse three key logics that we have identified in the rhetoric of these initiatives: a gender equality logic, a logic concerned with social issues and an economic logic. Our objective is not only to identify these logics in the formulation of the policies but to understand how they became a driving force and interacted with each other.

Gender equality logic originates in the increasingly significant role that the women’s rights discourse played in the European policy making framework during the 1970s, thanks to the participation of feminist lobby groups and the fact that political leaders in the European Community sought to increase popular legitimacy (Mazey, 1998). Logic concerned with social issues refers to the interest of the European Community in achieving social justice and counteracting the effects that technological change had on society, such as greater inequality, health issues and unemployment. Economic logic originates from the pressures that the diffusion of personal computers and electronic data processing and the emergence of the IT sector put on the economies of Western European states. They assumed

that they had to invest massively in technological development if they did not want to lose out to Japan and the USA. A study of European Social Fund initiatives addressing women (Brine, 1992), however, concluded that, despite an apparent attempt to train women in computer technology in order to improve their chances in the labour market, their training was too basic and shallow, such that their status and abilities to advance in the labour market were markedly limited.

In a first step, we reconstruct how women were addressed as a group by European institutions and, secondly, we analyse how gender issues were negotiated within the framework of the aforementioned three logics under the conditions of technological change. In addition to published and unpublished memos and statements from different European institutions, the sources used are documents from the archives of the European Community in Florence, i.e., correspondence and drafts.

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## **02-SES 06: PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF TEACHERS – IMAGES, IDENTITIES AND LIVES, PART 1**

Symposium, Part 1 (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Emil Marklund (Umeå Universitet, Institutionen för idé- och samhällsstudier), Kaylene Whitehead (Flinders University)

### **Perspectives On The Social History Of Teachers – Images, Identities and Lives, Part 1**

Panel 1 - Social image/identities, professional trajectories and regulation of teachers in the 18th and 19th century

The growth of mass schooling during the 19th and 20th centuries implied a mass increase not only in the number of pupils but also in the number of teachers (See for example Meyer et al. 1992, Westberg 2015). Today more than 80 million teachers over the world work in different levels of various school system (Roser, 2020). Although teachers featured regularly in history of education over the last two hundred years, they were for a long time either neglected, or as Ivor F. Goodson framed it in the 1990's, "viewed as individuals only as formal role incumbents mechanistically and unproblematically responding to the powerful expectation of their role set" (Goodson, 1992, p. 3, see also Lawn & Grace 1987). This has changed over the last decades and even more during the last ten years, with an increasing scholarly interest for studying the history of teachers in a broader spectrum.[1]

It is not possible to map out an overview of all different strands focusing on the history of teachers here. However, some of the recurring themes are teacher education (Furuhagen et al. 2019; Moore, 2019; Ogren, 2018), the image and identity of teachers (Kestere & Baiba, 2019; Raptis 2010; Williams 2014), feminisation and professionalisation of the profession (Albisetti, 1993; Toley & Beadie, 2006; ), the formation of the social groups of teachers (Larsen, 2011; Sohn 2012); the life and working conditions for rural and urban teachers (Clifford 2014, Whitehead 2019, Wright 2012), livelihood and economic aspects of the teacher occupation (Brühwiler 2015, Westberg 2015, 2019).

Connecting to many of these themes, this symposium gathers historians of education from four continents and nine countries with a shared interest in the history of teachers. The symposium will be divided into three sessions, organised chronologically and thematically.

Panel 1 - Social image/identities, professional trajectories and regulation of teachers in the 18th and 19th century

Panel 2 - The changing and conflicting roles and lives of teachers in modernising societies

Panel 3 - Teacher social histories in war/post war contexts

A number of themes emerge across the thirteen papers, including: a) the impact of social or political changes on teachers' personal and professional lives and identities, b) tensions between the social and professional role and identities of teachers, including turns in and aspects of the feminisation of the profession, c) the conceptualisation of the wider roles/occupations of teachers beyond the classroom, d) the social regulation of teachers at national and local levels, e) the evolving societal expectations of teachers as a professional grouping, f) the tensions between teacher status at a national and local level, g) the life course and careers of teachers.

These recurring issues also speak to the main theme of this year's conference. We argue that teachers are important actors both when 'looking from above and below' and we are confident that the presented papers will demonstrate interesting perspective of both this and different meanings of 'social' in relation to the history of teachers. In relation to the sub-theme, we view the diversity of participants as a good starting point to highlight what the ongoing international research on the history of teachers addresses and how this can be understood in relation to previous "turns" within the field.

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### **The village teacher – female teachers in 18th century Sweden**

Christoffer Åhlman (Örebro University)

This paper deals with female teachers in 18th century Sweden. By looking at three parishes in the diocese of Västerås, this paper will show that women quite early played an important role in the teaching campaign. Who were these women? What was the extent of their teaching? What status did female teachers have compared to their male colleagues? These are some of the questions this paper will address.

### **'Nonprofessional' Activities in Elementary Teachers' Identities. Professional Discourses in Hungarian Educational Journals in the Late 19th Century.**

Attila Nóbik (University of Szeged)

In the last decades, historical research has shown an increasing interest in elementary teacher's working conditions, including salaries and additional income sources. Researchers acknowledge that in the late nineteenth century, elementary teachers' job consisted not only of teaching but additional, 'nonprofessional' activities too. As Westberg notes: "Although some scholars have noted that teachers could have secondary occupations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there is still a need for further studies that investigate the character, prevalence and role of teachers' livelihood diversification during the nineteenth century" (Westberg, 2019. p. 21.). Elementary teachers' low incomes led to the situation that, like other poor social classes, teachers had to rely in part on a supplementary income system. In other words, to carry out activities which, although they had a broader pedagogical content, were not closely related pedagogical activities in the classroom. Research has paid little attention to elementary teachers' discussions on these 'nonprofessional' activities.

Therefore, in this research, I studied Hungarian educational journals from the late 19th century. I have analyzed articles and shorter communications that were written by elementary teachers on various 'nonprofessional' activities. As a result of the investigation, we can conclude that 'nonprofessional'

topics were always present but not significant in educational journals. Examples of 'nonprofessional' topics include first aid, wine management, melon production, herbs collection, clock production, and making glass. However, the description of these topics was mostly limited to one or two studies. Majority of 'nonprofessional' topics were agricultural ones (silkworm rearing, fruit growing, tree nurseries, poultry farming). Beekeeping proved to be the most discussed topic. In my paper I focus on not only on the contents of these texts. The main goal of the research was to shed light on the role of 'nonprofessional' activities in elementary teachers' identities. I assumed that teachers would reflect on their situation and their low income, the tension between their desires and achieved social status. Analyzing the texts, however, the assumption that the authors regularly and vigorously reflect on the position of teachers in beekeeping-related writings has only partially proved. Texts featuring reflections on the state of the discipline accounted for a smaller proportion of beekeeping texts. There is a clear majority of publications that focus on technical knowledge in beekeeping. This is also true for silkworm rearing, poultry farming and fruit production.

In this paper, I analyze the reason why in their writings, the authors behaved as apiculture experts, and in their identity, the two expert roles (pedagogical/apicultural) did not necessarily mix.

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## **A Historical Panopticon: The Social Regulation of Teachers' Professional and Personal Lives in Ireland from 'Above' and 'Below' (1845-1855)**

Thomas Kevin Walsh (Maynooth University)

Similar to other jurisdictions (Dent, 1977; Rich, 2015; Wardle, 1976,), the selection, training, recruitment and management of primary school teachers became a concern for the churches and the State in Ireland in the nineteenth century (Coolahan, 2017). Central to the interests of both the churches and the State was the impact of the character and moral influence of the teacher in society, both in their job and as members of local communities. This influence was seen as critical by the various churches to instil religious loyalties and values, as well as by the State to promote political and cultural assimilation and respect for lawful authority (Harford, 2009). This meant that from the earliest stages of the establishment of a national system of education in Ireland in the 1830s, the personal and professional lives of teachers were heavily regulated and overseen by various authorities 'above' them. The purpose of this oversight was to elevate the moral character of teachers, which had been perceived as 'morally dissolute and politically subversive' under the earlier Hedge School system (Dowling, 1935). The main agents of this regulation and governance of teachers' lives were the Commissioners of National Education through its inspectors and regulations, and the local (largely clerical) managers.

This paper focuses on the impact of the rules and regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in the mid-1800s that provided a framework for the control of teachers' professional and personal lives. Starting with the Twelve Practical Rules for Teachers published in 1846 (CNEI, 1847), the paper critically explores the impact of these rules on teacher identity and societal expectations of their role. This analysis is supplemented through a critique of the rules and regulations of the Commissioners of National Education, including its Instructions to Inspectors, which were published



periodically in the period. The 1855 Instructions to Inspectors (CNEI, 1855), considered to be the most comprehensive and informative guidance in the nineteenth century, forms the main focus of this exploration. Lastly, the extensive annual reports of individual inspectors are explored in the period 1845 to 1855 to establish the impact of these instructions and regulations on the personal and professional lives of teachers. The various historical documents referred to above are analysed with a particular focus on their guidance around teachers' (lay and religious) social lives.

Collectively, the analysis demonstrates the substantial overlap between teachers' personal and professional lives in the period under review. It evidences that the considerable surveillance placed on teachers from 'above' (at a national and local level) shaped the expectations of parents and wider society from 'below'. It led to the creation of an upwardly mobile social class of teachers who were increasingly respectable and respected in society, arguably more so by those considered 'below' rather than 'above'. Ultimately the national regulations and local managerial oversight defined teachers' professional and social roles, catalysing the journey towards professionalisation of teachers as a grouping.

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## **03-SES 06: DEWEY IN RECEPTION AND MEMORY**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Emma Vikström (Örebro University)

### **How Deweyan Social Reformism Resulted in a Pedagogy of Adaptation and Immediate Needs. A Critical Review by Robert M. Hutchins**

Àngel Pascual i Martín (Universitat de Barcelona)

Robert M. Hutchins has been considered along with John Dewey one of the major 20th century American educators and educational reformers. It is very well known the public debate that both held in Social Frontier following the publishing of The Higher Learning in America in 1936, a debate that took place after some years of struggling, on Hutchins side, to dismantle the scientific and educational legacy of Dewey at the University of Chicago, where Pragmatism had become a general school of thought under his lead.

After John Dewey's death, Hutchins dealt at length with his work in a couple of essays: *The Great Conversation* (1952) and *The Conflict of Education in a Democratic Society* (1953). In those, Hutchins considered Dewey's theory of education essentially as a theory of social reform. For Hutchins, it was clear that under the principles of the Deweyan pragmatism, education, experimental as it was thought, came to be not only an instrument of industrial development and scientific and technological advancement, but also an instrument of human and social progress, one that could make full democracy a reality. However, while acknowledging that Dewey explicitly claimed for a reconstruction in education that would provide the tools necessary to citizens to liberate themselves from ancient institutions that in the course of history had secured inequality, domination, injustice, etcetera..., Hutchins also pointed out to the fact that, ironically, Dewey's theory of education, in the hand of his followers, ended up the other way around in a doctrine of social adjustment and a doctrine of immediate needs.

In the end, we would like to present, on the one hand, how Hutchins attempted to explain, on the basis of Dewey's own work, how his social reformism became a pedagogy of adaptation and immediate needs, and on the other, how Hutchins himself considered that social improvement could be managed through education. That is, first, that according to Hutchins Dewey failed in his view of improvement and didn't take seriously enough the limits education had to produce significant changes. And second, how Hutchins criticism is erected in a platonic conception of society and education.

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#### **Connection Between the "Dead Past" and the "Living Present": Revisiting John Dewey's Theory and Practice on History Education**

Li Lin (East China Normal University), Li Huihui (East China Normal University)

A towering philosopher and educator, John Dewey bears a particular consciousness on the space-time dimension throughout his educational philosophy, which is explicitly represented by his emphasis on the teaching of history and geography. Though history learning has an irreplaceable value in developing a holistic thinking and in improving the citizenship education, it seems so irrelevant to the children's experiences that makes effective teaching on it most challengeable. To cope with this, Dewey suggests to teach more on local history, to focus on issues with contemporary concern, to study history via guided travelling, and to employ drama as a significant way in teaching history. Moreover, he had also actively implemented such theories in history education in the experimental school, echoed by both positive and negative feedbacks. It is through the proper learning on history and

geography that students can substantially extend their knowledge and experiences and establish reasonable connection between the “dead past” and the “living present” and thus understand the society as a whole, and most significantly, enter into the society in changing with better preparation. In doing so, Dewey reveals particular relationships among children, curriculum and society, three key elements in his educational philosophy. What has Dewey explored and confused about still have meaningful implications in developing a proper history education for today.

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### **The Social Conditions For The Formation Of Dewey's Thought Of Academic Freedom**

Jinxi Xu (Graduate School of Education, Peking University), Yilin Chai (Graduate School of Education, Peking University)

Educational studies of Dewey's thought mainly focus on his basic theory of educational philosophy, his comments and historical facts about progressive primary and secondary education, but pay insufficient attention to his thought of higher education and its social conditions. On the one hand, Dewey had compiled the term "academic freedom", as one of the departmental editors of *A Cyclopedia of Education*. On the other hand, Dewey had guided activities to safeguard academic freedom and teachers' professional rights and interests, as the Co-founder and the first Chairman of Association of American University Professors (AAUP). His thought of academic freedom had a profound and non-ignorable impact on the development of higher education in the United States and even the world.

Analyzing the social conditions for the formation of Dewey's thought of academic freedom, can help us re-understand the connotation of Dewey's specific thought, and re-think the concept of “the social” within the turns in history of education.

This study is conducted from three perspectives: the perspective of the issue history of academic freedom, the perspective of macro social history, and the perspective of the history of specific events and activities.

Firstly, the issue of academic freedom, as a thematic or monographic field in the history of higher education thought, had existed for a long time before Dewey's period. The American scholars who had studied in Germany in the 19th century, inherited the issue of academic freedom and made it Americanized by transforming from resisting the religious and (or) political power to counterbalancing capitalists' penetrating force in the administrative management of higher education.

Secondly, the macro social reality is the transitional development in the economic, political and cultural fields. Industrial economy put forward the requirements for academic research of higher education, democratic politics had a directly institutional impact on the university, and cultural localization marked the maturity of American consciousness and value with pragmatism philosophy. Neo Social Darwinism (emphasizing supporting the social weak through interpersonal cooperation), Neo

Individualism (emphasizing the social consciousness of democratic union between individuals and others) and Progressivism (emphasizing rebuilding American social value system by establishing middle class's moral standards) intricately provided directions for Dewey to define the university orientation and academic function.

Thirdly, in the specific events around its establishment, AAUP of Dewey's presidency was directly facing the phenomenon that social power, through the university board system, interfered with teachers' professional rights and interests and destroyed the academic freedom of researching and teaching. AAUP launched a series of investigations into the infringement cases of academic freedom rights, and carried out the practice of safeguarding rights for the cases of dismissing teachers, and finally issued 1915 Declaration of Principles on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure, marking the formation of Dewey's thought of academic freedom.

In conclusion, "the social", as the objectified existence of the formation of Dewey's thought of academic freedom, is the intellectual history of Dewey's critical inheritance, the macro reality of Dewey's conformity and deduction, and the specific events of Dewey's targeted resistance.

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#### 04-SES 06: LOCAL AND REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Clémence Cardon-Quint (Bordeaux University)

#### Local Scale And Its Relevance To Brazilian Educational History In Nineteenth Century: Regards On The Province of Maranhão

Alexandre Ribeiro Silva (University of São Paulo)

This paper aims to reflect on the relevance of local scale for studies about production of educational laws in Brazil during the XIXth century. In order to do so, it focuses on the Province of Maranhão, located in the north of the Empire and, therefore, distant from the center of power represented by the Court, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The core of this research consists in the actions of local political elite from its representative instance, the legislative power, exerted by deputies in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. This kind of political institution was created in Brazil in 1834 among political conflicts between Conservative and Liberal parties; the second one wanted more autonomy to local groups to the detriment of central power. As theoretical and methodological framework, it was used the notions of policy cycle (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992), multiplicity of individuals (GVIRTZ; VIDAL; BICCAS, 2008), networks (SIRINELLI, 2003) and place (CERTEAU, 1998). Empirically, it deals with official sources such as administrative reports, minutes of parliamentary sessions, official correspondences and also political newspapers then circulating in the Province. The political-educative action of provincial deputies occurred by proposing, voting and finally approving or rejecting bills which dealt with specific matters such as creation or extinction of primary and secondary schools, concession of bonus, leaves and retirement to teachers and sending students abroad to be trained in determined fields of knowledge. This study addresses particularly the production of broader laws whose intent was regulate primary and secondary instruction in the Province. The first of them it was Law no. 267, December 17, 1849 (CASTRO, 2009), considered to be the first public instruction reform in Maranhão. It is worth to stress the brief duration of this law, which was abolished just around one year later by Law no. 282, November 28, 1850 (CASTRO, 2009). Source analyzing made possible to identify that such a movement was caused by political tension then experienced in a moment of dispute and power relation shift between local political parties after elections. This particular episode in the history of education in Maranhão demonstrates the relevance of local scale in order to achieve a larger comprehension about Brazilian schooling process started in XIXth century, especially regarding political affairs. In a partially decentralized administrative system as adopted by Brazilian Empire, local elites and their social places must not be ignored. In addition, the analyzes become thought provoking with the challenging possibility of exploring connections with others Provinces or nations, what would indicate the circulation of educational laws in national and international scales.

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### **Town Planning, Neighbourhood Structure, and Urban Childhood in Hong Kong 1921-1941**

Meng Wang (University of Sydney)



This paper examines one key social impact of colonial town planning in interwar Hong Kong: the changing neighbourhood structure, and how this change in the urban landscape produced new experiences for children particularly regarding their everyday spaces of dwelling, learning, and play.

In contrast with the nineteenth century where the urban spatiality in Hong Kong was closely shaped by the colonial sanitary and hygiene discourse that underlined both the physical and social division between the European and Chinese communities, by the interwar period, the physical separation between different racial groups was textured by the efforts of colonial town planning. This systematic zoning of urban land use reconfigured the spatial structure of the city where urban neighbourhoods were restructured into spaces of production, dwelling, leisure, commerce, transportation, and infrastructure (Puiyin Ho, 2018).

This functional division of the urban landscape redefined the spatial structure of 'race' in the colony. In the newly planned Garden City residential compounds for example, the Chinese middle class residents purchased properties and lived among the Europeans, and even gravitated towards a new lifestyle this dwelling typology afforded. The formation of multi-racial residential neighbourhoods also featured prominently in the oral histories and diaries this paper draws upon.

In the case of Eurasian (mixed race) children for example, in the interwar period, many attended schools alongside European and Chinese children, and lived in multi-racial neighborhoods. A similar case was found in the diaries of European adults remembering their childhood. Although European elites tried to regulate cross-cultural interactions with the Chinese community, and even petitioned reserved residential areas and British schools as racial enclaves, this paper shows in the everyday life of Eurasian and European children from diverse class backgrounds, the line of racial segmentation was rather fluid.

In addition to the changing social dynamic in the dwelling spaces, the northward expansion of city initiated under town planning further allowed the spatial relocation of schooling sites into specially designed premises. In the nineteenth century, the lack of planning resulted in the mixed land use in Hong Kong. Schools in the early colonial decades were invariably poorly housed in tenement buildings, deficient in light, air, and ventilation. By the early twentieth century, with the leveling of hills and reclamations that rendered more constructible land for civic buildings, many government and grant-in-aid schools gradually moved out of tenements and assumed separate sites. This process of allocating 'designated' space for learning was accompanied by the invention of supervised play spaces where neighbourhood residents' associations petitioned the expansion of playgrounds and open space for children. These new learning and playing spaces introduced alternative expressions and forms of childhood to Chinese children.

By examining children's changing spatial experiences of dwelling, learning, and play in relation to urban transition interwar Hong Kong, this paper shows colonial town planning as a significant force in the remaking of 'race' and 'class' in the colony. In doing so, the paper further reveals 'race' and 'class' as the invented constructs of colonial urbanism in this period.

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### **Kanalskolan Skellefteå, Sweden 1935 - A Sociomaterial Perspective on Local Political Motives for Establishing a New School.**

Andreas Westerberg (Umeå universitet)

This paper analyses how local political motives for building a new school in the city can be understood from a socio-material viewpoint. The term socio-materiality captures an understanding of social construction as a process producing not only humanity but also materiality like things or buildings. All material artefacts and environments used in school education such as books, blackboards, classrooms or computers have reached their form and function through social construction. (Fenwick et. al. 2011) Socio-materiality also understands people's competence, abilities and knowledge of the world as interconnected with everything material. It is thus not possible to isolate the human from the material in any simple and distinct sense. This means that school teaching and materiality cannot be studied separately because they become what they are in an ongoing collaboration. (Fenwick & Edwards 2010)

Such an ongoing collaboration might be difficult to study or understand. If everything and everyone involved in a social activity like school education affects and are affected by one another there may be hard to figure out how and why the activity works (Schneider 2018). In history of education the concept grammar of schooling (Tyack & Tobin 1994) denotes this tendency of school education to reproduce itself in a repetitive or continuous manner. In this paper the assumption made is that there may be critical events where grammar of schooling gets more explicit and thus intelligible. Building a new school could be such a critical event. (Facer 2018)

The source material primarily consists of documentation produced in connection to the local school board or local newspapers. This is of course protocols and articles, but also photographs and construction drawings. To some extent other materials also are analysed for example national curriculum of the time and a historiography on school education in Skellefteå published by an active teacher of the time in 1948.

Preliminary results from this study highlights a variety of concrete findings which make it intelligible that the school is established with these functions and in this place. The new school was in many ways a socio-material innovation. It was made as a profile building by the main street and thus shaping the city. It had some new type of functions due to state regulations and local socio-political ambitions. The first could be exemplified by the gymnasium and the second by the dental surgery. But most of all the school was an example of increase in capacity. Teaching practice within the classrooms wasn't an issue negotiated or problematized when establishing this new school.

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*American Educational Research Journal*, 31(3), pp. 453-479

## 05-SES 06: NINETEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLING

Panel Session (English, German)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lukas Boser (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

### **Age-Grouping in 19th Century European Schools: Pedagogical and Managerial Knowledge**

Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The emergence of age-grouping in compulsory schools certainly posed one the critical transformations of modern schooling in the last centuries (Caruso, 2015b; Hamilton, 1989; Jenzer, 1991). The criterion of forming school-classes following the recorded age of children became a structural aspect of global schooling and it has even been portrayed as being a universal element of this type of institutionalized form of learning (Adick, 1992). Age classes not only superseded inherited criteria for grouping children based on attainments, a largely accepted criterion until the middle of the 19th century. It also prevailed against alternative constructions of age such as that of mental age, with clear psychological roots and closely related to a more scientific form of testing (Angus, Mirel, & Vinovskis, 1995; Thretewey, 1998). This paper analyses the emergence and acceptance of this central criterion for organizing modern schooling in its major time of institutionalization in the 19th century. It is based on the content analysis of 117 manuals of teaching and classroom management with 316 editions published in England, Ireland, France and Spain from 1830 to 1900. In relation to this kind of source, these manuals were widely used in teachers' education, displayed a quite practical knowledge about schools and classrooms, and were mostly authored by school inspectors, schoolteachers and teachers' trainers (Bartle, 1990). They certainly displayed a rather normative perspective, but they advanced proposals with a certain degree of realism. They can be considered as proxy for the acceptance and institutionalization of age-classes in elementary and compulsory schools (Caruso, 2015a). In relation to the period in focus, whereas in 1830, monitorial schooling classifying children after their attainments and levels of learning entered in a phase of harsh criticism and decay, around 1900 major school systems, particularly in the cities, worked on the assumption of age-classes as being a suitable form of organizing schools and classroom work. The content analysis of the manuals show that age-grouping and age-classes only prevailed at the end of the century. It also shows that age as a criterion gained legitimacy only when it connected with a more individualistic and proto-psychological approach to learners. The contribution describes and discusses these findings by referring to both the theory of human life cycle as a social fact and the theories of modern governmentality combining bureaucratic rationality and pastoral guidance.

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### **The Ginnasio and Liceo in Habsburg Milan (1814-1859): School policy, teaching and family social background of the pupils**

Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore), Valentina Chierichetti (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

In the territories of the Austrian monarchy enrollments in the Gymnasien declined in the first two decades of the XIX century, before slowly raise again in the 1830s, to expand in the second half of the century (G.Cohen). The data about enrollments in the ginnasi andicei of Lombardy differ from this trend, because they show a growth that started earlier and continued, in spite of the attempts of the government to contain it. This great demand of instruction has to be explained in connection with the economic situation of Lombardy and with the strong network of elementary schools already existing. The real data about school history in Lombardy have been long ignored, because the Restoration period was considered a dark chapter in the history of Italian schooling, until new research have shown that Austria stood out not only due to its school policy, which led to an increase in the literacy rate (X.Toscani), but also due to the quality of elementary school teacher training (S.Polenghi).

As for the secondary school, after the pioneering work of D.Giglio (1974), E.Pagano has studied the teaching career in Lombardy-Venetia; S.Polenghi has examined the impact of Austrian legislation (G.Grimm) on the Lombardy ginnasi; V.Chierichetti has published a detailed book on the public ginnasi andicei of Milan, from 1818 to 1851. The few years after Thun's reforms have been analyzed by B.Mazohl, V.Chierichetti and S.Polenghi.

Milan, capital of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia, had two Imperial Ginnasi and Licei, plus a municipal Ginnasio and a private College. Milan was a rich city, with many artisans and shopkeepers who desired a better education for their sons. The high attendance constantly worried Vienna, which tried repeatedly to make the high school more selective, fearing social mobility.

This paper presents the results of a research carried out through archival sources and the class registers of the high schools of Milan in the Restoration age. The sources used allow a quantitative analysis (on more than 17.000 pupils) that produces a detailed picture of the social family background of the pupils and their school performances.

The research proves that many pupils of the Ginnasi belonged to the middle class but also to low classes, whereas upper class pupils prevailed in the Licei. The fears of Vienna were actually correct. Indeed, the high number of graduated of the University of Pavia could not be absorbed by the job market (M.Meriggi). Not surprisingly, Pavia University was an active center of recruitment to Liberal thought and Risorgimento movement (S.Polenghi).

The overcrowding of Ginnasi had severe drawbacks on the teaching system. The discipline was rigid, the teaching mainly mnemonic, with a strict and obsessive system of exams. The lack of Realschulen was one of the cause of this overcrowding. After 1859, when Milan joined Piedmont, the City Council changed the school policy and Milan had three Realschulen instead of one and two public Ginnasi instead of three. The attendance at the Realschulen overcame attendance at the two Ginnasi in 1866.

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### **Educational peculiarities in pre-March Hungary**

Irén Dr. Virág (Eszterházy Károly University)

Educational peculiarities in pre-March Hungary

My presentation aims to demonstrate the education of the Hungarian high nobility in the first half of the 19th century on the basis of sources.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the leading class of the age, the aristocracy, stood at the top of the estates society. They possessed political and professional privileges, but their high social position was based above all on their considerable wealth.

In this epoch, in the time of the Vormärz, the strengthening national self-confidence also made itself felt in Hungary - as in many other countries in Europe. As a result, Hungarian customs, the national language, the promotion of Hungarian society and economy, national culture and education again became the focus of interest. Private education was not unaffected by this. From 1825 onwards, the national elements also found their way into the education of the nobility: in addition to the old educational content, knowledge of national conditions and learning the Hungarian language took on an ever greater role. This process led to public educational institutions enjoying greater popularity among the aristocrats, who thus had closer contact with other social classes.

### **Bildungsbesonderheiten im Ungarn des Vormärz**

Bildungsbesonderheiten im Ungarn des Vormärz

Der Vortrag zielt darauf ab, die Bildung des ungarischen Hochadels in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts anhand von Quellen darzustellen.

Zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts stand die Führungsschicht des Zeitalters, die Aristokratie an der Spitze der Ständegesellschaft. Sie besaß politische und berufliche Privilegien, aber ihre hohe gesellschaftliche Stellung beruhte vor allem auf ihrem beträchtlichen Reichtum.

In dieser Epoche, in der Zeit des Vormärz, machte sich auch in Ungarn – wie in vielen anderen Ländern Europas – das erstarkende nationale Selbstbewusstsein bemerkbar. Infolgedessen rückten das ungarische Brauchtum, die Landessprache, die Förderung der ungarischen Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft, die nationale Kultur und Bildung wieder in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Davon blieb auch die Privaterziehung nicht unberührt. Die nationalen Elemente hielten ab 1825 auch in der Bildung des Adels Einzug: neben den alten Bildungsinhalten nahmen die Kenntnis der nationalen Verhältnisse und das Erlernen der ungarischen Sprache eine immer größere Rolle ein. Dieser Prozess führte dazu, dass sich die öffentlichen Bildungseinrichtungen einer größeren Beliebtheit bei den Aristokraten erfreuten, die dadurch einen engeren Kontakt zu anderen Gesellschaftsschichten hatten.

Ab den 1920er Jahren begann sich das wachsende nationale Selbstbewusstsein spürbar auf die Bildung von Frauen und Männern auszuwirken, wodurch die Erziehung der Aristokratie allmählich patriotische Züge annahm. Ihre bis dahin übliche private Erziehung war auch in den Ständerversammlungen auf scharfe Kritik gestoßen.

Durch die Untersuchung der auch nach europäischen Maßstäben hochqualifizierten Aristokraten möchte ich zu einer gründlicheren Kenntnis dieser Epoche beitragen.

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**TUESDAY June 15                      2:00 - 3:30**

### **01-SES 07: RETHINKING KNOWLEDGE-PRODUCTION: THE 'SOCIAL' IN THE AGE OF THE LINGUISTIC TURN**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Julie Elizabeth McLeod (University of Melbourne), Paola Valero (Stockholm University)

#### **Rethinking Knowledge Production: The 'Social' in the Age of the Linguistic Turn**

International comparative education research is a discourse that ought to include questions about how knowledge production is framed by different contexts and conditions. Understanding educational knowledge production as a social and cultural process rather than an economic, functional, or otherwise neutral one is a result of the last half a century of historicization and theorization (Berger/Luckmann, 1966; Fleck, 1979; Knorr-Cetina, 1999; Radeiski, 2017). According to these culturalist perspectives, reality is not intrinsically objective but is instead relative and routinely constructed through language and cultural production of the respective language and cultural community (Tröhler/Fox, 2019; Tröhler/Horlacher, 2019).

This panel's aim is to explore different facets of the construction of education knowledge in their relation to the respective linguistic and social formations by addressing two different but entangled layers of the linguistic construction of reality affecting knowledge production together with their respective epistemological consequences. The first layer concerns the conceptual, theoretical, cognitive possibilities and boundaries that are predetermined by natural languages, indicating specific

(linguistic) foci on or delimitations of the reality and negating all others that fall outside. The second layer refers to the ideological character of languages. Following de Saussure (2016), a concrete speech act (*parole*) is embedded in and understandable as being arisen from a specific linguistic system (*langue*) that has been shaped by contingent social and cultural conventions. Following J.G.A. Pocock (1987), *langues* can also be understood as ideological languages. Within one natural language as an overall frame, different *langues* or ways of reasoning constitute the respective way of production and consumption of knowledge. In each time and place, co-existing *langues* respectively struggle for hegemony what can be seen with the global rise of, for example, test-psychology. Furthermore, even within one *langue*, different idiosyncratic shapes based on various religious or political ideologies can be identified – as for example distinct interpretations of Protestant and Republican thought (Tröhler, 2011) – each of which shapes ‘reality’ in a particular way and thus, preconditions the respective research.

Against this background, inquiring into both the social and linguistic contexts of the emergence of epistemological discourses — in the case of our panel, 19th-century educational and other social sciences — offers generative insight into their respective ontological ‘naturalnesses’, which they constructed at different times and places. In many disciplines various research perspectives have been developed over the last few decades, as for example a range of educational engagements, for instance theoretical approaches (Zhao, 2018), historical-analytical endeavors (Tröhler, 2017), epistemological works (Popkewitz, 1997), within Curriculum research (Gotling, 2020) or elaborations about professional practice (Schnelle, 2005).

All of these endeavors witness the productivity of including the linguistic and cultural context in education research and at the same time they highlight the overall impact of these contexts as constitutive element for knowledge production. Therefore, considering the range of significances of language(s) is indispensable, especially in the field of (historical) education research and this panel’s papers contribute to this aim by taking the following different foci:

The first paper theoretically elaborates both of the described layers of the linguistic construction of reality. The combination of the two layers will be shown in the way of nationally framed ways of thought and their travel into various other education systems.

The second paper addresses the soul-discourse in the long 19th century wherein the soul is being understood as a "floating signifier" (Levi-Strauss, 1950), that serves as a projection surface for ideological struggles between different social groups.

The third paper takes the whole corpus of 19th-century parliamentary speeches as *paroles* in the UK and investigates the emerging and expanding discourses as *langues* of ever-rationalizing statecraft with specific attention to state schooling.

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## **National Epistemologies as Languages of Educational Reasoning**

Stephanie Fox (University of Vienna)

This paper argues that there are various distinct ways of how knowledge is respectively produced. These ways of producing knowledge in education and fabricating corresponding epistemologies are linguistically formed and nationally framed, indicating nationally distinctive ways of reasoning which are linguistic and labelled as “national epistemologies” (Fox, 2020) However, although we know an incredible amount of different natural and national languages, and although each of them allows a different specific perception of the world (Humboldt, 1905/2015), there are not at all as many different epistemologies as different languages to be identified. The reason for this mismatch can be found in the nineteenth and twentieth century Western nation-building period during which it is only in nation(-state)s which already had national strength, that is a strong national identity as a nation by the time of its academic knowledge-production, that a unique national epistemology could have been configured. These nations produced – based on the possibilities and limits of the respective natural languages –

nationally connotative ways of thought and therefore, national epistemologies are (to be understood as) ideological languages. Surprisingly or not, these are some of the leading nations of today (for the West, at least), namely France, England, the U.S. and Germany. The respective epistemologies of these core nations have then travelled differently into other nation(-state)s' education systems (Cowen, 2009). Understanding a (national) epistemology as a travelling idea, there can be different modes or purposes of travel detected, namely (generally said) travelling by invitation and travelling as occupation. These two purposes will in short and exemplarily be explained with the cases of Austria and Denmark, where German Idealism entered their educational systems and thought styles: For Austria, a case of intellectual occupation will be described; and for Denmark a case of travelling by invitation in the way of adjusting the original idea (of German Idealism) when implementing it into the Danish educational thought style.

In order to make sense of these considerations, the paper will have the following structure: After a short introduction, the first part addresses the idiosyncrasies of and differences between natural, national and ideological languages (1). In a second part the concept of national epistemologies as languages of educational reasoning will be elaborated (2) and the third part shows imperial notions of this concept (3) before, in a last fourth part, the conclusion ends the paper (4).

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### **Educational Reasoning in the Long 19th Century – The Soul as Floating Signifier**

Sophie Stieger (University of Vienna)

“Confine yourself to the noble duty that society assigns to you: To lay in the souls of children the first and solid foundations of simple morality” – Jules Ferry, Letter to the Primary School Teachers of France, 1883

“Education is not an end in itself, but only a means for the development of the soul.” – Wilhelm Dilthey, *Outlines of a System of Education*, 1884-94, 181

The divine in man, the force of life, the innermost essence of the individual, consciousness and sensibility, a mere epiphenomenon of physical processes, an irrational metaphysical construct, a priest's phantasy, a useless remnant of outdated Christian morality – the question of what the soul is has many answers. Rather than being neutral descriptions of a ‘real object’, these answers refer to larger webs of meaning that are not only ideologically charged but bound to a specific socio-historical context. While in the 21st century, the concept of the soul has been almost completely banned from scientific and political debates, it was the linchpin of numerous controversies in the 19th century. The soul was a focal point of urgent disputes, linked for instance to the social question (how to produce pious souls and avert corrupt souls), the renegotiation of boundaries between church and state, ideas of matter and immateriality (e.g. German Idealism versus French Materialism), nationalism and

interculturalism (e.g. the prominent German idea of *Volksseele*), colonialism (salvation or negation of 'negro souls') and so on.

In the first part of the paper, I propose to conceptualize the soul as a floating signifier in order to explore this peculiar utterance by looking at the webs of meaning in which it is integrated. For the signifier soul is not bound to a signified, but rather floats "in a sea of relational differences" (Hall, 1997), it takes on concrete meanings only in relation to other signifiers. Thus, notions of how the soul is constituted, how it can be measured and manipulated, educated, and perfected, or if it even exists at all, are linked to specific discursive structures. In the second part of this paper, the concept of the floating signifier (as formulated by Lévi-Strauss, 1950/1987; Laclau, 1996 and Hall, 1997) is explained in greater detail and related to the broader framework of the linguistic turn. How this concept can be used in educational research will be illustrated in the third and last part of the paper, by exploring the function of the word soul within competing narratives of moral education in Germany and France in the long 19th century. Hereby, the main focus lies on the overarching political and (anti)religious ideologies that made specific ways of speaking about the soul and education possible in the first place. This shift in perspective allows us to take an analytical look at the various – often mutually exclusive – linkages of education and the soul, instead of playing the judge over good and bad arguments.

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## **States And Stats That Save: Rationalization, Social Scientization, And The Discursive Expansion Of The UK In The Long 19th Century**

Daniel Scott Smith (Stanford University)

The goal of this paper is to identify, compare, and explain trends in the discursive expansion of the state as observed in the legislative records and proceedings of the UK, 1803–1914. For research questions, I ask: does the official deliberated business of government expand to include an ever-larger number of social domains of state intervention? How do more traditional domains of state intervention (e.g., taxation and war) compare to more "modern" or rationalized domains (e.g., public health and schooling)? The answers to these questions will serve the overall conceptual agenda of this panel by (1) demonstrating how the official discourse, or *langue*, of the state expands during the 19th century and by (2) motivating a deeper investigation and historicization of asymmetric expansion of more "rational" arenas compared to more traditional ones. The legislative corpus of the UK during the nineteenth century exhibits the effects of an evolving though no less sweeping cultural process that I

call social scientization: social quantification, which was the systematic observation and measurement of individuals to characterize whole populations; and social theorization, which was the systematic naturalization of political, religious, and otherwise normative understandings of individual orderliness, social order, justice, salvation, and prosperity. I highlight the ways that social quantification and social theorization entered state discourse and show how such social scientization expands during the course of the long 19th century. I show and argue that statesmen's increasing usage of statistics and statistical thinking were mainstays in and drivers of discourses of an increasingly expanded and "rational" state. This paper therefore plays a critical role in the larger panel by analyzing a central empirical setting of particularly powerful parables (de Saussure, 2016; Tröhler, 2011) — the debates and order of business of the legislative branches a discrete case, the UK, during the whole nineteenth century — to see the nature and extent that processes of social scientization shape in real ways whole languages (de Saussure 2016; Tröhler 2011) or ways of seeing and reasoning, in this case, those of the state. What's at stake here is a historical irony felt even today: as the state modernizes — rationalizes and secularizes with the support of hard facts and cold numbers — it increasingly becomes wrapped up in and reconstituted by systemic evangelical missionary interventions designed to save. My goal is to argue historically and theoretically and show empirically how social science intensified, not diminished, the religious character of modern state discourse.

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## **02-SES 07: PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF TEACHERS – IMAGES, IDENTITIES AND LIVES, PART 2**

Symposium, Part 2 (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Thomas Kevin Walsh (Maynooth University)

### **Perspectives On The Social History Of Teachers – Images, Identities and Lives, Part 2**

Panel 2 - The changing and conflicting roles and lives of teachers in modernising societies

The growth of mass schooling during the 19th and 20th centuries implied a mass increase not only in the number of pupils but also in the number of teachers (See for example Meyer et al. 1992, Westberg 2015). Today more than 80 million teachers over the world work in different levels of various school system (Roser, 2020). Although teachers featured regularly in history of education over the last two hundred years, they were for a long time either neglected, or as Ivor F. Goodson framed it in the 1990's, "viewed as individuals only as formal role incumbents mechanistically and unproblematically responding to the powerful expectation of their role set" (Goodson, 1992, p. 3, see also Lawn & Grace 1987). This has changed over the last decades and even more during the last ten years, with an increasing scholarly interest for studying the history of teachers in a broader spectrum.[1]

It is not possible to map out an overview of all different strands focusing on the history of teachers here. However, some of the recurring themes are teacher education (Furuhagen et al. 2019; Moore,

2019; Ogren, 2018), the image and identity of teachers (Kestere & Baiba, 2019; Raptis 2010; Williams 2014), feminisation and professionalisation of the profession (Albisetti, 1993; Toley & Beadie, 2006; ), the formation of the social groups of teachers (Larsen, 2011; Sohn 2012); the life and working conditions for rural and urban teachers (Clifford 2014, Whitehead 2019, Wright 2012), livelihood and economic aspects of the teacher occupation (Brühwiler 2015, Westberg 2015, 2019).

Connecting to many of these themes, this symposium gathers historians of education from four continents and nine countries with a shared interest in the history of teachers. The symposium will be divided into three sessions, organised chronologically and thematically.

Panel 1 - Social image/identities, professional trajectories and regulation of teachers in the 18th and 19th century

Panel 2 - The changing and conflicting roles and lives of teachers in modernising societies

Panel 3 - Teacher social histories in war/post war contexts

A number of themes emerge across the thirteen papers, including: a) the impact of social or political changes on teachers' personal and professional lives and identities, b) tensions between the social and professional role and identities of teachers, including turns in and aspects of the feminisation of the profession, c) the conceptualisation of the wider roles/occupations of teachers beyond the classroom, d) the social regulation of teachers at national and local levels, e) the evolving societal expectations of teachers as a professional grouping, f) the tensions between teacher status at a national and local level, g) the life course and careers of teachers.

These recurring issues also speak to the main theme of this year's conference. We argue that teachers are important actors both when 'looking from above and below' and we are confident that the presented papers will demonstrate interesting perspective of both this and different meanings of 'social' in relation to the history of teachers. In relation to the sub-theme, we view the diversity of participants as a good starting point to highlight what the ongoing international research on the history of teachers addresses and how this can be understood in relation to previous "turns" within the field.

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[1] One way to see this development is study the past publications in two of the fields most leading journals - *Paedagogica Historica* and *History of Education*. When searching for the keyword "teacher" in titles there are more results the ten years between 2010 and 2019 (N =41) compared with the twenty years prior to 2010, 1990 to 2009 (N = 30). Source: <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/doSearch?AllField=> (Retrieved 2020-01-12)

### **Teaching and Training Experiences (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1930s)**

Diana Gonçalves Vidal (University of São Paulo)

How do elementary teachers give meanings to the different dimensions which constitutes the teaching profession? To address the issue, I framed this presentation at the intersection of three strands: one method, oral history; one discipline, the history of education; and a theme, the teachers of governmental elementary school in Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s.

The teachers training program of Institute of Education of Rio de Janeiro (IERJ), between 1932 and 1937, was the subject of my PhD dissertation. The period is considered a landmark in the history of the teaching profession in Brazil. The IERJ comprised a Kindergarten, a Primary School, a High School, and

the first Brazilian Teachers' College. Three years later, the TC became a Department of the new born University of Distrito Federal, converging to initiatives leaded by the international movement of New Education at the time .

Designed to be a model, the TC/IERJ was created on the same day that the Manifesto of the Pioneers of the New Education (March 19, 1932) was published. It was no coincidence. The manifesto is another landmark in the history of the teaching profession in Brazil. The creation of the IERJ thus emerged as a founding event or spectacle event, as Pierre Nora (1993) would say. It represented the inauguration of a new professional culture for elementary teachers more in tune with the international trend.

The TC/IERJ mirrored its curriculum in the Teachers' College of the University of Columbia one. It renewed its Library by importing books based on the New Education ideals and by stimulating the faculty members to write and publish titles about it or translate de publications by foreign authors. The Primary School was transformed into a Lab School allowing students' observation and teachers' practice.

When interviewing alumni of TC/IERJ, they highlighted the relevance of institution for their practice. TC/IERJ was both source of legitimacy and a legacy to preserve. However, when referring to the urgencies of the teaching profession and the tactics used for professional (and personal) survival, they revealed other factors, as the material labor conditions and the relationship between school and community, as important components of the professional culture of elementary teachers in Rio de Janeiro at the time.

This presentation will explore these three aspects, taking into account four fundamental concepts. The concept of experience, by E.P. Thompson, considered as an intersection between ideas and feelings produced within the culture. The concept of memory as plural, which means "multiple attribution of the memory to a diversity of grammatical pronouns", as Paul Ricoeur claims. The concept of nostalgia in the sense that memories are the result of generational experiences and expectations. And the concept of multiple times of the memory which remind us that the current moment lived by the interviewee and the interview situation are also key factors of the testimony.

With this approach I intend to illuminate some features of the social history of elementary teachers in Brazil during the 1930s. [Funding Body: FAPESP nr. 2018/26699-4]

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By joining this "Call for abstracts/papers - Preformed panel on the social history of teachers", I also intend to exam possibilities of similar processes in other countries, as part of my ongoing project "Knowledge and Practices in frontiers: toward a transnational history of education (1810-...)", funded by FAPESP (process nr. 2018/26699-4).

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### **The Dynamics of the Current Context and its Consequences in Shaping the Socio-Ethnic Identities of the Slavic-speaking Teachers, Western Macedonia(1913-1945)**

Sophia Iliadou-Tachou (University of Western Macedonia)

In the present study the target group is the Slavic-speaking teachers of Western Macedonia. The research questions are about the consequences of the current context in shaping the socio-ethnic identities of the Slavic-speaking teachers of Western Macedonia (1913-1945).

Jenkins (1994) considers that the term identities means social constructs that are characterized by a continuous process of transformation, even though some of their old elements could be revived in the modern age or in a different geographical context. Bernstein (1989) refers to the role of education in the transmission of the particular forms of culture and in the configuration of the students' social identities. He also stresses that school mechanism contributes not only to the reproduction of the society but its class structure as well. Barth (1969) re-negotiates the notion of 'boundaries' between ethnic groups, namely that identification and confrontation create 'boundaries', while important social relationships are based on divided ethnic situations.

In the context of our research we can distinguish between the following periods that determine the ethnic and social identity of the Slavic-speaking teachers: The first is the period 1913-1936 that begins with the incorporation of Western Macedonia into the Greek state (Karabott, 1997), during which an assimilation process of Slavic-speaking people or teachers, through the mechanisms of education had taken place (Iliadou-Tachou, 2006). The second is the period 1936-1941, when the process of educational assimilation was replaced by the repressive mechanisms of John Metaxas' regime (Kostopoulos, 2008).

The third is the period 1941-1943, which was characterized by the process of transforming the identities of the Slavic-speaking teachers who were divided into three socio-ethnic groups a) to the Greeks b) to the Bulgarians and c) to the Slav-Macedonians, as the Greek Communist Party had recognized since 1935 the existence of a minority of Slav-Macedonians.

The next period is the period 1944-1945, during which the National Liberation Front/Greek Communist Party (NLF/GCP) founded the Slav-Macedonian schools in Western Macedonia and a Slav-Macedonian teacher's training School in Argos Orestiko, in order to prepare the Slav-Macedonian teachers and conclusively attempted to construct the Slav-Macedonian identity ( Iliadou-Tachou & Andreou, 2015). In this context, the Slavic-speaking teachers faced the dilemma of attending Slav-Macedonian schools or not in the educational meetings of Polipotamos and Triantafyllia. Their choices defined their socio-ethnic identity. During the same period, NLF/GCP accepted the founding of SNOF, which were consisted exclusively by Slav-Macedonians guerrillas (Koumaridis , 2009; Kostopoulos, 2003).

During the period 1944-1945 the conditions were created in order the Slav-Macedonians to be divided (a) to Slav-Macedonians who, after the Varkiza Agreement (12 February 1945), adhered to the national policy of NLF/GCP and b) to the Slav-Macedonians, who incorporated to the partisans of Tempo. (Sfetas, 2001) and formed, after the founding of the People's Republic of Macedonia, an ethnic Macedonian identity (Iliadou-Tachou, 2017).

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### **03-SES 07: VOCATIONAL AND SECONDARY EDUCATION**

Panel Session (English, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Marisa BITTAR (Federal University of São Carlos, Brazil)



## **The Education Of Women Artists In Portugal During The First Half Of The 20th Century**

Monica Raleiras (Instituto de Educação, Universidade de Lisboa), Ana Luísa Fernandes Paz (UIDEF, Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa)

In this paper, we analyze the educational and artistic trajectories of women artists (painters and sculptors) during the first half of the 20th century, in Portugal. This chronology encompasses an important moment of change in artistic practices and the concept of the artist - the transition between naturalism and modernism. The new artistic values arising from the end of the 19th century onwards are originality, the truth of the artist and his commitment to his genius, values contradicting those stated as being feminine (Silcock, 2018).

During the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and although women's access to the Fine Arts Academies was not prevented, their initiation in artistic practice occurred mainly through family or groups of amateurs organized in small studios and women-only classes (Vicente, 2015). This domestic sphere of artistry let the women artists in the second-row role of the dominated among the dominants (Bourdieu, 1996). Only those with socio-cultural and economical privileges could afford to study in Paris where special art academies would welcome them.

This study has three objectives: i) to identify how artistic criticism, through the press, paid attention or not to women artists in this period and fabricated the idea of woman-artist; ii) describe the training paths (formal and informal) of these women who adhere to modernism and the new idea of the artist, identifying the determining factors for the pursuit of artistic practice (marriage, family financing, travel, collaboration with peers, teaching, etc.); iii) understand how these women recognized themselves as women-artists.

The theoretical and methodological perspectives adopted are social history and Michel Foucault perspective on identity. The first one allowed us to describe the objective experiences of women in art training, their careers and how the press contributed to their visibility. The second, allowed us to consider the identity of women artist as fluid and constructed by discourse.

The primary sources used for this study were the literary, artistic, and social life press titles published in Portugal, during the first half of the 20th century. These sources allowed us to identify the references to women artists during this period regarding the announcements of art exhibitions, interviews with the artists, and artistic critique of their works. Finally, we surveyed the available biographies of these women.

We realize that the change of values had an impact in the sources: although there is a considerable number of references to women artists in the early 20th-century press, this number declines towards the end of the period. This is coincident with the political censorship and repression within the New State values acclaimed with the 1933 constitution and the realm of the Propaganda Secretariat (Ó, 1999), that organized the artistic life in the country.

Results suggest that personal relationships such as marriage and friendship, living abroad and participating in collective exhibitions were determinant in the pursuit of an artistic path as a modernist woman artist. The collected discourses also allowed us to describe the changes in gendered subjectivities related to art-making.

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### **From educational project to political desires: the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (1916 -1922)**

Thaís Melo (Universidade de São Paulo)

The research is about an educational project of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB) at 1910th decade, to create a higher education course for a teacher's course. The course was Superior Normal Course of the Faculty Philosophy and Letters of the IHGB. IHGB was created at 1838 after the politic independence of Brazil. The Institute was intended to develop Brazilian nationality through studies the country problems and to invent an historical nationalist narrative about it. The main purpose of the research is to study how the ideas about higher education for teachers and structures of college courses circulated in the Brazilian intellectual and political field, after the instauration of Republic, in 1889, mainly among the social groups that participated in the IHGB's educational project.

Many contributions of the social approach are important for the expansion and deepening of reflections in our research analysis. We believe that issues raised from social references are fundamental to develop internationalized readings and to understand the historical process as systems of relationships, circulations and flows that cross the boundaries of periods and national spaces. Trying to go beyond the process of observation of similarities and differences through the perspective national / international, we intend to discuss the social and institutional aspects that enable the intersection of our studies about the Superior Normal Course of IHGB and circulations of the educational thoughts and the educational institutions trajectories in others countries at that moment.

The regard to education as a space of disputes and construction of meaning for reality, also inserted into social dynamics, reconfigured the history of education as a research field. The educational area was understood as integral and active in its relations with the political, economic and social environments. The study of these aspects consists in locating the most decisive and the less immediate material points of confrontation. Education is not isolated from political, ideological and social tensions that affect other spheres of reality; it is one of the axes on which spaces of legitimation are constructed and contested. Locating it in social space allows us to observe the different projects that compete and coexist over the same period, besides disputes between the different groups that make up a certain social fabric.

It is necessary to point that the higher education of teachers would only start in Brazil after 1932, with the first universities. Teacher training was not part of education policy, it was socially controlled by established social groups, being a secondary teacher was a social status in the first decades of Republic. Therefore, the main research aspects are: 1 - To identify which are the main theoretical and institutional references of the IHGB's educational project 2. To observe how the social and intellectual networks were involved in the project and how they were articulated to the development of it 3. To identify the ideas about teachers' education that circulated internationally in the early decades of the XXth 4. To understand who could take part in the courses of higher education teachers.

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### **Injustice In Education At Secondary Technical Schools In Socialist Czechoslovakia**

Michal Šimáně (Mendel University in Brno), Lenka Kamanová (Mendel University in Brno)

One of the turning points of the post-war development of Czechoslovakia was the year 1948 when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) gained all the political power in this state and kept it for forty years. Due to the ideology of the party, the democratic regime changed, and society reorganized. Social changes that affected many areas of the life of individuals took place. One of the most important was the area of education, which was supposed to prepare new generations of "working class" and intelligence. Its form should have, therefore, fully met the needs of the party; the content of teaching should have fully complied with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Teachers became tools of the school system supporting state ideology (Crampton, 1997; Zounek, Šimáně, Knotová, 2018). However, fulfilling the tasks of the CPCZ in school practice brought injustice to this area for many years. This injustice in education (more on the term, e.g., Greger, 2010) took many forms and influenced different levels of the Czechoslovak school system. The area of secondary technical education, which this contribution focuses on, was not an exception.

The goal of the authors is to describe the main areas of injustice in education that existed in socialist Czechoslovakia in the context of secondary technical education (ISCED 3) through the perspective of teachers, and also to present the means leading to its application and legitimization. Among other things, the paper tries to answer the following questions: Did all pupils have the same chance to study at a chosen secondary technical school? Did everyone have the same conditions during their study? What was the probability of continuing to study at university? What aspects played a role in admission to study, in the study itself and its completion?

The contribution is primarily based on data obtained by the oral history method. In total, the authors conducted 18 interviews with 11 witnesses - teachers of technical subjects who worked at secondary technical schools in the former South Moravian Region during the period of socialist Czechoslovakia. The contribution is also based on the study of period pedagogical journals, period legislation and archive sources. The contribution represents a partial result of the project Secondary Technical School in Socialist Czechoslovakia from the History of the Everyday Life Point of View. Oral History Interviews with Teachers (Czech Science Foundation, no. 19-24776S).

The results of the research show that in the area of secondary technical education in socialist Czechoslovakia, injustice in education existed, especially concerning inequality in access to education and inequality of educational conditions. The data also show that equality in education was also violated in the area of equality in educational outcomes. It also appears that the communist regime in Czechoslovakia legitimized injustice in education at secondary technical education level, mainly through school managers or teachers. A significant role was also played by party functionaries who held important positions in the field of education. The pupils' parents also played an important role based on their position or contacts in the CPCZ.

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### **History of School Institutions: Analyzing a School Through The Relationship Between Labor and Education**

Luciane Teixeira da Silva (Federal University of São Carlos), Paolo Nosella (Federal University of São Carlos)

This paper is situated in the field of historiographical research, particularly in the History of School Institutions. It explores the social function of a school based on the relationship between labor and education. As source of research, we used papers, journals, researches and interviews. It shows that this relationship is at the center of a debate about the social function of the school: is the function of the school to shape people for world of work, to form people capable of harmonious coexistence or to differentiate people in society. The paper submitted here is part of a larger study developed in the PhD research of the author, which analyzes the foundation and installation process of the House School of Fisheries and its activities through the Pedagogy of Alternance, this school offers technical education for the riverside community from Belém, the city belongs to the Brazilian Amazon region. As theoretical reference for this study we use Burke and Braudel to dealing with the movement of renewal and preservation of the history and the emergence of new themes, objects and sources. We also use Magalhães and Sanfelice to dealing with the Research of School Institutions. As a guideline, we also used the fact that the relationship between labor and education is complex, resulting from the reciprocal interaction of these two terms, but recognizing the prevalence that emerges from the first term. Such relationship is also understood at its historical dimension, as both the categories need to be understood considering the different forms they take in different contexts. It considers the category labor, in particular, as a special human activity, which does not apply without distinction to any human activity and is decisive for the definition of the forms that education and its school institutions assume. It also takes as reference the idea of Petitat, which analyzes the genesis of the modern school, and how it was influenced by the process of production of society. Thus, by studying a school institution based on the relationship between labor and education, we could identify the influence emanated from the labor on educational development and also contribute to better understand the educational policy. Even recognizing the theses related to the end of the category "work" in its form abstract and concrete, mainly due to the so-called "Marxism crisis", we acknowledge the sociological centrality of the work, especially to understand the reality of countries like Brazil, where this discussion acquires particular contours in which the possibility of non-work almost always means the suffering and the denial of the access to the basic rights. The analysis of the school taken as object has revealed that the centrality of the work is presented, among others, in the assumption of the work as an organizing principle of the formative processes.

### **História das Instituições Escolares: Analisando Uma Escola Através da Relação Entre Trabalho e Educação**

O presente trabalho está situado no campo da pesquisa historiográfica, particularmente na História das Instituições Escolares. Identifica o sentido social de uma escola tomando como base a relação entre trabalho e educação. Utilizamos como fonte de pesquisa documentos, jornais, pesquisas e entrevistas. Parte do pressuposto que tal relação está no centro de um debate sobre a função social da escola: se seria a função da escola qualificar mão de obra, formar pessoas capazes de conviver de forma harmoniosa ou diferenciar os sujeitos na sociedade. A comunicação aqui apresentada faz parte de um estudo maior que vem sendo desenvolvido na pesquisa de doutoramento, na qual se analisa o processo de fundação e instalação da Casa Escola da Pesca e sua atuação por meio da Pedagogia na Alternância na oferta da educação técnica profissional para as populações da região insular do município de Belém, região Amazônica brasileira. Toma como referências teóricas para esse estudo Burke e Braudel que tratam do movimento de renovação e conservação da história e do surgimento de novos temas, objetos e fontes, assim como de Magalhães e Sanfelice, que tratam da Pesquisa sobre Instituições Escolares. Como diretriz orientadora toma como base o fato de que a relação entre trabalho e educação é complexa, resultado da interação recíproca desses dois termos, mas reconhecendo a prevalência do primeiro. Tal relação também é compreendida na sua dimensão histórica, na medida em que ambas as categorias precisam ser compreendidas considerando as diferentes formas que assumem nos diferentes contextos. Considera a categoria trabalho, em particular, como atividade humana especial, que não se aplica indistintamente a qualquer atividade humana sendo determinante para a definição das formas que assume a educação e suas instituições escolares. Toma como referência também a ideia de Petitat, que analisa a gênese da escola moderna influenciada pelos processos de produção da sociedade. Assim, ao estudar uma instituição escolar tomando como base a relação trabalho e educação, identifica a influência do trabalho sobre o desenvolvimento educacional e ainda contribui para melhor compreender a política educacional. Mesmo reconhecendo as teses relacionadas ao fim do trabalho (abstrato e concreto), principalmente por conta da chamada “crise do marxismo”, destaca a centralidade sociológica do trabalho, especialmente para compreender a realidade de países como Brasil, onde essa discussão adquire contornos particulares em que o possível não trabalho significa quase sempre no sofrimento e na negação do acesso aos direitos básicos. A análise da escola tomada como objeto tem revelado que a centralidade do trabalho se apresenta, entre outras, na assunção do trabalho como um princípio organizador dos processos formativos.

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## **04-SES 07: EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN AND OUT OF THE CLASSROOM**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Hilda T.A. Amsing (University of Groningen)

### **Bodily Education at the Brasilia Park-School**

Ingrid Dittrich Wiggers (University of Brasilia), Tayanne da Costa Freitas (University of Brasilia), Flavia Martinelli Ferreira (University of Brasilia)

The present study assessed the public school system of Brasília, Brazil's capital, focusing on the 1960s, the year in which the system was originally established. It was an innovative education network created by the eminent Brazilian educator Anísio Teixeira. In turn, he had been John Dewey's student at Columbia University in the City New York in the 1960s. From that contact, Anísio Teixeira adopted the pragmatist philosophy of education, which provided the philosophical bases for the preparation of the Brasília School Construction Plan. The program was structured into three main levels: primary education; secondary education; and higher education. Primary education would be offered in "Elementary Education Centers" composed of kindergartens, class-schools, and park-schools. Systematic and traditional intellectual education for students aged 7 to 14 years should be provided by class-schools. In order to accomplish the task of these schools, one park-school should be constructed for each group of four schools with the purpose of promoting children's artistic, physical, and recreational development, as well as professional initiation. The goal of the present study was to assess activities of the original curriculum of park-schools, emphasizing the bodily education they promoted. We used the cultural history as theoretical-methodological reference, focusing on historical sources, such as photographs, official documents, and interviews with pioneers of the capital, in addition to publications of that time. The main source was an album with 226 photographs of park-schools taken between 1960 and 1972. The research was based on the culture interlacing approach, which sets the phenomenon of interaction at the center of the analysis, looking for evidence of cultural exchanges in the history of education. Among the 226 catalogued photographs, 141 represented situations in which bodily expressions seemed to be treated as part of educational activities, which means more than half collection. The content of the photographs also revealed that bodily education was carried out both through artistic activities and physical and sports activities, such as visual arts and crafts classes, dance and drama classes, music classes, physical education classes, and games. This way, the sources revealed that bodily education held a prominent position in the school culture assessed. This aspect seems to confirm the principles of pragmatist philosophy, which values experience in the learning process, in addition to the expansion of the school program content. On the other hand, through the assessment of all the sources, it was possible to observe that, even though park-schools have been part of a more comprehensive international movement, such as the Playground Movement and the Laboratory Schools, the adoption of this philosophy in Brasilia found difficulties to perpetuate and was characterized by particular elements of the Brazilian context, such as architecture, school events, teacher training, and Brazilian teaching traditions.

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### **Reinstating “the Social” – Clandestine Teaching in Nazi Concentration Camps**

Wiebke Hiemesch (University of Hildesheim)

The Nazi-Regime brutally abolished basic values of civilisation and social life. People were denied their most basic rights. They were declared mere objects of the mass murder through work and killing. Social relationships and spaces of privacy were destroyed. Life was determined by unpredictability at the border to death (Sofsky 2008). Under these inhuman conditions children were most at risk. The majority of them was killed immediately after their arrival at the “Vernichtungslager”. It was an exception that children survived at least for a certain time inside the camps (Hiemesch 2017).

The outlined presentation about Clandestine Teaching in Women’s Concentration Camp Ravensbrück discusses one such exception of social practices aimed at children inside this inhumanity.[1] This issue connects to new studies about cultural life and resistance within the camp-conditions based on limited sources such as diaries or objects from the camp. These micro-studies bring into account a variety of victim groups (esp. women and children) and a variability of (marginalized) stories within – even the most minimal – forms of self-assertion (e.g. Hirsch/ Spitzer 2006, Rothstein 2015).

Ravensbrück was a Womens-Concentration-Camp where a relatively high number of children were arrested. Children and adult suffered from constant danger and inhuman conditions. They were lacking the simplest materials and mental and physical strength due to daily struggle to survive. Any kind of cultural activities were prohibited. Despite this a group of well-educated polish female prisoners organized themselves in solidarity and built a clandestine educational program for children and youth. The program has been elaborated, when quite a number of children came to the camp, arrested during the Warsaw Uprising of “Armina Krajowa”. These practices are documented by survivors' reports, „schooling books“ and children’s drawings from the camp, which have been brought to Sweden after liberation.

With special regard to these materials, the presentation discusses an aspect of “the social” facing the inhuman conditions inside the camp. Through the social practice of teaching, people regained the right to learn, to pass on knowledge to coming generations and to reinstate cultural identities (Sunderland 2004, Schmidt Holländer 2014). They kept the idea of intellectual development and prospectivity alive and revived intergenerational relations (Baader 2016). How can the social dimensions of everyday camp life be described? What are the theoretical and methodological limits?

The proposed presentation focuses on the children's experiences and takes a pedagogical dimension of everyday camp life into account. It presents a de-centralized history of education embracing the history of persecution and genocide during the Nazi regime. And it refers to a historization from below, of the still marginalized groups of (polish) children and women. Methodological it refers to material approaches and artefacts as sources of resistant social practices (Priem/König/Casale 2012; Lieb 2015; Lueger/Froschauer 2018).

[1] The presentation is based on the project „Paradoxical Education – Resistance – Surviving. Secret teaching and children’s drawings in the Ravensbrück Women’s Concentration Camp“ funded by the German Research Association, led by Meike S. Baader at the University of Hildesheim.

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### **The War In A Transnational Key: The Case Of The Spanish Civil War In The Italian Elementary School During Fascism**

Carlos Sanz Simón (Complutense University of Madrid)

The Europe of the 20th century was marked by international war conflicts. The two world wars faced large blocks of countries with radically opposite conceptions of European identity. But there were also wars that, although they took place in a purely national space, involved the participation and confrontation of other regimes. It was the case of the Spanish civil war (1936-1939). Considered as the prelude to World War II (1939-1945), it tested the military power of the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini. Especially Mussolini, which would end up seeing in Spain a possible satellite state with which to contribute to its Mediterranean re-imperialization project. The contribution of both countries and their decisive nature has been and is today debated by historians, although their participation and involvement was notorious.

In this context, the present investigation considers analyzing the reception of the Spanish civil war in the elementary school of Italian fascism, which during these years appeared at the end of its days. For this, use is made of primary sources such as school manuals, covers of school notebooks, children's literature and children's press. His consultation was mainly carried out at the Centro di documentazione e ricerca storia of the scolastico e per la letteratura per l'infanzia (CESCO) - Museo della Scuola 'Paolo e Ornella Ricca' of the Università degli Studi di Macerata (Marche, Italy). For this, the war conflict is studied from the identity, military and cultural perspective.

The results show how the will of imperialist recreation of Ancient Rome is expressed in the materials analyzed, although they express the hardness and surprise with which the Italian volunteer bodies saw the performance of their allies, the soldiers of General Francisco Franco. The rawness in revenge during

the repression of the Franco side was mentioned during the stories in the texts of the Italian elementary school. With regard to the military perspective, the presence of Italian aviation and its main bombings stands out. It is also striking that a complete and exhaustive map of the main landmarks and war axes of Italian participation is conformed in the set of materials consulted, recording not only records of war situations, but also social and cultural ones. In this last line, the destruction of the Spanish historical and cultural heritage by the republican army, especially the churches, stands out in a clear defense of the Catholic ideals of the Mediterranean civilization.

In short, war conflicts are shown as transnational curricular contents that contribute to strengthening national identity - and therefore also the otherness that is being fought. In the specific case of this study, the case of the Spanish war has been shown as an element that has generated an identity that goes beyond the Italian nation itself and that contributes to the evocation of an imperialist identity.

### **La Guerra En Clave Transnacional: El Caso Del Conflicto Civil Español En La Escuela Elemental Italiana Durante El Fascismo**

La Europa del siglo XX estuvo marcada por los conflictos bélicos internacionales. Las dos guerras mundiales enfrentaron a grandes bloques de países con concepciones de la identidad europea radicalmente opuesta. Pero también hubo guerras que, si bien tuvieron lugar en un espacio meramente nacional, implicaron la participación y confrontación de otros regímenes. Fue el caso de la guerra civil española o guerra de España (1936-1939). Considerada como la antesala de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1939-1945), puso a prueba la potencia militar de las dictaduras de Hitler y Mussolini. En especial la de este último, que terminaría viendo en España un posible estado satélite con el que poder contribuir a su proyecto de re-imperialización mediterránea. La contribución de ambos países y su carácter decisivo ha sido y es hoy debatido por los historiadores, si bien su participación e implicación fue notoria.

En este contexto, la presente investigación se plantea analizar la recepción de la guerra civil española en la escuela elemental del fascismo italiano, que durante estos años se asomaba al final de sus días. Para ello, se hace uso de fuentes primarias como los manuales escolares, las portadas de los cuadernos escolares, la literatura infantil y la prensa infantil. Su consulta se llevó a cabo fundamentalmente en el Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e per la letteratura per l'infanzia (CESCO) - Museo della Scuola 'Paolo e Ornella Ricca' de la Università degli Studi di Macerata (Las Marcas, Italia). Para ello se estudia el conflicto bélico desde la perspectiva identitaria, militar y cultural.

Los resultados muestran cómo en los propios materiales analizados se expresa la voluntad de recreación imperialista de la Antigua Roma, si bien expresan la dureza y sorpresa con la que los cuerpos de voluntarios italianos vieron la actuación de sus aliados, los soldados del general Francisco Franco. La crudeza en la venganza durante la represión del bando franquista fue objeto de mención durante los relatos en los textos de la escuela elemental italiana. En lo referente a la perspectiva militar, destaca la presencia de la aviación italiana y sus principales bombardeos. Resulta asimismo llamativo que en el conjunto de materiales consultados se conforme un mapa completo y exhaustivo de los principales hitos y ejes de guerra de la participación italiana, dejando constancia no sólo constancia de situaciones bélicas, sino también sociales y culturales. En esta última línea, se destaca la destrucción del patrimonio histórico y cultural español por parte del ejército republicano, en especial de las iglesias, en una clara defensa de los ideales católicos de la civilización mediterránea.

En definitiva, los conflictos bélicos se muestran como contenidos curriculares transnacionales que contribuyen a reforzar la identidad nacional –y por ende, también la alteridad que se combate–. En el caso concreto de este estudio, el caso de la guerra española se ha mostrado como un elemento que

ha generado una identidad que va más allá de la propia nación italiana y que contribuye a la evocación de una identidad imperialista.

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## **05-SES 07: AUTISM, SHYNESS AND SPECIAL EDUCATION**

Panel Session (English, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Michèle Hofmann (University of Zurich)

### **The Duty of being Social:A History of shy Children in the Classroom**

Pieter Verstraete (KU Leuven)

As is commonly known by now schools have been and still are important spaces where children are socialized. By transferring knowledge, closely monitoring behavior, scheduling time and structuring spaces children are being attuned to the values and norms of the older generation – as well as they resist these attempts to mold their character and thoughts. Scholars, for instance, have pointed towards the importance of tangible material objects like school desks; but they have equally paid attention to how intangible realities like literacy and emotional well-being largely have contributed to the process of making a child fit in a particular group of people.

The question I would like to answer in this presentation is whether throughout the 19th and the 20th century being social itself – in the sense of eagerly reaching out to other people – has always been an integral part of the process of socialization. In other words: whether shyness and being timid has become a problem for teachers and other educators or whether it has always been a problem during the 19th and 20th century – and it has just been the phrasing of the problem that changed over time. The origin of these questions can be found in the existing cultural historiography about shyness. Scholars like Joe Moran, Cristopher Lane and Susie Scott, for instance, have convincingly argued that

shyness only became problematized throughout the twentieth century, and this due to divergent psychological, psychopharmacological and psychiatric evolutions. Their analyses point towards the start of the 20th century and the 60's/70's as crucial periods in the transformation of shyness into a human problem that needs to be addressed. None of these scholars, however, has paid attention to the classroom, the school and the educational realm. Given the importance of these spaces in the construction of attitudes to and ideas about parts of our reality it is rather surprising that an educational approach towards the history of shyness is lacking.

In this presentation I will give a preliminary overview of the findings retrieved from an extensive literature search of several national library catalogues (Belgium, the Netherlands, UK and France), digitized databases like Gallica and the Bibliothek für Historische Bildungsforschung) as well as several second hand booksites (Abebooks & ZVAB). The words being used during the database searches where shyness as well as its synonyms (and this for the different targeted languages) and this in combination with words like 'school', 'classroom', 'child' and 'education'.

Although the research is still ongoing, I can already say that the literature review revealed an enormous amount of texts dealing with the presence of shyness and shy children in schools and classrooms. Starting from the end of the 18th century intellectuals held debates about the nature of shyness and inserted reflections on what role education and the school needed to play. Throughout the twentieth century to be social seems continuously been an issue of educational concern. The way this concern has been phrased and formulated, however, remarkably changed over the course of time.

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### **The Development of Special Education in Los Angeles, 1916-1923: The Establishment and Practice of Adjustment Rooms**

Mariko Omori (Hiroshima University)

This study aims to clarify the purpose and practice of adjustment rooms, which were established as a type of special room in public schools in the development of special education in Los Angeles in the early 20th century.

After the development of the public school system in the late 19th century, the early 20th century saw the restructuring of public schools in the United States. This restructuring extended the scope of school education to "exceptional" children, including children with disabilities. By 1930, 16 states had passed laws authorizing special education. Meanwhile, public school reform based on progressive education

was being carried out, and "curriculum differentiation" according to individual characteristics was being advocated. In this context, special classes were developed as "segregated classes" for "exceptional" children (Winzer 1993, 323-324, 367). However, these historical studies have discussed various special classes in public schools from the standpoint that they functioned as "segregated classes," without detailing the practices of individual special classes.

Special education in the city of Los Angeles, which is the target area of this paper, has been studied by Hendrick and MacMillan (Hendrick and MacMillan 1987). In the 1920s, curriculum reform for progressive education was being carried out, particularly in Los Angeles, which was leading the nation in the most advanced in curriculum and grouping practices. According to Hendrick and MacMillan, special education programs emphasized vocational courses and focused on enabling children with special needs to lead independent social lives (Hendrick and MacMillan 1988).

In this paper, I will focus on the practice of one of these special classes, the adjustment room. This room was established in Los Angeles City School District as a novel type of special class aiming to replace the previously operated ungraded class. I would like to point out that children were selected based on the perception of their being fit or misfit for society, and educational practices were developed to render them suitable for society.

First, I will examine the context of the establishment of the adjustment room. The issue of ungraded classes was identified, and the adjustment room was established as a new special class under the Department of Psychology and Educational Research. Next, the spread and expansion of the adjustment room will be discussed. The fact that exhibitions were held to promote and disseminate the program to educators in Los Angeles will be highlighted. The educational practices of the adjustment room will then be delineated. The adjustment room targeted "educationally slow children" who could be educated, and it adopted the "problem project method" as the latest educational method. I conclude that the practice of the adjustment room attempted to restore children's education based on the premise that children can learn and develop.

The documents used in the analysis are the Educational Journal, the Report of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles (1916), and Reorganization, Intelligence Tests and School (1923), edited by Lewis M. Terman.

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### **From Cold Mothers to Co-Therapists: the changing role of Dutch parents of autistic children (1950-1990)**

Milou Smit (University of Groningen), Nelleke Bakker (University of Groningen)

It is generally assumed that the concept of childhood 'autism', referring to children with a social contact disorder, was used for the first time by the American psychiatrist Leo Kanner and the Austrian pediatrician Hans Asperger. Kanner's 1943 article 'Autistic disturbances of affective contact' was translated worldwide. He distinguished several symptoms as key aspects of 'infantile autism'. These included withdrawal from social contact, 'repetitive behavior', resistance to changes, and a desire for 'sameness'. In the Netherlands, a psychologist discussed 'autism' as a childhood mental disorder at about the same time, in 1942. Worldwide, the symptoms considered essential to autism have greatly evolved over time, recently put together under the label 'autistic spectrum disorder' in the latest version of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM V, 2013).

In the Netherlands, child psychiatry, child psychology and special education studies became established academic fields of study in the 1950s. Each of these professions was involved in a debate on childhood behavioral problems, such as autism, their etiology and treatment in postwar years.

In the 1950s in the United States, when psychoanalysis prevailed in the child sciences, children's problems with social contact were conceived as caused by 'refrigerator mothers', who were said to be cold and unresponsive. On the basis of psychodynamic theories, socially disturbed children were treated with psychotherapy, whereas their mothers were deemed to need treatment as well to change their 'cold' attitude.

From the 1960s, however, due to new biomedical and genetic research, American experts more often regarded autism as a neurological problem. This meant that parents were no longer considered to be at fault. Moreover, in 1965, the National Society for Autistic Children was established. Through this society, parents successfully promoted the creation of better facilities for their autistic children and criticized psychoanalytic interpretations of the disorder. In this way, they forced a revaluation of expert knowledge on the biological basis of autism. In the new interpretation, the brain provided the explanation and the condition could no longer be cured, although the child's behavior could still be influenced. Therefore, from the 1970s, behavioral therapy in which the child learned to behave more socially became the preferred treatment. This therapy gave parents a crucial role: teaching the practicing of the behavioral principles at home. In this way, they became 'co-therapists' and experts on their child's disorder. Did these changes include other Western countries as well, such as the Netherlands?

This paper discusses views of the parental role in the etiology and treatment of children's autism in the period 1950-1990 in the Netherlands. We ask to what extent we can recognize the changes that occurred in the United States. We focus on how the three child sciences conceived of autism and how they related to each other in this respect. The sources are professional journals, manuals, and other expert publications.

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**TUESDAY June 15                      4:00 - 5:30**

**01-SES 08: WHAT COMES BEFORE MASS DATA? RE-READING SOCIAL HISTORY WITH “SMALL EPISTEMIC FORMS”**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Mette Buchardt (Aalborg University)

**What Comes Before Mass Data? Re-Reading Social History with “Small Epistemic Forms”**

Discussions on mass data as well as processes of standardization are omnipresent in the social sciences. As insightful as social history and their generated data are, it matters to reflect on the precarity of said data. The panel proposes to discuss mass data and the perspective of social history by focusing on their modes of production. We therefore attempt to revisit approaches of practice theory (Golinski, 1990; Latour, 2003; Schatzki, 2012) and histories of knowledge (Borck, Schäfer, 2015; Daston, Lunbeck, 2011).

To discuss the questions raised by the panel, we literally have to go beyond the data and look at their procedures of production. How are these procedures connected, and how do these connections create legitimacy for knowledge? Presupposing connections between ideas, concepts, problems, and legitimacy, we think it matters to look more closely at the text objects predating mass data that we label as “small moveable forms” (SMF). We describe these forms as “small” since they exhibit a specific brevity when compared to established (more extensive) sources and materials. They can also be characterized as being “moveable”, because they are produced with the idea of moving ‘knowledge’ upwards and laterally. SMFs also collect knowledge, connect actors and knowledge fields, and enable an interaction and modification of the discussed terms. This concept allows us to speak about a wide range of possible sources that are used to disseminate new terms and ideas. In this panel, we especially focus on pre-printed forms used in bureaucratic settings, such as personal data sheets, assessments and surveys, and census files.

The panel will discuss the sources and their connection to social history in four presentations that discuss concrete SMFs and descriptions of their significance.

The first presentation will discuss the term “small moveable form” and the theoretical background of the source type. Secondly, the paper will focus on the SMF of expert reports from the USA, which contributed to the establishment of the “retarded” and “over-aged” child” and discussed and documented their treatment. The second presentation will describe the relation between mass data, social history, and SMFs, arguing that newly emerging questions and categories within historical

statistics are closely connected with the introduction of contested SMFs. It will examine this thought by connecting Prussian large-scale statistics on non-promotion with the introduction of observation forms for elementary school pupils. The third paper will show the specific way how personal data is collected via different SMF types. It will further describe how within this process not only identities are ascribed and stabilized, but also new (medical) diagnoses emerge. Finally, the fourth presentation will discuss methodological approaches that not only analyze, but also connect the performative activities that SMFs are using. Therefore, the paper will address questions of scale: How does a specific situation connect to larger contexts and discourses? To exemplify this, the presenter will speak about the first national educational census in Argentina (1883), which was highly dependent on the work of teachers.

The panel attempts to offer a first insight into the idea of “small moveable forms” and show a wide range of possible ways of using them for rethinking established statistical interpretations of historical school systems. These sources allow to re-think the validity of statistics while also providing a glimpse into their production. We focus on the production methods of the data thereby allowing to re-question their historical and current application. Through this, the panel reflects on the problem of scale (Lugli 2019), which we think might be a major task of any re-visitation of social history.

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### **Looking Behind the Scenes of Social History – “Small Epistemic Forms” and the Production of Educational Mass Data**

Fanny Isensee (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Large-scale surveys and studies that produce or rely on mass data offer an appealing way of condensing and visualizing social phenomena. Gathering vast statistics allows for an abstraction of individual cases and statements and thus provides a comprehensive explanation for the conditions under examination. Furthermore, these statistical collections are also used to inform educational policy debates and reforms (Alarcón & Lawn, 2018; Lawn, 2014). However, this perspective often omits the procedures that went into the production of mass data. In order to shed light onto these processes, we propose to examine a source type that we term “small moveable forms”. The paper will discuss the concept of this source type, as well as its theoretical situatedness and distinction from competing notions, e.g.

“simple forms” (Koch, 1994), by addressing how “small moveable forms” can be characterized and the framework they are embedded in.

Originally coined in the field of literary studies (Haug & Wachinger, 1994), “small forms” can be described as short text types which exhibit a broad range of narratives and styles. In literature, their scope can encompass short prose, proverbs or forms of digital communication (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 2002). Applied to history of education, “small forms” can range from files and reports to records of assessment and evaluation. We propose to add “moveable” as a descriptor to the term, because we want to highlight the mobility aspect these sources bring with them. Since they allow us to gain a glimpse into how specific data was collected – and thus into how knowledge was produced – , they complement already established source materials.

In order to substantiate the reflections on “small moveable forms”, the paper will draw on expert reports from the USA. These reports were compiled as part of the “Reclassification Projects” that took place in New York City in the 1920s and featured one-page pre-printed forms used to conduct individual psychological examinations with the tested pupils. Assessing a pupil’s mental status affected their future treatment and grouping decisions while also contributing to the establishment of the “retarded” and “overaged” child that required a specific treatment in school administration processes. By treating these expert reports as “small moveable forms”, the paper will firstly show the singular, individual information behind the statistics that were compiled to give an overview of the situation at the specific schools which took part in the “Reclassification Projects”. This recollection of the underlying data will secondly provide insights into the background of how knowledge of certain school phenomena, such as “non-promotion”, “retardation” and “overageness” was produced. Thirdly, these findings will be put into conversation with contemporary concepts of developmental psychology and intelligence testing in the USA (Goddard, 1912; 1914; Gould, 1987; Stern 1912; Terman 1916; Terman et al., 1917).

In conclusion, the paper will provide a discussion and an attempt of a theoretical embedding of the concept of “small moveable forms” and thus offer a “behind the scenes” perspective on reading mass data.

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### **Statistics with Agency – Rethinking the Social History Approach by Looking at the Problematization of Non-Promotion in Prussia (1890-1930)**

Daniel Töpper (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

When one speaks about social history of education (Sozialgeschichte der Erziehung) in the German-speaking context, one usually refers to a very productive research approach known for influential individual works (Zymek, 1975 ; Müller, 1977) as well as for the long-term research project “Datenhandbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte” (1987-2013). Despite considerations and demands to reinvent these perspectives (see e.g. Zymek, 2015) the majority of more recent works in the history of education is less concerned with empirical studies, but instead includes an indication of empirical relevance of a phenomenon (Reh, Scholz, p. 116). There seems to be an unsolved problem with the social history approach. I propose to think of this problem as a coupling problem, which results from the inherently necessary processes of upscaling and standardization the social history approach relies on. Instead of re-cycling the old approach I think it more fruitful to reflect on the coupling process itself: To better understand the data social history is concerned with it is necessary to bring into focus the way data is brought together. In order to do so, we literally have to go beyond the concrete data and look at the procedures that come before it. Following this shift of perspective asks about where statistical categories are forged, questions emerge and problems occur. I will exemplify this by discussing how non-promotion in Prussian schools was problematized around 1900.

When Julius Moses published his book on the history, function and discussion of the “Mannheimer System” (=MS) in 1904, he prominently pointed out the support of communal school administrations that were strengthening the ideas of different types of pupil capability, which Moses and Anton Sickinger needed in order to legitimize their organizational model of curricula which was differentiated according to the children’s abilities. Specifically, the city administrations delivered numbers on promotion and dismissal results that in many cases showed noticeably high retention numbers, which in turn could easily be framed as problematic. Still, it might be relevant to remember that the city administrations started to survey these questions only after Sickinger gave a widely received speech on the same problem in 1899.

In my presentation I will use the case of the promotion and dismissal surveys to discuss the relation between statistics and the social history perspective. First, I will discuss materials from statistical handbooks, speeches on statistical matters in Prussia as well as resources on the MS. I will then show how this widely accepted problem diagnosis, that matched the zeitgeist, then led to a veritable boom in proposals for individualizing observation and measurement forms thus stressing the problem of individualization. I will end by discussing further thoughts deriving from these considerations for the social history perspective.

From this angle the social history of the problematization of non-promotion would look differently. Instead of looking at the sudden appearance of numbers of non-promotion in official statistics and

connecting them to general social trends of the time, I think the question is to explain how, when and why non-promotion became a statistical topic.

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### **“Only by Collecting More Data will the Difficulties of Classifying Idiocy be Overcome” – Collecting Data through Pre-Printed Forms (1880-1900)**

Jona Tomke Garz (Universität Zürich)

The problem that doctors, psychiatrists, and teachers alike faced towards the end of the 19th century was a growing pressure to diagnose and treat children with intellectual difficulties effectively (Borck & Schäfer 2015). Although an increased amount of time and effort had been put into detailed single case studies, the ability to diagnose individuals could not be improved (Borck & Schäfer 2005; Ledebur 2011). Besides new forms of testing it was statistics, as the emerging science of knowledge about people, which promised to provide a solution to that problem.

Instead of producing as much concrete knowledge as possible about one individual case, professionals in medicine, law enforcement, administration and pedagogy started collecting standardized information on as many markers about as many different cases as possible (Becker 2001). These were then to be evaluated over time, i.e. counted, averages calculated, and certain characteristics grouped into categories in order to construct stable categories along certain physical or psychological deviations that were made visible through numbers (Bultman & Mak 2019). The new categories then served as the diagnostic grid on which children were diagnosed and treated. This collection and filing of standardized information about hundreds of cases was made possible through pre-printed forms (Hess 2010).

The proposed presentation will analyze precisely this practice – the way data was collected and transformed into statistics as well as new (medical) diagnoses. This will be done by using source material from the Berlin Dalldorf Asylum for the Feebleminded, more specifically personal files of the children admitted into the institution, as well as the prominent publication by the Asylum's headmaster Hermann Piper “On the Aetiology of Idiocy” (1893).

For the first part of the presentation the pre-printed form that was the personal file will be analyzed as an example of a small moveable form. Looking closely not only at the layout and its way of organizing items and facts but also at the knowledge and observation technique already installed within the requirements of the form itself, the practices of collecting data within the Asylum can be retraced. The

second part of the presentation links connects the pre-printed forms, their production of data as well as their ability to be moved around and transformed into a publication by the Asylum's headmaster. The book itself was praised as one of the most important books on idiocy and feeble-mindedness by some of the leading psychiatrists of the time, while only containing accumulated statistical data. This section will further focus on the practices through which collected data of individual cases is grouped, regrouped, and transformed in a way so that the facts, by themselves useless and trivial, become saturated with meaning.

By analyzing the collection of data through pre-printed forms, their use in statistics, as well as in the production of knowledge this presentation aims at contributing to the research on the relationship between the observation of individual cases and statistics while at the same time depicting how SMF play a central role in fabricating knowledge.

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### **From the Small to the Large. Calibrating Scales through Educational Censuses, Argentina (1880-1910)**

Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV)

In this paper, I present some reflections on the forms that were used in the first and second educational census in Argentina (1883-1884 and 1908). These censuses collected data on infrastructure (facilities, furniture, materials) and school personnel (teachers and students), and were central both to the passing of educational laws that broadened the role of the federal state and to the spread of a statistical, objective rationality in education (Daston & Galison, 2007; Lawn, 2014).

Theoretically and methodologically, censuses have been studied as the enactment of populational categories and as part of the development of a professional bureaucracy (Otero, 2006), yet only recently the materiality of their administration has started to receive attention (González Bollo, 2014).

Also, censuses have been seen as part of top-down movements of disseminating state reasoning through different strata and localities, but the local scale has scarcely been analyzed.

Drawing on earlier work on these censuses and its categories (Díaz, 2003; Dussel, 2014), in my contribution I want to pay a closer look at the material-local scale through which censuses were produced. In particular, I focus on the notebooks filled by the officials who worked in its administration, which contained information gathered at the households. These produced knowledge that traveled across different bureaucratic scales in order to make statistical data. Through these notebooks, I intend to disassemble mass data and study the performative activities that produced survey forms. With the help of these files, that fall into the category of small moveable forms (SMFs), I want to trace the movement from the small to the large, looking with some detail at the minor surfaces and gestures through which mass data took shape in the late 19th century. Acknowledging that the small and the minor can be both revealing and blinding (Galison, 2016), in my approach I would like to make more visible the connections that link forms, disciplines, actors, and sites at the local level with other scales.

Among other questions, I would like to address the following: How did the languages and practices of description (Blundo & de Sardan, 2003) connect specific situations such as gathering information to larger contexts and discourses of statistical reasoning and educational censuses? How did statistical knowledge and classifying practices intersect with the material-local practices of recording information? Considering that most officials were teachers, which languages did they use to describe what they observed? I am particularly interested in the traces left by local knowledges in the records produced for the census, i.e., the descriptions of school materials and subjects taught. Through this analysis, I seek to address how knowledge about schools was produced and circulated and also how it was “taken up, brought into the material and redistributed” (Galison, 2016, p. 170) within and across different scales.

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## 02-SES 08: PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF TEACHERS – IMAGES, IDENTITIES AND LIVES, PART 3

Symposium, Part 3 (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Attila Nóbik (University of Szeged), Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

### **Perspectives on the Social History of Teachers – Images, Identities and Lives, Part 3**

The growth of mass schooling during the 19th and 20th centuries implied a mass increase not only in the number of pupils but also in the number of teachers (See for example Meyer et al. 1992, Westberg 2015). Today more than 80 million teachers over the world work in different levels of various school system (Roser, 2020). Although teachers featured regularly in history of education over the last two hundred years, they were for a long time either neglected, or as Ivor F. Goodson framed it in the 1990's, "viewed as individuals only as formal role incumbents mechanistically and unproblematically responding to the powerful expectation of their role set" (Goodson, 1992, p. 3, see also Lawn & Grace 1987). This has changed over the last decades and even more during the last ten years, with an increasing scholarly interest for studying the history of teachers in a broader spectrum.[1]

It is not possible to map out an overview of all different strands focusing on the history of teachers here. However, some of the recurring themes are teacher education (Furuhagen et al. 2019; Moore, 2019; Ogren, 2018), the image and identity of teachers (Kestere & Baiba, 2019; Raptis 2010; Williams 2014), feminisation and professionalisation of the profession (Albisetti, 1993; Toley & Beadie, 2006; ), the formation of the social groups of teachers (Larsen, 2011; Sohn 2012); the life and working conditions for rural and urban teachers (Clifford 2014, Whitehead 2019, Wright 2012), livelihood and economic aspects of the teacher occupation (Brühwiler 2015, Westberg 2015, 2019).

Connecting to many of these themes, this symposium gathers historians of education from four continents and nine countries with a shared interest in the history of teachers. The symposium will be divided into three sessions, organised chronologically and thematically.

Panel 1 - Social image/identities, professional trajectories and regulation of teachers in the 18th and 19th century

Panel 2 - The changing and conflicting roles and lives of teachers in modernising societies

Panel 3 - Teacher social histories in war/post war contexts

A number of themes emerge across the thirteen papers, including: a) the impact of social or political changes on teachers' personal and professional lives and identities, b) tensions between the social and professional role and identities of teachers, including turns in and aspects of the feminisation of the profession, c) the conceptualisation of the wider roles/occupations of teachers beyond the classroom, d) the social regulation of teachers at national and local levels, e) the evolving societal expectations of teachers as a professional grouping, f) the tensions between teacher status at a national and local level, g) the life course and careers of teachers.

These recurring issues also speak to the main theme of this year's conference. We argue that teachers are important actors both when 'looking from above and below' and we are confident that the presented papers will demonstrate interesting perspective of both this and different meanings of



'social' in relation to the history of teachers. In relation to the sub-theme, we view the diversity of participants as a good starting point to highlight what the ongoing international research on the history of teachers addresses and how this can be understood in relation to previous "turns" within the field.

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[1] One way to see this development is study the past publications in two of the fields most leading journals - *Paedagogica Historica* and *History of Education*. When searching for the keyword "teacher" in titles there are more results the ten years between 2010 and 2019 (N =41) compared with the twenty years prior to 2010, 1990 to 2009 (N = 30). Source: <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/doSearch?AllField=> (Retrieved 2020-01-12)

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### **People of the borders and fluid identities. The case of Macedonian Slavic teacher Irene Gkini**

Georgios Galanis (University of the Peloponnese), Pavlina Nikolopoulou (University of the Peloponnese), Despina Karakatasani (University of the Peloponnese)

In January 2019, Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras during his speech on the ratification of the Prespes agreement with the opposition alluded to the Greek teacher Irene Gkini, who was the first woman in the history of Modern Greek state executed by the Greek army, July 26, 1946, during the civil war. Gkini was originally from the Slavic-Macedonian minority in northern Greece and was a member of the Communist Party of Greece and the Slavic-Macedonian Liberation Front (NOF).

She participated in the Greek national resistance fighting against the triple occupation of the country by the German, Italian and Bulgarian military forces.

Gkini's multiple identities played an important role in this story and had a strong impact on his tragic end since for the opposing parties in the Greek civil war the Slavo-Macedonians were a fairly difficult problem

Throughout the interwar period, the educational policy of the Greek State aimed at populations with problems of national self-determination focusing on their assimilation in order to contribute to the

strengthening of their national consciousness. The goal of "Hellenization" was seen as an assimilation of all local communities. The period of the occupation was particularly critical for the formation of the identities of the population because the German conquest made the allies of the axes, the Bulgarians, claimants of certain regions and provoked the defensive reactions of the Greek bourgeois class

During the occupation and the civil war, the abolition of the social fabric in the country led to the development of tendencies to reinterpret the public interest which, in particular in the Macedonian region, were considered to threaten the cohesion of the nation-state. The education system's goal of ensuring equality of opportunity for all members of social and ethnic groups has been directly challenged. State educational policy was determined by the role of the ruling bourgeoisie, which worked with the collaborating governments of the enemies. The conflict between this bourgeois class, the rural and working-class populations deprived of sources led to the abandonment of educational system reforms and the domination of conservatism. The minority populations in particular, those who spoke other languages, were identified with the national internal enemy and their presence led to assimilation attempts. In this presentation we will analyze the reasons why the Greek political system made the decision to execute the teacher Gkini as well as the role of her different social identities. We will study the characteristics of her social background and if she became - unconsciously - their representative. We will demonstrate the attempts of the post-war Greek education system to accept and integrate teachers with cultural particularities and make the link with the case of Irene Gkini. Finally we will try to interpret this case in the context of the fluid geopolitical environment of the Balkans and in the dense historical time of the 1940s. We will use documents from the Archives of the Greek State, from the National Union of Greek Teachers, schools and local educational administration, as well as press material of the period.

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### **Ethical and Deontological Attitudes of Teachers in the Context of a Totalitarian System – Secondary School Teachers in Poland Post-WWII**

Justyna Gulczyńska (Adam Mickiewicz University)

This paper examines the ethical and deontological attitudes of teachers in Poland during the period immediately following World War II, i.e., the years 1944-1948, in the context of the new and alien Communist state system forcefully imposed on the country.

The process of educating and bringing up young people in Poland started changing radically as early as in 1944, i.e., even before the end of the war. The school, among other areas of the state's functioning, became an important instrument for the "new people's powers" to enslave the citizens and subordinate them to the Communist system taking over the country.

These circumstances led to teachers becoming the most vital group of professionals. To a large extent, they were the deciding factor in the success of the authorities' plans. In order to determine the level of teachers' commitment to implement the government's ideas in the context of the ethical and deontological attitude required of their profession, the author set out to answer the following specific research questions:

What did the education system and teaching staff look like in Poland after the war?

What was the result of the new Socialist powers' attempt to win the teachers' support for the political system imposed on Poland?

How did the authorities implement the policy of overt indoctrination of teachers, the so-called "fight for the soul of the teacher" after 1947, i.e., during the period of an ever-intensifying Stalinisation of the country?

What repressions did the authorities use against teachers who refused to comply with the directives and expectations of Poland's "new" post-war political reality?

What teachers' organisations existed in post-war Poland and how did they transform in response to the political situation?

What ethical and deontological attitudes did teachers adopt in the context of the political system and the dominant Communist doctrine? How did they adopt these attitudes? (case study of general secondary school teachers)

The theoretical framework of the text consists of the following research areas and their features: Polish People's Republic; the years 1944-1948; teachers in Poland in the years 1944-1948; teachers' education and professional training; teachers' political attitudes; teachers' ethical and deontological attitudes in the context of the Socialist system.

The main method used in this article consisted of an analysis of archival documents and the literature of the subject. Apart from this method, the interview technique was used as one of the key techniques employed in research on social history of upbringing – this included interviews with people formerly involved in school life, primarily with teachers, but also students who attended school during the 1945-1948 time period.

The results of the research examine the situation of teachers in post-war Poland in the context of the totalitarian system imposed on them. They explore an escalating process of indoctrination and surveillance of teachers as well as the subsequent split of the teaching community into supporters and opponents of the Communist system. The research shows the attitudes of teachers to indoctrination and surveillance in the ethical and deontological context necessary in this profession.

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### **The Social Role of Greek Teachers During the Post-War Period. Educational Values and Socio-Political Context**

Pavlina Nikolopoulou (University of the Peloponnese), Despina Karakatasani (University of the Peloponnese)

The Greek Civil War (1946-1949) began in Greece shortly after the end of the Second World War. At a historical moment when the country suffered enormous losses and its economic and social context was very disturbed, while it was on the side of the victors, the outbreak of the civil war was going to influence the political and social climate even more. When the Communist Party of Greece announced in October 1949 that the end of the civil war, its repercussions were visible in several aspects of the social and political life of the country for several decades

As is the case in any political conflict, this led to an ideological and political polarization which affected all aspects of social and political life throughout the post-war period (1950-1974). During this same period the education system faced many difficulties and obstacles. In the mid-1940s most of the teachers were installed in large urban centers, others had fled to the mountains while others had been arrested for their participation in the resistance. The teachers - economically weak and at the bottom rung of the intellectual hierarchy - were actively involved in the political and social conflict. As they lived close to the problems and hopes of the middle and working classes, both in the city and in the countryside, they were more ready than other intellectuals to hear and promote the ideologies of social justice and human rights. all social classes in education. However, throughout the civil war and afterwards, they were accused of having collaborated with the Communists and of having an attitude against the national interest

In our presentation we will analyze what school and teaching represented for Greek society during the period 1950-1974 given that the educational network was the place where the needs for survival met, the requirements of the middle social classes as well than the goals of the Political Elite. What was the social role of teachers during this period? How has the Homeland-Religion-Family triptych been advanced in Greek education and instilled by teachers? To what extent have they functioned as representatives of official Greek state policies in local communities? To what extent have teachers functioned as intellectuals who wanted to represent the problems and needs of the lower social classes?

Our presentation is based on the analysis of school archives, textbooks and educational journals, reports of inspectors and teachers' autobiographical journals of the period.

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#### **Coping with the shadows of a National Socialist past: Career paths of teachers in Austria's Second Republic**

Lisbeth Matzer (University of Cologne)

The ideological control of the school system as well as the respective loyalty of teaching staff has not only been of concern to authoritarian regimes and the like. Democracies as well tend(ed) to check at least to a certain extent the reliability of state-employed teachers. With the collapse of the Nazi regime at the end of the Second World War, this need to check and certify the ideological reliability of teachers

became important to the successor states of the “Third Reich” – Austria and Germany – in light of allied occupation and its (varying) requirements for denazification (see e.g., Engelbrecht 1988)

In the case of Austria, the professional group of teachers are known to have been supportive of National Socialist rule in strong numbers even before Austria formally became part of Nazi Germany in 1938 (Gehmacher 1994; Nagel 2012). Therefore, the rupture of regime change did only entail a relatively low number of politically motivated cleansing in schools. Nevertheless, the Nazi regime put quite an effort into ensuring the ideological loyalty of future teacher generations to the “Third Reich” and its “Führer”. Consequently, many of the newly trained teacher candidates as well as the already experienced professionals took on various party duties within the National Socialist state – as officials of the Hitler Youth, the National Socialist Teacher’s Association or as leading party functionaries on local and regional levels. When the Nazi regime occupied parts of Slovenia and its administration was put under local Austrian leadership, the newly conquered territories offered additional career chances for teachers in terms of positions within the school system but also regarding their political careers (Elste 2005; Mavrič-Žižek 2016).

Altogether, the educated teaching staff available to the newly formed government of Austria’s Second Republic in 1945 formed a problematic mass for the restart of a democratically oriented school system under the (not so) watchful eyes of the allied occupation (Engelbrecht 1988). The paper at hand focuses on the effects the 1945 rupture had on individual teaching careers in the context of a state-led attempt of denazification in the educational realm. What consequences did “Nazi teachers” face in the late 1940s and 1950s? What impact (if any) did former National Socialist engagements have on teachers’ careers in the democratic state? These questions are particularly interesting considering the specific Austrian victim’s doctrine and its effect on teaching staff recruitment from the 1950s onwards. The contradictions of the latter become especially visible when looking at the example of Austrians’ engagements in the occupation of Slovenia. For this reason, the paper at hand takes up examples of Austrian teachers with exposed Nazi careers before and during their individual involvement in the occupation of Slovenia.

Based on an analysis of biographical data from personal files, court rules, administrative correspondence and so forth the proposed paper aims at a sociographic outline of the presupposed group of “Nazi teachers” and follows selected protagonists – male and female – through their individual teaching careers from the “Third Reich” to the Second Republic.

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### 03-SES 08: HEALTH AND SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION

Panel Session (English, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Inês Félix (Umeå university)

#### **Learning Good Food Rules: the Role of the São Paulo School in Combating Child Malnutrition**

Ariadne Lopes Ecar (Universidade Ibirapuera/Universidade de São Paulo)

With the Proclamation of the Republic, São Paulo was the Brazilian state that most dedicated itself to the research and improvement of seeds, especially in the 1930s and 1940s, a period in which a series of transformations in agriculture occurred. During this period, the topic of food also gained prominence among doctors, especially after the discovery of pasteurization of food: it would be possible to extend the survival of foodstuffs and reach a large part of the population that did not have access to supplies considered essential for a healthy life.

It was also at that time that Health Education gained strength and undertook a series of activities that aimed to stop child mortality, to contribute to the growth of children and to cooperate with the future of the country. If, on the one hand, the intention was eugenic, that is, it was intended to create a strong race, willing to work, without disease, on the other, sanitary actions observed that the schoolchildren's food, for example, was deficient. To this end, intervention strategies were created, under the same pattern of infantile bodies, which allowed the child's growth and nutritional status to be monitored. Another strategy oversaw distributing healthy snacks in schools.

According to the Anuário do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo (1935-1936), there were schools that provided food assistance to children since 1919, the number grew until in 1936, 35 school groups provided soup, 146 gave snacks to poor children, and 19 offered glass of milk or coffee with milk. That is, before the intervention of Health Education, some schools had already started to provide food for enrolled students.

In 1934 the Diretoria Nacional de Saúde e Assistência Médica-Social was created, which had a Seção de Informação, Propaganda e Educação Sanitária. This Section published a collection of pamphlets to teach hygiene to people who could transmit the teachings learned as teachers, for example. The collection aimed to contribute to improving the nutritional conditions of the school population.

The first pamphlet, entitled "The feeding of schoolchildren", brought the notion of the body as a machine. He stated that the child had a greater need to replenish energy through food because of weight gain and growth. The main thesis was that the cause of malnutrition would be an inadequate diet (insufficient in quality, deficient in quantity) aggravated by the lack of "hygienic acts in eating". The pamphlet did not consider that the problem was due to poverty, but to the parents' "ignorance".

Currently, the school continues to provide food, a social measure that brings children closer and keeps them studying. A movement that started at school, has become a right that must be guaranteed and not discontinued. This work intends to give visibility to the discussions about food in the São Paulo school in the 1930s and 1940s, proposing a dialogue with the national guidelines for combating child malnutrition.

#### **Aprender Regras de Boa Alimentação: O Papel da Escola Paulista no Combate à Subnutrição Infantil**



Com a Proclamação da República, São Paulo foi o estado brasileiro que mais se dedicou à pesquisa e ao melhoramento de sementes, sobretudo nas décadas de 1930 e 1940, período em que ocorreu uma série de transformações na agricultura. Nesse período também, o tema da alimentação ganhou destaque entre os médicos, ainda mais após a descoberta da pasteurização dos alimentos: seria possível estender a sobrevivência dos vivos e alcançar boa parte da população que não tinha acesso a mantimentos considerados imprescindíveis para uma vida sadia.

Foi naquela época também, que a Educação Sanitária ganhou força e empreendeu uma série de atividades que almejavam barrar a mortalidade infantil, a contribuir para o crescimento de crianças e a cooperar com o futuro do país. Se, por um lado, a intenção era eugênica, ou seja, pretendia-se criar uma raça forte, disposta ao trabalho, sem doenças, por outro, as ações sanitárias observavam que a alimentação dos escolares, por exemplo, era deficitária. Para tanto, foram criadas estratégias de intervenção, sob um mesmo padrão de corpo infantil, que permitiam acompanhar o crescimento da criança e seu estado de nutrição. Outra estratégia ficou a cargo da distribuição de lanches saudáveis nas escolas.

Pelo Anuário do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo (1935-1936), havia escolas que prestavam assistência alimentar às crianças desde 1919, o número cresceu até que em 1936, 35 grupos escolares forneciam sopa, 146 davam lanche às crianças pobres, e 19 ofereciam copo de leite ou café com leite. Ou seja, antes da intervenção da Educação Sanitária, algumas escolas já tinham começado a fornecer alimentação para os alunos matriculados.

Em 1934, foi criada a Diretoria Nacional de Saúde e Assistência Médica-Social, que tinha uma Seção de Informação, Propaganda e Educação Sanitária. Esta Seção publicou uma coleção de opúsculos para ensinar higiene a pessoas que poderiam transmitir os ensinamentos aprendidos como professores, por exemplo. A coleção tinha como objetivo contribuir para melhoria das condições nutricionais da população escolar.

O primeiro opúsculo, intitulado “A alimentação dos escolares”, trazia a noção do corpo como máquina. Afirmava que a criança tinha maior necessidade de repor energia pela alimentação por causa do ganho de peso e crescimento. A principal tese era que a causa da subnutrição seria uma alimentação inadequada (insuficiente em qualidade, deficiente em quantidade) agravada pela falta de “atos higiênicos no comer”. O opúsculo não considerava que o problema se devia à pobreza, mas à “ignorância” dos pais.

Na atualidade, a escola continua a fornecer alimentação, uma medida social que aproxima e mantém as crianças estudando. Um movimento que se iniciou na escola, tornou-se um direito que deve ser garantido e não descontinuado. Este trabalho pretende dar visibilidade às discussões sobre alimentação na escola paulista nas décadas de 1930 e 1940, propondo uma interlocução com as diretrizes nacionais para o combate à subnutrição infantil.

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## **Rethinking The Difference: The Social Strength Of Pedagogic Discourses From The First School For Blind Citizens.**

Maria do Castelo Romeiras Amado (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

On the early Modernity, the institutionalized system of schooling was disseminated throughout the Western World. At the same time, inspired by sensorialist theories and other writings (e.g. Condillac, 1714-1780 and Diderot, 1713-1784), theories were created on the hypothesis of teaching both the deaf (Abée L'Épée, 1712-1789) and the blind (Valentin Haüy, 1745-1822). If privileged classes were able to teach their sons in creative ways, the common disabled child needed support to have a structured system of learning, working and acting adapted to its sensorial requirements. Thus the need for these theoretical supports.

The initial work of Valentin Haüy was to promote blind children to a more dignified social status, proving by demonstration their ability to learn to read and write, to learn music, history, geography and their ability both to teach one another and to teach sighted children. The path to the building of the first school for the blind on the western societies, Institut National des Jeunes Aveugles (1785) was paved by his pedagogic theories, leading to the possibility of their future productive and contributive place on society.

In 1786 the press would immortalize its thought and plan on the work *Essai sur l'éducation des aveugles ou exposé de differens moyens, verifiés par l'expérience, pour les mettre en état de lire, à l'aide du tact, d'imprimer des Livres dans lesquels ils puissent prendre des connoissances de Langues, d'Histoire, de Géographie, de Musique, etc., d'exécuter differens travaux relatifs aux Métiers.*

Following his steps, several pedagogues startled blind pupils hope for autonomy, recognition and independence as well as society towards a possibility of their acceptance as workers and citizens. The blind citizens had had their ways of surviving through centuries of discrimination and now the path of schooling, albeit within segregated systems, constituted a new hypothesis for independent and dignified lives.

Our question is: how effective were those pedagogical first discourses pronounced and published at the first schools for blind citizens on Western Modernity on what concerned their new intended social status? Did scholar policies support the words of their pedagogues? Did regulations comprehend the intentions of their discourses? Were their words listened by modern society?

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### **Arthur Ramos and the Orthophrenic and Mental Hygiene Service in historiography: vanguard and past**

Matheus Henrique da Silveira (UNICAMP)

This paper aims to understand how the project designed by Arthur Ramos to implement the Orthophrenic and Mental Hygiene Service (SOHM) was associated by historiography to the Escola Nova movement in Brazil and to debates about racial theories. Created and directed by Arthur Ramos as part of the educational reform undertaken by Anísio Teixeira since 1931 in the city of Rio de Janeiro, SOHM operated from 1934 to 1939 and it was mainly through the figure of its director that actions were organized with schools and the Rio society of the period. Operating in six experimental schools, Ramos sought to operate in different ways, combining knowledge from Psychiatry, Social Psychology, Medicine, Education and Anthropology. Through the analysis of theses and dissertations, it is possible to follow different ways of defining and framing the doctor's work between scientific theories of the time and sometimes current ones, which points to a movement aimed more at defining categories and less at analysis of daily practice, which proved to be an essential point in the study of education in the period.

### **Arthur Ramos e o Serviço de Ortofrenia e Higiene Mental na historiografia: vanguarda e passado**

Este paper tem por objetivo compreender como o projeto pensado por Arthur Ramos para implantação do Serviço de Ortofrenia e Higiene Mental (S.O.H.M.) foi associado pela historiografia ao movimento da Escola Nova no Brasil e aos debates sobre teorias raciais. Criado e dirigido por Arthur Ramos como parte da reforma educacional empreendida por Anísio Teixeira a partir de 1931 na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, o S.O.H.M. funcionou de 1934 a 1939 e foi sobretudo através da figura de seu diretor que se organizaram as ações junto as escolas e à sociedade carioca do período. Atuando em seis escolas experimentais, Ramos procurou operar por diferentes caminhos, combinando conhecimentos da Psiquiatria, Psicologia Social, Medicina, Educação e Antropologia. Por meio da análise das teses e dissertações pode-se acompanhar diferentes formas de definir e enquadrar o trabalho do médico entre as teorias científicas da época e por vezes atuais, o que aponta para um movimento voltado mais para uma definição em categorias e menos para a análise da prática cotidiana, que demonstrou ser ponto essencial no estudo da educação do período.

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#### 04-SES 08: CAREERS, BIOGRAPHIES, MEMOIRS

Panel Session (English, German)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Emma Vikström (Örebro University)

#### **Between Children's Literature and Travel Chronicles: Heluiz Chandler Washburne (1892-1970)**

Rafaela Silva Rabelo (University of São Paulo)

The erasure of women from history has been widely debated in recent years, mainly based on perspectives that deal with "history from below." Such approaches have made it possible to bring to the fore and give visibility to groups or individuals whose contributions have been forgotten or purposely erased over time. These new perspectives have demystified that women did not occupy specific spaces nor perform certain functions and break with the narrative that places them only as wives/sisters/mothers/daughters of reputed male characters. In this direction, the following paper aims to explore the trajectory of the American writer Heluiz Chandler Washburne (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1892 - Fall Church, Virginia, 1970). Characteristic of women's erasure, Heluiz is generally evoked as the wife of Carleton Washburne, one of the exponents of progressive education in the USA in the first half of the 20th century and known internationally for the experiences he conducted referred to as Winnetka Plan. During the process of investigating the trajectory and publications of Carleton Washburne, as part of postdoctoral research, Heluiz's name frequently appeared in the documents. Although evidence suggests she played an essential role in her husband's work, her presence is diffuse and elusive in such documents. While there are countless entries on Carleton, in addition to dissertations and articles on his contributions, when one tries to locate information about Heluiz, finds very little. Heluiz often accompanied her husband on international trips, which resulted in books and chronicles published in newspapers. For instance, from their nine-month trip to Europe and Asia, in 1930-31, she published "Letters to Channy." This book compiles the letters exchanged with his youngest son during the trip and was later published in England and Poland. She also wrote a travel column in the Chicago Daily News, based on a trip to South America in 1942. There is also evidence that she gave lectures while traveling and back to the USA, reporting what she observed during the journeys. She published several children's books, including one in collaboration with Carleton. Therefore, this paper aims a narrative that reconstructs Heluiz's life and work, exploring how she conformed herself to the standards of the time but also frequently subverted the space intended for women. The analysis relies on the inventory of Heluiz's publications, mentions in the periodical press, and a set of traces in documents such as letters located in different collections. Also, it turns to what Ginzburg and Poni call the onomastic method, following the thread of Heluiz Washburne's name while analyzing her trajectory from the perspective of gender in the history of education.

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### **Reimagining Afro-Latinidad in the U.S. and Dominican Republic: The Educational Biography of Julio Ortega Frier**

Alexa Rodriguez (Teachers College)

My research traces the educational history of Julio Ortega Frier, the Dominican official tasked with administering educational reforms during the United States (U.S.) military occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1916-1924. After serving as the head of public instruction, Ortega Frier became the Secretary of State for Justice and Foreign Affairs, Ambassador of the Dominican Republic in Washington, and Rector of the University of Santo Domingo. The latter three positions all held during the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo; a dictatorship infamous for its anti-black policies and brutal massacre of Haitians in 1937. My paper details Ortega Frier's transnational story as an elite Afro-Dominican male who migrated to New York City to attend high school and his journey to Ohio State University, one of the few racially integrated higher education institutions in the U.S. It concludes by describing his return to the Dominican Republic, where he became the highest-ranking Dominican in the education system during the U.S. occupation. By detailing Ortega Frier's experiences within the Jim Crow-era U.S., my paper contextualizes his decision to collaborate with U.S. officials during the U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic and sheds light on how his experiences abroad impacted his views on education in his homeland. By doing so, this story interrogates who is considered to be on the margins of society and in what context. While Ortega Frier, existed on the margins of U.S. society as a non-white individual racialized as black, he transitioned to the center of Dominican society as a high-ranking government official. Yet, his position on the margins is further complicated by his membership in the Dominican elite class and his medium-brown complexion, factors that indicated that he likely did not agree with his U.S. racial classifications. Drawing on the work of Guridy and Hoffnung-Garscoff, my work furthers discussions on how Latin American students of color were forced to adjust their own racial ideologies and preexisting notions of their racial identities in order to effectively navigate the world of Jim Crow-era U.S. Using genealogical documents from Ancestry.com, high school records from the Board of Education in New York City, as well as documents from Ohio State University, my paper weaves together a narrative of Julio Ortega Frier's life and the opportunities afforded to and limited by his race and class. While heightened racial tensions in the U.S. allowed the one-drop rule to determine whether or not a person was black, Dominicans like Ortega Frier came in with a completely different racial schema; one that emphasized racial mixing, Spanish heritage, and downplayed African lineage. While scholars have well-documented the complexities of Dominican racial identity during the second-half of the century, Ortega Frier's story offers a window to what it was like for a Dominican elite male to

wrestle with American racialization during the Jim Crow era. Moreover, his eventual return to the Dominican Republic and his ascension to high positions in government suggest even greater significance as his experiences likely impacted the production and implementation of critical national policies.

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### **"I Was a Jewish Student in the 30's in Hungary". History in Memoirs.**

Natasa Fizel (University Szeged Juhász Gyula Faculty of Education)

In Hungary, the so-called *numerus clausus* act was in force from 1920-21, according to which all minorities could be present in universities according to the minority's proportion to the population. This was seven percent for the Israelites, although the proportion of Israeli students in higher education was well above that figure at the time. Although the majority of Hungarian universities in the 20s and 30s resisted the use of *numerus clausus*, anti-Semitism became a part of university life in many ways.

The aim of my lecture is to give a comprehensive picture of the years Müller spent as a student in Szeged. I present the unique milieu of the university life of the 1930s, how anti-Semitism infiltrated into the life of his university, which laid the foundation for Müller's final decision to leave Hungary.

During my research, I compared Miklós Müller's recollection called „Életem” (My Life), and the artist's memories from life interviews with the historical and legal background, contemporary primary sources, articles, statistics, official reports of the university, examining the events of the 1930s from an objective and subjective point of view.

In my presentation I will answer the following questions: Why is the life story of Miklós Müller relevant/symbolic? How did *numerus clausus* realize in the student composition at the University of Szeged in the 1930s? When and in what form did anti-Semitic atrocities occur at the University of Szeged?

Miklós Müller (1913-2000), who later became one of the most well-known socio-photographers of the 20th century in Spain as Nicolas Muller, was a law student at the University of Szeged between 1931 and 1936.

Because of his Jewish origins, he met countless atrocities at the university, where even the student organizations were organized on worldview basis. Members of Turul were Reformed students, and Catholics not practicing their religion, and almost all of them had extreme right-wing views; Emericana was a companion of practicing Catholics, and MIEFHOE which stands for the Magyar Izraelita Egyetemi és Főiskolai Hallgatók Országos Egyesülete (National Association of Hungarian Jewish University and College Students).

During this period, the Szegedi Fiatalok Művészeti Kollégiuma (Szeged Youth College of Art), which was an artistic and scientific group, was also operating in Szeged, and it was composed of Jewish, Catholic and Reformed students. It was an example of the successful co-existence and common creation. With its publishing activities, cultural and scientific performances and events, it was the antipode to the narrow-minded and cruel era in which they lived. The group also dealt with regional research, this was when Müller became a real socio-photographer. In 1938, after the Anschluss, he left the country and first lived in Paris, then moved to Tanger via Lisbon. Later he settled in Spain and became one of the best-known photographers in the country. He received several state assignments to make Spanish albums, his photos have been exhibited in many major cities around the world. In his hometown, a museum was named after him.

### **"Ich war ein jüdischer Student in den 30er Jahren in Ungarn". Geschichte in Memoiren.**

Das sogenannte Numerus Clausus Gesetz galt in Ungarn ab 1920-1921. Nach dem Gesetz konnte sich jede Minderheit an den Universitäten im Verhältnis zur Bevölkerung representieren.

Das bedeutete bei den Israeliten 7 Prozent, obwohl früher die Quote der jüdischen Studenten im Hochschulwesen höher war. Obgleich das Numerus Clausus Gesetz die Mehrheit der ungarischen Universitäten in den 20er und 30er Jahren nicht einsetzte, wurde das Antisemitismus auf verschiedene Weise Teil des Universitätsleben.

In meiner Vorlesung möchte ich die Jahre vorstellen, die Müller an der Universität verbrachte. Obwohl das Universitätsleben in den 30er Jahren reich an Kultur war, verlassen mehrere Studierende - auch Nicolas Müller - wegen des Antisemitismus das Land.

In meiner Forschung benutzte ich die Lebenserinnerungen von Miklos Müller (Titel: Mein Leben) und auch Interviews, die mit ihm gemacht wurden. Ich verglich Ihre Erinnerungen mit den historischen und gesetzlichen Hintergrund der Ära, auch mit primären Quellen, s. w. zeitgenössischen Artikeln und Statistiken, und mit den offiziellen Berichten der Universität. So konnte ich auch von objektiven und auch von subjektiven Seiten die Ereignisse untersuchen.

In meiner Vorlesung werde ich die folgenden Fragen beantworten:

Warum ist relevant/symbolisch die Lebensgeschichte von Müller? Wie wurde das Numerus Clausus Gesetz in den 30er Jahren in der Zusammensetzung der Studentenschaft realisiert? Wann und in welcher Form passierten Gewalttaten an der Universität Szeged?

Miklos Müller (1913-2000) war im 20. Jahrhundert der best bekannte Sozialfotograf in Spanien. Er studierte Jura zwischen 1931 und 1936 an der Universität Szeged. Infolge seiner jüdischen Abkunft traf er mit mehreren Gewalttaten an der Universität, wo die Studentenorganisationen auch auf weltanschaulichen Gründen existierten.

Die Mitglieder des sogenannten „Turul“ waren Evangelisch-reformierten, und ihre Religion nicht praktizierenden Römer Katholiken mit rechtsextremistischen Ansichten. Die Mitglieder der „Americana“ waren praktizierenden Römer Katholiken, und es gab eine Organisation für die jüdische Studenten.

In der Stadt existierte auch eine kulturelle Gruppe, das Künstlerische Kollegium der Jugendlichen in Szeged. In dieser Organisation wurde Müller wirklicher Sozialfotograf. Nach dem Anschluss siedelte er erstens von Szeged nach Wien, später von Wien nach Paris, und endlich von Paris nach Tanger über. Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg lebte er in Spanien, und wurde der best bekannte Fotograf in Madrid.



Er bekam mehrere staatliche Aufträge für Spanien-Alben, und er hatte weltweit Aufstellungen. In Müllers Heimatstadt – Orosháza – bewahrt die Name eines Museumes seine Erinnerung.

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### **From Teachers' Room to Politics: Careers and Life Histories in 1950's, 1960's Hungary**

Lajos Somogyvári (University of Pannonia)

The presentation shows the first steps of a research, based on lost and found sources from an earlier predecessor of the ex-Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (OFI), specifically the National Pedagogic Institute (OPI). Due to the generosity of Professor Gábor Halász, I could select 9 interviews by 7 respondents, contemporary leaders from the socialist educational politics, the corpus consisted altogether 456 typewritten pages, recorded in 1984 and 1985. This gives a unique opportunity to describe typical career patterns, how a teacher could become a head of a department in the Ministry or held other key positions in the post-war, communist Hungary. These life history interviews were semi-structured, focused on personal transitions and turns, connected with the historical and political changes,

Differently from an average oral history/interview process (Perks & Thomson, 1998; Kvale, 2007), I haven't participated in data collecting, facing only the products of a research, and focus the beginning parts of the careers, namely the 1950's and 1960's period. These texts have got interesting background: in the first half of 1980's Hungary, some historians, sociologists began to explore and understand different developments from the past. The birth of the Oral History Archive is well known (Somlai, 2018), but the education research has not been studied yet – this was a lucky meeting of individual initiatives, a fresh start, ended quickly after 1985.

The biographical nature of the communist political system is a prelude to the further analysis: to get a position, it was required to constantly write and rewrite autobiographies; construct social and professional identities again and again, proved loyalty to the Party (Fitzpatrick, 2000). The reader in 2020 can evaluate the sources as narrations: in the beginning crisis of the system in the 1980's, the interviewees spoke from a retrospective view, telling their lives was intended to dominate the memory, create legitimation and meanings (about the politics of memory: Mitroiu, 2015). For the time of recording, the ideology lost its determining impact, replaced mostly with professional aspects, so the key idea of transformation appeared on different levels.

The attitudes of history of everyday life, history from below, Alltagsgeschichte or microhistory (e. g. Apor, 2008; Zakharova, 2013) have been a big inspiration to me, in this case, the following thematic elements will take into consideration in the documents:

- the social background,

- the process of upward mobilisation,
- institutional (and political, professional) behaviour,
- connections and networks of the power.

Using the psychology rooted life story model of McAdams (McAdams, Hoffman, Mansfield & Day, 1996) these identities are able to be observed through dimensions of individual agency and the social nature of communion. We can go beyond the totalitarian paradigm with these self-narrations, connect micro and macro levels with showing how the power and becoming/acting cadres interacted to each other. The average situations and decisions were more complex than the dual approach of collaboration vs. resistance (similarly: Zounek, Šimáně & Knotová, 2017), hopefully a possible contribution to the process of demythologising the educational past (Depaepe, 2012).

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## **05-SES 08: TWENTIETH CENTURY EDUCATIONAL REFORMS**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Johanna Ringarp (Södertörn university)

## **Normalcy, Human Rights Laws, and Special Needs Assessment: Rethinking the Social from above and below in Canada and Germany, 1945-1990**

John Allison (Nipissing University), Michaela Vogt (Universität Bielefeld)

Decisions about the appropriate education of children with special needs in school are in many countries linked to special education assessment procedures. During these processes, the individual child with its cognitive and physical abilities is implicitly compared with the nature of the normal child of a certain age. Concomitantly, in the postwar era, human rights regimes in Western states set out expectations in terms of the right to an education and, defined disability and special needs. Moreover, these legal regimes were promoted by the United Nations as the twentieth centuries' Declaration and Conventions on human rights, disability and children's rights.

Special needs assessment procedures then depend on factors constituting social history as structured from above (international laws, state law) as well as from below (the needs and rights of individuals to an education). They are thus not only shaped by cultural practices but also by legal regimes. Therefore, it is important to examine nationally and internationally differences and similarities as they emerge in the sometimes complementary and/or conflicting systems of assessment as the twentieth century marched onward.

The main goal of the study being presented at this talk then is to look at special needs assessment procedures and human rights frameworks by using a historical comparative approach. The qualitative study therefore analyzes archival data from two cities in Germany and two in Canada from the 1940s to the 1990s (Csapo and Goguen 1989 , Ellis 2018). Relying on these sources, the main questions being asked are the following:

1. Which ideas about special needs and normalcy are contained in international conventions on human rights and laws in the different countries from above, and how are these notions contextually legitimated and connected to social histories from below?
2. Which ideas and narratives of special needs and normalcy are contained in the documentation of the assessment procedures in the two different countries and how do they relate to their cultural, social and inter/national context?
3. Which conclusions can be drawn about assessment procedures themselves and the influence of international human rights law based on historical events by comparing the analyzed national/ local settings in Germany and Canada?

These questions are answered in reference to an overarching theoretical framework. This theoretical approach refers in parts to Link's (1997) theory of "normalism" (Link 1997). From this perspective ideas of normalcy are present in every society. Special needs assessment procedures implicitly refer to these ideas and also construct variations of a normal and abnormal nature of a child within the assessment process. Furthermore, this construction process is seen as socially and culturally driven (Berger and Luckmann 1966). This clearly intersects with human rights, as the demands for human rights law from many groups became more strident in the post-World War II era. Finally, the research methods employed in these parallel investigations comprising this study include a historical-contextualizing content analysis (Vogt 2015). With this analysis, ideas of normalcy found in the assessment processes documentation can be reconstructed as well as the context within which they arose.

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### **The Reform That Never Happened. The Final Proposal for Education Reform Before the Fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia**

Jiří Zounek (Masaryk University), Oto Polouček (Masaryk University)

The events of 17 November 1989 in Czechoslovakia resulted in the rapid and peaceful fall of totalitarian power and at the same time started the process of building a pluralistic democratic system and forming a civil society.

The development of education and schooling after 1989 became the subject-matter for a whole range of studies and books, contributing toward reflection on the post-November changes, in Czechoslovakia and beyond. We can, for example, mention the studies conducted by von Kopp (1992) or Mitter (2003).

We already have a plenty of knowledge when it comes to the transformation of schooling after 1989. What we know far less about, however, is what happened in schooling and in particular in education policy in the final years before the Velvet Revolution. Although the events of 17 November 1989 led to fundamental change in all areas of life in society at that time, it cannot be said that schools, the thinking of teachers, textbooks, etc., were transformed from day-to-day. Current trends in historiographical research (Kopeček 2019) are built on the fact that it is not possible to fully understand

changes unless we observe continuity. Major reworkings as the starting point for defining a study of the past could lead to overlooking the levels that existed beneath the surface of the narratives of change.

Criticism of the competencies of teachers, a lack of financing, outdated curricula, or overloading pupils at the time of late-socialism in Czechoslovakia appears in the internal materials intended for the government and the highest-ranking representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The opportunity for wider public discussion and more significant changes was, of course, extremely limited prior to 1989. None the less, we can see a certain shift beneath the rhetoric of Gorbachev's perestroika, for example, in the form of cautious measures for partial reform of the system. These trends are reflected in the preparation of the new Education Act, Act No. 29/1984 Sb. This amendment was designed to, *inter alia*, strengthen the competencies of school self-administration or make it possible for schools to carry out their own gainful activity. In many respects, therefore, it incorporated the reformist elements that were implemented many years after the Velvet Revolution. However, the events of November preceded the legislative process and opened the way for far more significant changes, and new problems. The rigidity of normalisation was replaced by the spontaneity of post-socialist transformation.

Based on a study of archive sources, the paper introduces themes, problems, and proposals to emerge from the debate on the problems of the education system at the end of the 1980s in what was still Czechoslovakia. Observing the debates from the final days of the rule of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia might serve as one starting point for further study and for understanding the post-socialist transformation of primary schools, which the authors of the study are dealing with in the current project *Post-socialist Transformation of Czech Primary Schools – Processes, Stories, Dilemmas* (supported by the Czech Science Foundation; grant no. 20-11275S).

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## **The Community-Policy Dialectic: Toward A Social History of Urban School Reform in the State of Illinois**

Nicholas Kryczka (The University of Chicago)

In 1988, the General Assembly of the State of Illinois passed the Chicago School Reform Act, a piece of legislation heralded by some at the time as “the most radical school restructuring ever attempted in the United States.” The act made Local School Councils (LSCs) into permanent fixtures of decentralized governance in Chicago's Public School system, granting certain powers over budget, staffing, and school improvement to parents, teachers, and community members. The political mechanics that brought about this legislation have been well-documented, and the policy benefits and drawbacks of the reform have been extensively analyzed by a variety of education scholars.

This paper approaches the emergence of the LSCs from a new perspective, chronicling the local organizing efforts of middle-class parents, whose advocacy contributed a mobilized bloc of support for the reform act. Of particular interest is the way that attendance and enrollment policies enacted in the late 1970s and early 1980s-- which had created a subsystem of choice-based "options" and gifted programs under the aegis of a systemwide voluntary integration program-- reshuffled local networks of parents. As these new communities of middle-class mothers and fathers constructed definitions of involved and empowered parenthood, they became a newly self-conscious constituency for "reform." Ironically, these parents, whose networks had been formed by breaking up older geographic patterns of local pupil assignment, became vocal proponents of localism. While these parents were hardly alone (their efforts were underwritten by an ecosystem of local philanthropic foundations and a number of energetic allies in ed policy circles), the School Reform Act's unique hybrid of "urban solutions," reflected the felt needs and peculiar perspectives that developed among these networks of parents.

Building from the archives of the Chicago Board of Education and by way of oral history interviews with parent organizers, this paper joins a social history approach to the politics-and-policy chronicle to illustrate the dialectical nature of social change in American educational history. In this case, "the social" is defined by the demographic lay of class in the urban landscape, and in terms of the historicized norms and values of parenting among discrete classes of ordinary people. In this account of the movement for Local School Councils, we see how one education policy paradigm shaped the urban social environment in ways that assembled new communities-- whose critiques would ultimately give rise to a new education policy paradigm.

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### **Tracing Historical Trajectories in Norwegian Education Policy: Towards Stronger International Convergence?**

Kirsten Sivesind (Universitetet i Oslo)

Convergence can be defined as “the tendency of societies to grow more alike to develop similarities in structures, processes and performances” (Kerr, 1983, p. 3). One underlying assumption in literature about public policies is that globalization has an increasing impact on strategies, processes, and structures in policy fields at particular moments in history (Drezner, 2001, p. 53). This means that national policies are becoming more alike, more or less dependent on institutional histories and models. This paper examines the history of reform policy in Norway from 1988 – 2020 and asks if soft and hard modes of network governance correspond with the “Nordic education model.” By focusing on overall goals of school reform policies and policy instruments used to accomplish these goals, I examine to which extent reform trajectories evolve towards a stronger international convergence.

The paper starts out by a description of the Nordic model (Eide, 1992). Thereafter it outlines a theoretical framework for explaining voluntary policy convergence (Bieber, 2016). By extending this framework with theories on policy borrowing and lending (Steiner-Khamsi, 2013), I ask to which extent, how and by which implications international organizations make impact on policy-making processes in Norway: How do a nation state’s education system limit or de-limit its own formal and substantial power by making use of international goals and instruments recommended by others?

I base the study on a comparative-historical analysis of 500 White and Green Papers published and/or referenced by the Ministry of Education in Norway between 1988 and 2020. By examining how these documents refer to each other, I identify networks of the most prominent policy sources and select those of relevance to analyse reform trajectories for basic education. By a content analysis, I compare two corpus of the most referenced white and green papers from two different reform periods, and assess if changes in recommendations and aims reflect a convergence towards international benchmarks defined by OECD. For this purpose, I make use of a goal catalogue developed by Bieber (2016). Finally, I assess possible implications of introducing international goals and benchmarks by examining their limiting and de-limiting power to structure policy transfer processes across countries (Sivesind, Afsar, & Bachmann, 2016).

My analysis aims at developing theoretical and empirical insights into policy transfer which potentially are shaping reform histories by allowing for societal influence. The study confirms that OECD has played a decisive role in Norwegian education reform policy for several decades. However, these influences are primarily targeting hard and soft sides of leadership policies and not the state as a governing body. OECD have less impact on structural qualities and the formal conditions. Moreover,

policy instruments and references to performance indicators developed by OECD, have changed its legitimacy over the years. Policy-makers and experts make use of benchmarks and indicators to compare the capacity of learning processes. This implies a re-regulation of education reform with emphasis on legal purposes and standards. The paper concludes that transnational influences by OECD leads to a stronger international convergence by a future-oriented policy.

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**WEDNESDAY June 16      9:00 - 10:30**

### **01-SES 09: HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE MEETS THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION: PERSPECTIVES AND POSSIBILITIES**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): David Larsson Heidenblad (Lund University), Kari H. Nordberg (University of South-Eastern Norway/ USN)

#### **History of Knowledge meets the History of Education: Perspectives and possibilities**

This panel explores the interface between two expanding subfields of historical inquiry: the history of knowledge and the history of education. Like the practitioners of other subdisciplines of historical inquiry that take interest in the production and communication of knowledge, such as the history of science and ideas, scholars in these fields have several mutual interests: the social dimensions of knowledge, the circulation and distribution of different forms of knowledge as well as the institutions and actors that shape education and knowledge. Yet, the history of education and the history of knowledge have evolved as distinct scholarly entities with different traditions, conferences, journals and modes of inquiry.

The history of education has sometimes been associated with formal schooling and compulsory education, but in recent years the subject has broadened its scope to address other sites and institutions of education. A similar expansion of the research agenda has been an impetus to the formation of history of knowledge as distinct from, say, the history of science. Historians of knowledge



consider the use and circulation of knowledge beyond the traditionally learned spheres of society, including embodied and mundane knowledge. As Simone Lässig has pointed out, this perspective raises new questions and makes it possible to examine how groups traditionally not associated with knowledge-related agency, such as migrant children, have acted as mediators and producers of knowledge.

The panel brings together historians of education, knowledge and childhood to reflect on methodological differences and explore common ground between the use of education and knowledge as analytical concepts and objects of inquiry. Do historians of education pay enough attention to knowledge in educational settings, to what is being known, for what purposes and by whom? Conversely, what happens when historians of knowledge take interest in educational processes?

The panelists will present empirical papers that address different issues of institutionalized education and public circulation of knowledge in Scandinavia during the 19th and 20th centuries, while also reflecting on the perspectives and possibilities provided by the concepts of education and knowledge to these research problems.

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### **International Impact on 19th century Norwegian Education. Development, Influence and National Identity**

Merethe Roos (University of South-Eastern Norway)

Hartvig Nissen (1815-1874) is known as the most important educator in 19th century Norway. Not least, he played a decisive strategic role in the political processes leading up to the important school act in 1860, and as the leader of the Society of the Promotion of Public Enlightenment from 1851, he enforced initiatives aiming to increase the level of education in the population at large (Roos 2016, Slagstad 1999). Nissen's life and work are commonly read in light of the nation-building processes in Norway, thus ascribing him a central role in the growth of Norwegian national identity. Rather than emphasizing his life and work as part of national processes, this paper will place Nissen's life and work in an international context. During his adult life, Nissen enjoyed an extensive international network, with close acquaintances in the other Scandinavian countries as well as in Germany, the United Kingdom and the USA. These networks will form the point of departure for my presentation. I will shed

light upon how the educational development in Norway in the mid-19th century, with Hartvig Nissen's life and work as a focal point, can be placed in a broad international context. In particular, I will highlight how the educational improvements in Norway adapt to trends from the other Scandinavian countries, Germany, United Kingdom as well as the USA. The point of departure for this book is that these trends are mediated through Nissen's personal network, rather than being mediated through Nissen's professional education. By doing so, I offer fresh perspectives on the educational development in Norway in the mid-19th century, and shed light upon how this development relates to ideas on education and enlightenment emanating from other countries. This may provide a new understanding of how 19th century education in Norway can be placed in a broader international context, and how international trends are adapted in Norway. Theoretically, I will draw on Eckhart Fuchs and Eugenia Roldan Vera's perspectives, such as these are presented in their *The Transnational in the History of Education: Concepts and Perspectives* (2019), as well as Daniel Tröhler's *Language of Education* (2013). In the introduction to their book, Fuchs and Vera focus on the dynamic character of concepts, while Tröhler focuses on the transnational character of the languages. Tröhler's identification of German Lutheranism and the humanistic concept of *Bildung* as one of these languages that can be seen as a specific framework for talking about the education gives a theoretical frame for this book: Hartvig Nissen's works can be written into this German Lutheran language and relate to this suggested humanistic concept of *Bildung*. Yet he transfers these transnational concepts into a specific Norwegian context; thus highlighting differences and similarities between how the concepts are being used in Norway and elsewhere.

Keywords: history of knowledge, knowledge circulation, 19 century, scandinavia, schooling

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### **Circulating Knowledge in Public Arenas: Towards a New History of the Postwar Humanities**

Johan Östling (Lund University)

This paper will demonstrate how a new history of the postwar humanities can be conceived. Combining approaches from the history of knowledge and other adjacent fields, it will outline a study of the conditions of the circulation of knowledge in the public sphere during the 1960s and 1970s.

In the 21st century, the history of the humanities has been vitalized through a series of important publications, projects and conferences. Thanks to all these endeavours, new vistas of inquiry have opened up. One novel approach has been inspired by frameworks developed within the history of science and emphasizes the practices and personae of past scholars. Another ambition has been to reinterpret the changing relationships between the humanities and the natural sciences throughout

the centuries. A third source of inspiration has been global history where the traditional disciplines of the humanities have been related to and compared with non-Western fields of knowledge.

However, issues of the impact and influence of the humanities in society at large have not been at the centre of attention so far. In this paper, by contrast, these questions will be analytically addressed. By introducing “arena of knowledge” as an analytical concept, it will, first, present a framework that enables analysis of the conditions of the circulation of knowledge during the postwar period. In the second section, it will highlight certain media platforms where circulation of knowledge occurred in Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, for instance newspapers, paperback series and early television.

Against this background, the general consequences of the proposed shift in perspective for the understanding of the history of the humanities will be discussed. In this context, the paper will underline the importance of the humanities for a kind of public knowledge in these years and thereby challenging a crisis narrative of the humanities that is prevalent in the established literature on the history of the postwar university and education system.

**Keywords:** history of knowledge, circulation of knowledge, arenas of knowledge, humanities, postwar period

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### **Education for Global Consciousness: Children, Agency and Globality in Postwar Scandinavia**

Björn Lundberg (Lund University)

Since then-15 year old Greta Thunberg initiated her weekly school strike in Sweden in 2018, the Fridays For Future movement has been described as a virtually unique example of transnational political mobilization among children and youth. It is not the first time, however, that Scandinavian children engage with global political issues. This paper will discuss the politics of childhood and globality in Scandinavia during the latter half of the twentieth century, focusing on children's participation and agency in educational environments. It presents the outline of a research project that examines how the promotion of global consciousness and circulation of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia contributed to youth-led actions of solidarity, combatting issues such as starvation, poverty and pollution.

Since 1945, the countries of Scandinavia have enjoyed a reputation for combining rapid economic growth with extensive welfare entitlements. While traditional economic models of the welfare state came under scrutiny after 1990, generations of children in Scandinavia have dealt with notions of privilege, solidarity and humanitarianism. Schools and other educational arenas have provided spaces where children and youth engaged with global issues, not only through textbooks and other media but also by participating in fundraisers, celebrations of United Nations and other activities.

This paper presents a framework for the study of global consciousness and solidarity among children and youth in Scandinavia by examining how young people engaged with knowledge of planetary unity. The term 'globality' has been introduced to describe the 'consciousness of the world as a whole'. While this is not unique to the post-war era, it has been argued that notions of globality after 1945 were forcefully driven by technological and geopolitical change. The historiography of globality has examined the integrative efforts of political, scientific and cultural institutions, but less attention has been given to the importance of children and youth as agents of globality and promoters of global knowledge. This paper aims to highlight children's contributions to the circulation of knowledge of the globe as a single ecological and socio-political space in Scandinavia as well as the relationship between knowledge and agency in educational environments.

Keywords: globality, internationalism, history of knowledge, children, Scandinavia

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## 02-SES 09: SCHOOLTEACHERS AND THE NORDIC MODEL – COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Symposium, Part 1 (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (Universitetet i Oslo), Fredrik W. Thue (Oslo Metropolitan University)

### **Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model – Comparative and Historical Perspectives Part 1**

The Nordic model has often figured as a promise: as the living proof that there can be a "quintessentially middle way between socialism and capitalism, a rationalist culture of social reform and democratic institutions" (Andersson 2009, 231). Already early on, the model – at that time, mainly embodied by Sweden – attracted international attention (Childs 1936), until Esping-Andersen in 1990 honoured and consolidated the idea of a 'Nordic model' further by awarding the region their own ('social democratic') regime type (Esping-Andersen 1990). Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden have of course their own, distinct educational systems. In the strict sense, one would have to stretch the model considerably to accommodate all five systems. However, in less strict terms, one could see these five countries as being characterized by "a specific political culture built around workers education, a rationalist and pragmatic reformism and not superstition, and long legacies of institutions for spreading knowledge – study circles, public libraries, [some] of the world's oldest systems for public education" (Dervin 2016, 240), as well as by their strong emphasis on what Brunila and Edström (2013, 301) term "gender equality work" in education (see also Warin and Adriany 2017).

This symposium addresses Nordic schoolteachers that were, and continue to be, central agents in keeping this political culture alive and enacting the Nordic model in such a way that it makes sense to students, parents, and the teachers themselves as a professional group. Historically one may argue, that it was less the teachers who followed suit to the model, through e.g. top-down teacher education programs; but rather, that teachers, even before the Nordic model existed as a model, created the conditions for the model (or parts of the model) to emerge: the 'organic' teacher model of the late

nineteenth century, with its democratizing potential – as opposed to the ‘colonial’ or ‘civilizing’ model – can be considered an important building block of a distinctly Nordic education system (see J.E. Larsen’s contribution to this symposium). This characteristic was noted as far away as in China: in the 1920s, reform-minded Chinese educators noted the non-hierarchical relationship between Nordic (in this case, Danish) teachers and the rural population, and were particularly enthusiastic about the integration of agrarian knowledge into the curriculum (Zhu 1923). At the time, a very popular book for these reformers was Haggard’s *Rural Denmark and its Lessons* (1911) (see Schulte 2015).

Ambivalences in the teachers’ roles and role expectations are not new, however. New expectations are often superimposed on older ones. A recent Norwegian government report on the teacher’s role phrases this as the historical sedimentation of “layer upon layer”, which exposes teachers to complex and contradictory demands: democratic and elitist, collective and individualistic, socio-ethical and performance-oriented. Such attempts at combining social-democratic and liberal-competitive norms and values in primary and secondary education may be particularly pronounced in the Nordic countries. These attempts at bridging opposing ideals are, we find, also connected to a shift that may be observed in all the Nordic countries: from originally referring to German inspiration (incl. the didactic tradition) we now see a strong Anglo-Saxon influence (also epitomised in the curriculum tradition) that in some ways only continue to increase. The objects of study in this symposium are teachers in primary and secondary education in the Nordic countries compared with select examples from Europe and America.

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### **Swedish and German Teachers' Professional Autonomy Regarding Grading and Assessment in School**

Kathleen Falkenberg (HU Berlin), Johanna Ringarp (Stockholms Universitet)

The teaching profession's autonomy is often discussed when school governance changes. Historically, teachers have been considered a weak profession with difficulties asserting their autonomy but there are major differences between different groups of teachers (e.g. secondary vs. primary teachers) and different school systems. With a focus on assessment the chapter discusses the professional autonomy of Swedish and German teachers. This chapter demonstrates that teachers' professional autonomy in assessment is highly contextual and teachers' beliefs regarding assessment differ not only between different contexts but also within educational settings. We conclude that teachers in both countries refer to different sources of legitimation when explaining their assessment practices – and that those legitimations are partly framed through institutional settings such as regulations and the school system in general and partly through teachers' own justice beliefs. Although teachers in both countries act as professionals when assigning grades, their degree of autonomy in those decisions is highly influenced by what is possible from an institutional perspective and by what is seen to be fair. The chapter draws on findings from a comparative research project about teachers' justice beliefs regarding assessment in Sweden and Germany (Falkenberg, 2020). Data collected and analysed in this project includes, firstly, 44 episodic interviews with secondary school teachers, conducted 2011-2015 in both countries; secondly, official documents like school laws and regulations, and guidelines for teachers regarding assessment in school; and thirdly, teachers' own assessment material that they provided during the interviews. The results are analysed from a professional theoretical perspective where we link the discussion about occupational professionalism with, what Evetts (2013) calls organizational professionalism.

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### **The Academization of Teacher Education and the Making of the Systems of Higher Education. Sweden and Finland**

Janne Holmen (Uppsala Universitet), Johanna Ringarp (Stockholms Universitet)

In the 1970s, Finnish and Swedish teacher education for primary school teachers was, together with other forms of professional education, integrated in the systems of higher education. In this paper, we examine how this process affected the systems of higher education, resulting in a uniform system of universities in Finland and two-level system consisting of universities and university colleges ("högskolor") in Sweden. In both countries, the systems of higher education expanded rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s and in most cases, teacher education came to form the kernel around which these new institutions were formed (Furuhagen & Holmén 2017). We analyse how differences between Sweden and Finland regarding the academic profile of the faculty at the old seminars, the ambitions of teacher education reforms, and the degree of academic freedom and autonomy granted to the small university colleges affected the academization of these new institutions.

The source material consists of reports from government committees, legislation, local histories of individual seats of learning and statistical data on, for example, the share of faculty in possession of doctoral degrees from the two countries. The study relates to theories and earlier research on Swedish and Finnish political culture (Holmén 2018) and the Nordic model of governance (Strang 2010; Fägerlind & Strömqvist 2004; Balle Hansen, Lægheid et al. 2012).

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### **Variations in Approaches to Pedagogy in Finnish and Danish Teacher Education**

Beatrice Cucco (University of Torino), Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (University of Oslo)

In this paper, we define pedagogy as more or less explicit and collectively shared comprehensions of and reflections on what premises education should be based on as well as how an educational situation should be interpreted. Pedagogy has been both a descriptive and a prescriptive discipline which is understood as foundational for the work as teacher in all the Nordic countries. This trait is commonly connected with the continental didactic tradition as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon curriculum one. In its modern form the discipline of pedagogy was imported to the Nordic countries from Germany during



the late 18th century and developed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries with recurrent reference to and in dialogue with continental developments. Since the late 20th century, however, the central concept of pedagogy seems to be losing ground in both Denmark and Finland maybe because of a stronger Anglo-Saxon influence of the curriculum tradition in educational knowledge.

This paper compares the more popular practical approach to pedagogy in Danish teacher education with the more academic and research-based one in Finland. We will investigate and seek to explain the causes of these observed differences both historically and through contemporary data. We wish to approach the field with the following research question: How have the different historical trajectories of the discipline of pedagogy in both strands of institutions (universities and seminars) shaped current approaches to educational knowledge in teacher education in the two Nordic countries? Thus, the focus will be on practical versus academic approaches to pedagogy, as well as on the comparative differences in uses of and approaches to research in the pedagogical field.

The historical overview is based on existing literature and printed sources on the Danish and Finnish approaches to pedagogy. This review is done with a special interest in the differences between academic, university-based pedagogy and pedagogy as developed in initial teacher education institutions. These two institutional strands have, as yet, not merged in the Danish case, whereas there has been a merger of these in the Finnish case already in the 1970s and partially also before that (Larsen, 2016). The contemporary data consists of 29 interviews with teacher educators, teacher students, as well as educational leaders of teacher education programmes in Denmark and Finland. These have been analysed using a thematic analysis in which pedagogy is reflected as a prescriptive and descriptive discipline.

The material opens a range of possible causal questions, on how to explain these differences. The main theoretical background we use to frame these questions is a combination of historical neo-institutionalism with a comparative Most Similar Systems Design approach. Historical neo-institutionalism makes possible to perform both structure and agency analysis which also offer a path-dependency analysis on the institutional reproduction of pedagogy (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Mahoney, 2000). The two Nordic cases are in many ways similar in socio-cultural and political respects but show remarkable differences within the field of teacher education. Thus, the Most Similar Systems Design can be applied with a large degree of explanatory power (Landmann, 2008).

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## **03-SES 09: NATIONS AND EMPIRES**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Henrik Åström Elmersjö (Umeå University)

### **Nationalism and Citizenship in Chinese Universities, 1919-1937**

Zhihang Li (The University of Sydney)

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in modern Chinese Nationalism. The notion of China being a civilization state or a nation-state has generated intense discussion: some scholars tend to identify internal factors—demographic, economic and political—as crucial to explain China’s modern transformation. As Andy Green convincingly demonstrated, the nature and the state and the process of state formation, rather than the level of urbanization or industrialization, played the most decisive role in the national education systems and the spread of mass education. The aim of this paper is to further the interactions between the state-formation and universities in Republic of China.

During the Republic of China (1912-1949), the Chinese state sought to revive and modernize the nation, define the national identity through higher education. In 1919, the May Fourth Movement started the new process of modern education, especially higher education. And by 1927 National Government of Nanjing was established, national identity became the common pursuit of higher education. The Republic of China pursued Western knowledge to revive China, while promoting some Confucian culture as part of the new National identity. For example, the Kuomintang (KMT)-led state upheld Sun Yat-sen’s “three principles of the People” (Nationalism (minzu), Democracy (minquan) and people’s Livelihood (minsheng)) as the guidelines and the major core of national identity.

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This article reviews China’s official documents and curriculum standards, such as National Higher Education Statistics (Quanguo Gaodeng Jiaoyu Tongji, 1928-1932), University Discipline (Daxue Guicheng, 1930) and First Chinese education yearbook (Diyici Zhongguo Jiaoyu Nianjian, 1934), in order to examine in greater detail Chinese universities’ roles and strategies for nationalism and citizenship. There are three major aims in this paper. The first one is about the intellectual origins of modern Chinese nationalism—it learns from the Western Nationalism or it is the continuation of traditional Chinese part, even or the combination of two. Second, we need to conceptualize the term “Nationalism” and “Citizenship” according to the Chinese social-cultural background. Then the relationship between them in this period need to be deeply thought: Is it totally different or like heads and tails of a coin? Finally we could deeply understand the cultural and political mission of Chinese universities and their contribution to the national dialogue.

### **Reshaping Republican Citizens in China: the Pursuit of Democracy and Citizenship Education in the 1920s**

Ying Zhou (University of Groningen)

In the May Fourth Era (1915-25), among other tectonic shifts, the socio-political climate dramatically transformed in China, which drove a reassessment of society, politics and the forms of citizenship that students should be taught. Self-cultivation (xiushen), a school subject for both moral and civic education, had been criticized because of its out-datedness. It was finally abolished in the 1923 Curriculum. Consequently, the subject of Citizenship was established for pursuing perfect personality and democratic spirit.

According to the new curriculum of 1923, the content and pattern of civic textbooks were changed largely. Putting emphasis on political participation, freedom, and equality, citizenship education emancipated the “self” (ji) from the hierarchical social relationships and emphasized the “individual” (geren) in society. There has been much attention being paid to the development of civic education in Republican China, the importance of citizenship education in transcending moral education in the 1920s, and the role of citizenship in transforming society and engaging citizens in society. It is still unclear how citizenship education was aligned with the different pursuits of democracy in China in the 1920s.

To be qualified citizens in the future, what kind of knowledge, skills, and values were students expected to have? Which domains were citizens expected to participate in? Were they expected to have a voice in national affairs? To answer these questions, this study analyses a selection of civic textbooks of primary and secondary education that were most popular in the 1920s. It examines the contents relating to political democracy, political rights, participation, virtues, and law, and analyses the didactics prescribed in the textbooks. It shows that intellectuals and grassroots educators, with different backgrounds and pursuits, have different understandings of democracy and citizenship. And the civic textbooks written by them have different focuses on certain knowledge, skills, and values, manifesting the various pursuits of citizenship and political democracy.

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### **Nation And Empire During The Portuguese “Estado Novo”: The Use Of Iconography In Educational Reforms**

Ana Madeira (Instituto de Educação - Universidade de Lisboa)

The period of the Second Republic (1930-1974) covers a long period of life for Portuguese society with profound implications for the country's educational system. It is impossible to understand the current dynamics of schooling in Portugal without taking into consideration the intra-national dimension (conscience formation), the colonial dimension (imperial unit) and the relationship (isolationistic) between Portugal and the other European countries and the OECD over a period of 44 years of the authoritarian regime. During the 1930-40s, the regime focused on dismantling republican school conceptions and practices (1910-26) and on constructing a nationalist school. Despite defending the broadening of minimum instruction to the whole population, this strategy stemmed from a reductive conception of education, linked to the promotion of basic learning and a transformation of the school into a symbolic device for integration.

In relation to the African colonies the educational policy was significantly different. From the 40s onwards the regime returned to the "mystic" discourse to reaffirm the historical rights of Portuguese colonization, arguing that the Portuguese empire, originating in the depths of time, was distinct from all other European empires in Africa. The national integration discourse sought to instil an imperial mentality in the Portuguese population, in addition to the representation of "one nation", consisting of provinces extending "from Minho to Timor". This strategy clearly aimed to target the national audience, but was also used to deny possession of the "colonies" to the United Nations Organisation, since 1955. This pressure brought consequences to educational policy and implied a need to review the established educational dynamics, particularly in Southern Africa.

In this presentation I will use archival materials (photography, illustrations and images) in order to show the ways in which iconography conveyed educational reforms to different public audiences (international organizations, urban working classes, peasant communities and colonial subjects). These images conveyed messages that were carefully staged through a number of techniques and strategies, ranging from the crafting of epistemic functions, such as the enhancing of perspective in maps (Aumont, 2001) to the production of perceptive schemes, such as remembrance, recognition and analogy techniques (Benjamim, 1985). These images operated as texts and were often accompanied by comments and inscriptions that offered a reading protocol to the viewer, thus providing the overall scheme of perception (Kossoy, 2001). These images performed as symbolic control mechanisms by depicting the colonised subjects as objects for the European gaze; or by representing the colonial classrooms as multiracial locations, thus conveying a tolerant and cosmopolitan educational policy to an international audience. In other cases, particularly targeted at the rural communities, the imagery associated with nation and the empire (schoolbook covers and maps) contrasted with the representation of the idealized rurality, built around paroquial and folklorized archetypal elements (Bourdieu & Bourdieu, 2006). The triptych "Nation, church, family" was recurrently assembled in several pictorial representations in order to forge nationalist conceptions and to limit the aspirations of the rural population in terms of schooling and education (Nóvoa, 2005).

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#### 04-SES 09: HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Björn Norlin (Umeå University)

##### **The Crucified Frog - the Animal Turn in the Social History of Education**

Alan S. Ross (Vienna University)

Historians of education have come to embrace in earnest the history of children and have thereby helped to shift the focus of the history of mentalities away from great political events. Until the late eighteenth century, conflict between the generations continued to be framed in confessional terms. Lingering beliefs in witchcraft nourished a fear of uncontrollable children and child blasphemy towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Likewise, historians have since become increasingly interested in the symbolic value of human-animal interactions. We no longer see animals in history to have been mere human 'property', but as symbols and agents that provoked behaviour in humans that betrayed anxieties about their identity and claims to authority not only over animals, but likewise other people. When humans choose to communicate through animals, they do so for good reason. The dead animal body can be manipulated to mirror both the physiology of humans and, on the other hand, iconography known to be understandable by the viewer. Live animals were unpredictable and thereby heightened the effect of symbolic performances.

My paper is based on the close reading of a disciplinary case at an early modern school which focused on a group of pupils having committed an act of symbolic violence against an animal.

After morning mass on Good Friday, 1755, the festive mood of the citizens of the imperial city of Speyer was interrupted by a procession of schoolboys who entered through one of the town gates. In accordance with the holiday, the pupils of the city's Protestant grammar school carried before them a cross, to which they had affixed a frog that they had first caught, then tortured and killed in the meadows before the city. The boys then preceded to bury the frog in front of one of their teacher's houses, but then changed their mind, disinterred the animal and reburied it in the churchyard of the Dominican friary. Much disturbed by these events, the town's authorities brought the boys in front of a disciplinary hearing at the school, where each of the boys was interviewed and gave differing explanations for what they had done.

The purpose of this paper is to better understand how cruelty against animals formed part of a language of symbolic exchanges in early modern urban society. The micro-study of this particular case allows for the reconstruction of the relationships which defined the social and cultural habitat of the early modern school.

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### **Integrate Moral Education into Charity : Kao P'an-lung and Benevolent Society in China in Early 17th Century**

Shujuan Yu (jiangnan university)

17th century was very important for the development of Charity education around the world. When The Christian Church and educators devoted themselves to education for the poor children in the West, a lot of Chinese intellectuals in Late Ming Dynasty advocate a new kind of Non-governmental organization——Benevolent Society. The ideal aims of a benevolent society was aiding orphans and widows and paying special consideration (hui, kindness) to those who were filial or chaste. The members of the Benevolent Society would donate several money voluntarily, provide some kind of help for the poor people, and give some lectures for social moral education. But kao P'an-lung changed its aims and operational way by integrating moral education into the charity. In 1614, Kao P'an-lung, a famous Dung-lin scholar set up a benevolent society in his hometown, Wuxi, a rich and beautiful city in Yangzi River. Kao Pan-lung was the first person who pointed out that the aim of the benevolent society should be the combination of moral education and social charity. So there should be some lectures give to the folk before providing the social help to the poor and disadvantaged person. And he also asserted that the moral of the beneficent clients should be examined. Although there were some non-governmental organization once persuading people to be benevolent, which was the first time in China that elite intellectual advanced the function of moral education for the social charity. The change had been researched by many historians whose interest is charity. Regretfully, they failed to realize its great merits in education while educational historians did not notice Kao P'an-lung and its benevolent society. This research would try to reveal which changes that kao P'an-lung brought for the traditional Chinese education and charity both in thought and in practice. And I want to analyze the backgrounds of these changes and its implications. Then, I also will try to display its effects and limits. At last, this article would try to compare it with the educational charity in the western world, especially with the thoughts of John Locke on children who come from the poor family since they both lived in the 17th century. In the proposal "On the Poor Law and Working Schools" in 1679, John Locke hoped to provide a scheme that could easing the burden of the kingdom by teaching the poor some vocational skills so that they can be useful to the public. John Locke's scheme was put forward to meet the needs of industrial development in England without doubt. But what Kao P'an-lung thoughts inherited the tradition of social moral education in China, and he put social moral influence on the disadvantaged by giving them some help they need. So John Locke emphasized on the children and intellectual education, while Kao P'an-lung gave priority to the adult and moral education. The differences between the two educators also symbolized the differences of traditional education between the West and the East. But both of them are valuable historical lessons for the contemporary educational charity.

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Joanna F. Handlin Smith. *Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity During the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1987, Vol. 46, No. 2: 309-337.

## **A Study of Modern University Emblems**

Lili Fang (Jiangnan University)

The school emblem originated from medieval universities in Europe. The western university system as well as the school badge was introduced in modern China. As the logo of a school, the school emblem not only contains the school's educational philosophy, educational purposes and the accumulated humanistic spirit over the years, but also reflects the impact of national education policies on the school. At present, the research on the university emblem at home and abroad mainly focus on the perspective of art design, analyzes the color, pattern, text and other aspects of the university emblem. And other works explore the cultural and artistic factors influencing the design of the university emblem. In the studies of the university crest also has from the angle of pedagogy, such as Li Jinqiao with qualitative method and comparison method as the main research method, by listing several well-known university crest and carries on the structure, characteristic and the shape analysis and comparison, to discuss the Chinese and foreign university crest in the relationship between "look" and "meaning", that is the relationship between university crest and university spirit. It is concluded that both in form and content the conclusion of the dialectical unification relations. However, the study of university emblems is not a hot-discussed issue in the academic circle of education history, especially the emblems of modern China. During the period of the late Qing dynasty to the republic of China, which is an important historical period when it comes to the transition of traditional and the modern China. This paper will divide it into four stages: the late Qing Dynasty, the early, middle and the late Republic of China. With image analysis and literature as the main research methods, to reviews the evolution of University Emblem in this period. Such as the school emblem pattern has experienced the evolution process of dragon pattern, double flags, KMT Party emblem and Jiahe, and Red Pentagon star. From this perspective, it explores the important influence of national education policy on the change of university education concept in different periods.

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**WEDNESDAY June 16                      11:00 - 12:30**

**01-SES 10: CATHOLICISM, CHRISTIANIZATION, DECHRISTIANIZATION AND SECULARIZATION**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Jeroen J.H. Dekker (University of Groningen)

### **Revising Swedish Christianization**

Daniel Ingemar Andersson (Umeå University)

When researchers, textbook authors and teachers mediate historical knowledge, the representations tend to shift in different times and contexts. But how do different knowledge spheres interplay with each other in the knowledge circulation in a specific society? The purpose of this paper is to examine the mediation of educational knowledge concerning the Christianization process in Sweden during the period 1915–2000, with the main focus on the relationship between the content in historical research and textbooks in history and religion for upper secondary school. The study will investigate the specific relation between 1) research publications in history, history of religion, archaeology, and 2) textbooks, in connection to a specific historical event. Through this, the paper will try and enhance the understanding of how the content in the texts can correspond and how this changes over time. The paper will utilize the concept of Knowledge arenas. The educational field and the research field will be perceived as two such arenas, where historical knowledge is mediated as a part of a larger infrastructure for knowledge. The analysis will be highlighting the intersection between historiographical and educational knowledge in the public sphere, which in turn brings new perspectives to the connection between the production and mediation of knowledge in the history of education. The paper also brings the history of science into dialogue with the history of schooling, which can reframe our understanding of the social and cultural power over knowledge in education and its relationship to scientific development.

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### **Thought Collective and Thought Style in the Catholic Kindergarten Movement in German-speaking Switzerland**

Christina Rothen (Pädagogische Hochschule Bern)

Kindergarten was denominational in many German-speaking cantons of Switzerland until the very end of the last century. Secularization efforts began quite late compared with public school and were only realized with the integration of kindergartens into public school system in the 21st century (Geiss/Westberg 2020).

The kindergarten teacher seminars of the women's congregations of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in Ingenbohl, Baldegg and Menzingen had a very high impact on the knowledge of kindergarten for Catholic German-speaking Switzerland. In the 19th century nuns were trained in these seminars and, after their profession, they were sent to the various parishes of the country as teaching sisters for the Catholic infant schools. With the decrease of the monastic communities in the 20th century, secular kindergarten teachers continued to be trained in the monastery-run seminars. The professional knowledge about kindergarten and kindergarten teaching thereby was strongly influenced by a socially oriented, Franciscan theology. In the Catholic German-speaking Switzerland the knowledge of kindergarten and kindergarten teaching was passed on and further developed by a Catholic thinking collective (Rothen et al. 2019a; Rothen et al. 2019b).

This analysis asks about the characteristics of this Catholic kindergarten pedagogy. Thereby the heuristics of thought collective and thought style by Ludik Fleck ([1935] 1980) shall help to reconstruct the social and temporal structure of the collective. Even more interesting is the analysis of the style of thoughts that was influential for this catholic kindergarten collective. In his heuristics Fleck anticipates knowledge as socially determined: Different viewpoints and different social structures mix into a - sometimes unexpected - further development line in thought styles but also in thought collective. With Fleck's heuristic the institutional but also content-related development of the Catholic kindergarten pedagogy in German-speaking Switzerland shall be illuminated.

The paper is based on the analysis of documents in the archives in the monastery of Ingenbohl and Menzingen concerning the kindergarten. Furthermore, some cantonal archives as – Appenzell Innerrhoden, Uri and Lucerne – have interesting files to elaborate the question of the thought style in catholic kindergarten pedagogy.

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### **'Rethinking the Social' in Catholic Religious educational material for Secondary Education in Belgium and Québec after Vatican II (1965-2010)**

Jan Van Wiele (Tilburg University)

In recent decades, religious education in Western Europe and in North America has undergone profound changes. Under the influence of societal factors, such as migration, globalization and growing secularization, Western societies have become more and more religiously and culturally plural. Since the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the Catholic Church has tried to take into account this new societal situation in its teaching and education.

In many countries this led to a gradual transition in religious education from a more 'theological' and catechetical approach to a more general and neutral 'socio-cultural' and 'educational' approach, with emphasis on peaceful coexistence, dialogue and 'civic education'. In this contribution we want to examine how these new approaches resulted in the adaptation in didactic materials, especially textbooks, for Belgian and French Canadian religious education in the period between 1965 and 2010. In doing so, I will make use of a descriptive hermeneutic content analysis wherein, with the textbook as an intersection of an entire 'school culture', I will try to trace some of the large structures of the 'grammar of schooling' that provided the format for Catholic religion education in Belgium and Québec during the past fifty years.

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### **The Effects of Al Shabaab on Education Praxis in North-Eastern Region of Kenya - A Historical Approach**

John Njeru Maringa (Eötvös Loránd University)

Since the fall of Said Barre government in 1991, Somalia Republic has never experienced any peace or democratic government. It was slowly converted into a rock bed for breeding the most dangerous al Qaeda affiliated terror group in Africa known as the al Shabaab. (Shinn, 2011). Due to the absence of a legitimate government in Somalia, al Shabaab has exploited its porous border with Kenya to launch assaults on the Kenyan territory especially the Northern region. This has significantly affected education and learning programs in the entire region. On 2nd April 2015, four al Shabaab gunmen

gained entry into Garrisa University College and by the end of the 15 hours siege, 148 students had been killed, most of whom were Christians. Since then, al Shabaab has continued to assault professionals and civil servants, especially teachers who are non-Muslims.

In February 2018 following the murder of teachers, all the Christian teachers in the region held a demonstration through their trade union Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) calling for massive transfers of non-Muslim teachers citing security for their lives. After great resistance from the government, over 2,000 teachers were finally transferred from the region. This left almost all schools without teachers. The poor parents who couldn't afford expensive private schools were hit the most.

The history on the development of education in Kenya explains the reasons for al Shabaab targeting Christians. The Christian missionaries who established the first set of western education learning centres built schools on the agricultural highlands of Kenya mainly the central, Eastern and Nyanza regions. Most people in these places were converted into Christianity and acquired the western education. They later became key figures in the formation of the post-colonial government after the end of the colonial regime. They manipulated the economy and spent very little on the improvement of access to education in the northern region which is Muslim dominated. This explains why it has been argued by some government quarters that many north-eastern locals have been sympathizers to al Shabaab. The fact that education in Kenya is western-based is also among the reasons that al Shabaab would wish to collapse the education system in north-eastern. Leaving the young ones without proper schooling could be detrimental to the citizens and the government as the youths will be vulnerable to al Shabaab recruitment.

This is a qualitative research conducted through narratives gained from semi-structured interviews. The researcher conducts interviews on secondary school headteachers and collects a few narratives from locals in the region. The researcher intends to create an oral history archive documenting the history of al Shabaab's effects on education and the process of losing control and human resources in the north-eastern region of Kenya.

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This paper outlines how the history of al Shabaab terror group and the Kenyan Education system has negatively affect learning in the North Eastern part of Kenya.

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## **02-SES 10: SCHOOLTEACHERS AND THE NORDIC MODEL – COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Symposium, Part 2 (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (Universitetet i Oslo), Johanna Ringarp (Södertörn university)

### **Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model – Comparative and Historical Perspectives Part 2**

This is part II of the symposium of the same name

## **Preaching and Teaching: The Religious Origins of Nordic Teacher Cultures**

Fredrik W. Thue (Oslo Metropolitan University)

In the Nordic countries, the origins and development of mandatory schooling and the teaching occupation were intimately related to the Lutheran church and the changing social role of its ministry. The article will point to the fact that Nordic teachers developed into “organic intellectuals” at approximately the same time as revivalist and other popular religious movements became incorporated into the official State Church. It will argue that these two expressions of the “democratization of pastoral power” were in fact closely interconnected. The interaction that was instigated in the second half of the 19th century between the State Church and popular revivalist movements had its counterpart in the way the academic elite and a rising group of elementary-school teachers “of the people” interacted in the modernization of the national school system. I see this pattern of interaction and cooperation as an early and in a sense paradigmatic manifestation of a distinctive form of integration between state and society that has characterized the so-called “Nordic model”. The teachers played a particularly crucial part in this integration process, and developed a distinctive vocational identity as mediators between state and society.

While centring on the Norwegian case, the article will make comparative glances to Denmark, which exhibits some striking similarities as well as some noteworthy differences to Norway. Sweden presents a partly different pattern, with a more “high-church” official Christianity, a much stronger element of free churches, and a less “organic” and populist type of elementary-school teachers.

Theoretically the paper draws on inspiration from the intersection between the sociology of professions and the sociology of religion (the tradition from Weber and Parsons) as well as from the Foucauldian concept of pastoral power.

Empirically, the article will be mostly based on a plethora of existing historical and sociological scholarship. A particularly important source of inspiration is the work of the Norwegian sociologist of education Jon Lauglo on “populism” in Norwegian primary education in comparative international perspective. Contributions within political, social and cultural history, history of education and church history will be combined and re-interpreted in ways that generate new knowledge. I will also utilize primary sources, such as published texts by educationalists and other historical actors.

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## **Tradition and Reform: Norwegian and Danish Upper-Secondary Teacher Cultures Compared, 1960-2018**

Lars Erik Larsen (Oslo Metropolitan University)

This paper will examine in what ways changing national policies and sector organizations in the Nordic countries have affected the upper-secondary teachers' autonomy and mandate, with special emphasis on Norway and Denmark. To what extent have traditions deeply rooted within the schools survived political reforms introducing new pedagogical and organizational ideas? What have been major trends within policy and organizational thinking about the upper-secondary school, and how do national systems and their development diverge within the relatively culturally homogeneous Nordic countries?

In the studies of professions in the European countries the intrinsic relation between professions and the state contrasts with the Anglo-American tradition of professions providing services in a free market. Since the 19th century the states constructed the professions and the process of professionalization can be said to have occurred in cycles of state intervention from above, alternated by periods of little intervention characterized by greater self-management from within the profession. Is the past 60 years development and political reform of upper-secondary school in Norway and Denmark characterized by a professionalization from either above or within, and to what extent have the reforms recognized traditions deeply seated within the profession. One way of researching the relation between state and profession is looking at how the state has constructed and reformed the mandate for the upper-secondary teachers in policy documents over the past 60 years.

The main empirical data analysed in this paper are policy documents, green and white papers, related to the major reforms in the two countries. In the Norwegian context, this paper is part of a Ph.D. project with a vast empirical data from teacher councils at school level. Although not analysed in this paper these sources will serve as context to understand the nature of consequences of tradition and reform at school level in the Norwegian context. In the Danish context policy documents, and secondary literature and research of the Danish school system will be the primary sources.

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### **The Nordic Model from Afar: Chinese Scholarly Projections of Nordic Education and Teachers**

Barbara Schulte (Universität Wien)

Northern European education, and with it the 'Nordic model', have become an increasingly attractive object of study for scholars in East Asia, particularly in China. This paper looks at how 'Nordic' education has been referenced by Chinese scholars, and what this tells us about the role that the Nordic countries play in Chinese scholarship as educational reference societies (cf. Bendix 1967; Merton 1967).

Reference societies have been of particular interest to scholars in the field of comparative education: a felt need for educational change and reform often coincides with constructions of international reference societies which can serve as models to follow, or alternatively, as negative examples to be dismissed (Zymek, 1975). For instance, the legitimacy granted by PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), combined with particular domestic policy objectives, has led to the establishment of Shanghai or, more generally, China, as a new (educational) reference society for the United States, England, and Australia, with far-reaching consequences (Sellar & Lingard, 2013).

Based on an analysis of journal articles from the China Academic Journals database (CAJ), this paper will investigate, firstly, how scholarly references to education in the Nordic countries have evolved since the mid-1990s, and what this development looks like compared to an influential reference society like the United States. Secondly, the thematic areas will be presented that Chinese scholars associate with education in the Nordic countries, analysing how these themes are matched with the individual Nordic member states (Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway). This will shed light on the question of whether the Nordic countries, in the Chinese perception, constitute a comparatively homogeneous region in terms of education, or whether they represent a more diverse conglomerate. Thirdly, the paper will zoom in on the Chinese discussions of teachers and teacher education in Finland and Sweden, which are the two Nordic countries that have been receiving most attention from Chinese scholars. The conclusion will revisit the concept of 'externalisation' in education (in the sense of Schriewer, 1990) and pose the question of how, in today's globalised world, international consultant-academics, through their active engagement in educational export, impact on domestic externalisation processes, and thus directly influence domestic constructions of international educational reference societies.

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### **Nordic Elementary Schoolteachers - Organic Intellectuals, Agents of a Colonising State, Emancipatory Groups or All of These?**

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (University of Oslo)

This paper compares organic versus colonizing teacher types in selected Nordic, Central European, and American contexts from 1880 to 1920. These two ideal types are defined not least through the double geography of “where the teachers came from?” and “where the teachers were educated?”. By firstly mapping these patterns of recruitment into and geographical placement of initial primary and lower secondary teacher education the paper moves forward to analyse the cultural and pedagogical significance of these patterns. The Nordic cases includes all the five countries: Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The selected other cases are Germany, the United States and Ireland. This makes for a comparison including 8 units. This theoretically happens within a survival unit theory of nation states.

Political, economic, moral, and ideological reasons to recruit organic teachers from rural backgrounds and to place teacher education institutions in rural settings dominated much of the 19th century Danish and Norwegian discourse on the optimal teacher preparation (Lauglo 1995; Slagstad 2014). In Sweden, Finland and Iceland we rather find a colonizing teacher type, where teachers of urban backgrounds were sometimes understood as missionaries of civilization sent to small villages to educate the peasantry to higher levels of morale and civility. In the German-speaking areas a more urban and colonizing pattern is observed (Bölling 1983). Ireland has been described as politically pushing a rural recruitment and organic teachers, especially in connection with independence. The United States serves as an example of the early full integration of teacher education into the expanding higher education system with less overt significance of the geography of recruitment into and placement of teacher education institutions. Here we tentatively find a colonizing teacher type.

The terms “modernization”, “counter-cultures”, “democratization”, and the like, do thus not seem to suffice in the analysis and understanding of these different national paths. The general turn to national agendas in education during this period (1880-1920) was intricately connected the general national mass political mobilization – where, for different reasons, the organic and the colonizing teacher types where invoked. A more encompassing understanding is connected to the “survival unit” theory. Elias argues that all nation states primarily must be seen as survival units. Long before the overt discourse of competition states, religion, and in turn cultural nationalism and mass education has served the object of mobilizing for state survival and wars to come according to his analysis (Elias 1978; Reeh 2016).

Teachers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were a non-homogeneous group, characterised by a certain social plasticity. Sometimes teachers were a socially mobile group, with ambitions of climbing the social ladder into the educated middle classes. In other instances, they comprised a group with

strong anti-elite sensibilities, advocates and ambassadors for the 'people' as primus inter pares among assertive new groups such as Danish farmers, or they were carriers of emancipatory agendas, aiming to gain empowerment and positions on a national level – not least female teachers in the Nordic countries, who promoted women's rights on a national level.

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## **03-SES 10: CIVICS AND SOCIAL STUDIES: TEACHERS, CLASSROOMS AND SYLLABI**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Anne Elisabeth Berg (Uppsala universitet)

### **Civics through a Biographical Lens – comparing Autobiographical Books and Narratives of a Civics Teacher of the GDR**

Jascha Hook (University of Koblenz-Landau)

Since most research on "Staatsbürgerkunde" (Civics), which can be considered the ideological core subject of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), is based on formal or official documents such as directives, curricula, monographs and textbooks, little is known about both the actual teaching practices (Grammes, 2006) and the teaching staff. Besides those programmatic documents biographical sources grant insights into the subjectivity of the teachers and thereby help to investigate "Staatsbürgerkunde" from below (Thompson, 1978). While biographical materials were traditionally seen as problematic, since the biographical turn (Chamberlayne, Bornat & Wengraf, 2000; Wengraf et al., 2002; Renders, de Haan & Marmsma, 2016) there is no need to emphasize the importance of (auto)biographies for social history.

This contribution not only answers questions about the practices in class, but also raises questions about methodological issues concerning (auto)biographies. This paper introduces one rich case-study of a Civics teacher, born in 1931, who wrote multiple autobiographies and who I also interviewed twice. From the outset, this teacher has been enthusiastically committed to the construction of the new social order and remained connected with the socialist ideals and the GDR throughout his life.

With this in mind, the very question as to what is the nature of those autobiographies becomes pertinent. As according to narratological assumptions of biographical research (Schütze, 1983; Rosenthal, 2014) there should be differences, I will address the question as to what extent these autobiographies differ from biographical narratives in terms of both content and form.

Supposed there are differences, what are the similarities and differences in detail? I will also tackle the question as to how to deal with autobiographical books and narratives on a single case. How should they be evaluated and which problems are caused by their coexistence?

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## **Populist Patterns in East German Civics Lessons. Analyses of Historic Classroom Videos from 1978 to 1986**

May Jehle (Goethe-University Frankfurt)

From historic or international perspectives populism seems to be a complex and dazzling attribution used to label diverse phenomena in distinct contexts (e. g. Canovan 1981; Taggart 2003; Müller 2016). Given that, one can assume, that – concerning the contents – populism does not base on a specific ideology but it is perfectly combinable with distinct ideologies what Mudde (2004; 2017) describes as a “thin-centered ideology”. However, almost all theoretical concepts consider the polarization between “the people” on the one hand and “the elite” on the other as an essential feature of populism (e. g. Mény/Surel 2002; Priester 2017). Generally, populist movements or leaders claim to sole representation of the general will of the people and are associated with protest movements against the political establishment (e. g. Puhle 1986; Webster/Silva 2017).

Against this backdrop, it may seem surprising to ask for populist patterns of East German civic education if we keep in mind that East German civics courses built a core element of the education system on behalf of the leading party whose claim to leadership was an element of the first article of the constitution. Particularly this legitimizing function of the subject as well as the lacking receptivity for the mediated contents among the population seem to be contrary to common concepts of populism.

However, my paper addresses populist patterns in the teaching practice of East German Civics lessons from various angles. First, based on analyses of curricula, textbooks and teaching materials, I will illustrate, in what sense even the basic conception of the world within the taught Marxist-Leninist ideology as well as the constructed enemy stereotypes might be characterized as populist (Jehle 2018; Matthes 2010). Second, I will use the relatively new source of classroom videos as a main source of my

paper. With some methodological considerations on using historic classroom videos as a source I will briefly discuss possibilities and limits of a mixed-methods approach which also includes context analyses, elements of a visual sociology and video hermeneutics the analysis also reflects the specific character of the source in regard to the aspects of authenticity, representativity and visibility (Warmington/Gorp/Grosvenor 2011; Jehle/Blessing 2014; Reh/Jehle i. pr.). The main focus of the analysis, then, addresses the process of the documented classroom communication. Based on the methodological reflection that classroom videos do not enable insights into learning processes in the sense of mental processes of integrating new experiences through self-reflection, the analysis uses a combination of Ethnographic Microanalysis and approaches of ethnomethodology, interaction analysis, and communication analysis (Erickson 1986; 1992; Breidenstein/Tyagunova 2012; Hollstein/Meseth/Proske 2016). Doing so, the analysis enables an interpretation, how the actors make sense of the taught ideology in their own argumentations in classroom talk, and discuss the results in relation to the pursued intentions. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of possible conclusions in the sense of a contribution in reference to demands on civic education in relation to populist phenomena (Epp 2017) from the perspective of educational history.

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### **Abandoning the Social? Representations of Problems Regarding Citizenship in Swedish History and Social Studies Syllabi, 1970–2017**

Henrik Åström Elmersjö (Umeå University)

In the recent decades research has shown how trust in welfare models, and the state, has diminished in the Western world. In Sweden in particular, the idea that the state represents something good, has been questioned on multiple levels, also among youth. The reasons for this may be found on all levels of society and might be more or less connected to different developments in recent years, like the postmaterial society, globalisation, populism, neo-liberalism, among others. The same developments also affect education, and how youth is taught about society.

This paper explores representations of problems regarding citizenship in changes to the syllabi of social studies and history in Swedish secondary schools between 1970 and 2017, a time period that coincide with these changes to overall attitudes. The overall theoretical starting point is the question “what is the problem represented to be (in changes to syllabi)?” (Bacchi 1999), while the concepts of socialisation, qualification and subjectification (Biesta 2009) are utilized more descriptively. Previous research has shown that the general educational discourse changed from an emphasis on the societal needs of committed citizens to an emphasis on the individual’s ability to cope in a rapidly changing society in the end of the twentieth century.

Previous research has also shown that a collectively-based narrative on Swedish society in the textbooks of the 1970s was replaced by a more individualised narrative at the beginning of the 2000s. Studies have also shown that social studies textbooks at the beginning of the 1980s had a collectivistic character in concurrence with the curriculum of the time, where political influence was given a collective meaning that focused on working life.

This paper aims to contribute to this research by exploring the impact of these discursive changes on individual school subjects’ syllabi. The study, which this paper is based on, shows that changes in social

studies and history syllabi even preceded changes previously seen in overall educational discourse regarding individualisation. While changes to the social studies syllabi have developed very closely to the overarching educational discourse in changing socialisation to be more suitable for an individualised society, changes to the history syllabi appear to have been more geared towards subjectification.

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### **04-SES 10: IDEOLOGIES AND REFORMS FROM FRANCO TO HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST POLICY**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Michèle Hofmann (University of Zurich)

#### **'Educating Spain'. Ruptures and Continuities of the Idea of Society during early Franquism (1939-1951)**

Carlos Veci Lavín (University of Navarra), Carl Antonius Lemke Duque (University of Navarra)

Recent historiography has proposed three periods of normative orders that allow us to structure European twentieth century. Dominated by an anti-historicist pessimism and rejection of the liberal idea of progress, the first period starts at the end of the nineteenth century reaching until the 1950s. Dominated by a new social liberalism born in the 1930s, The second period leads to the great structural rupture of the 1970s giving rise to the third period of neoliberal capitalism (Doering-Manteuffel, 2019).

In the light of this approach, the present communication focuses on ruptures and continuities of the idea of society during the early Franquism between 1939 and 1951. Recent research embraces very different positions when determining early Francoist political consolidation: It seems that there has been an immediate "counter-revolutionary" reset in order to pedagogically frame nationalist Catholic socialization, leading the path towards a so-called "dark era" of Spanish education (Cámara Villar, 1984; López Bausela, 2011; Canales Serrano, 2015), while almost simultaneously Spain embarked to integrate into the context of post-war security and political Europeanization of the West (Guirao, 1998).

Ideological ambivalences of Franquism have been analyzed broadly (Ferrary, 1993; Díaz Hernández, 2008; Iáñez, 2010; Muñoz Soro & Sesma Landrin, 2014; Montero & Louzao, 2015 etc.) although less attention has been given to the continuities with the 1930s. In this regard, a closer look on the so-called "circle of the Revista de Occidente" and to the emblematic return of its exiled director José Ortega y Gasset (1885-1955) (Morán, 1998) is imperative.

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### **Modern Debate on the Concept of "Consumption" in the Spanish Educational Curriculum of the 1970s**

Manuel Ferraz-Lorenzo (Universidad de La Laguna), Mariano González-Delgado (Universidad de La Laguna)

General description and objectives: The concept of consumption, as a personal attitude towards certain objects of need and desire, but also as an activity with deep economic, political and social roots, has evolved considerably over the years and with the passing of time. The school, as an essential institution in the creation, transmission and perpetuation of knowledge, has played a fundamental role in its definition and acceptance, especially since the publication of the General Education Act of 1970. This paper aims to describe, analyze and interpret the reasons that led the publishers of Social Science textbooks to develop a peculiar concept of consumption -related to cost restraint- during the first years of the democratic transition in Spain. The established objectives are twofold: first, to verify the meaning given to the notion and practice of consumption and, second, to analyze the participating variables in order to understand this evolution.

Methodology: We considered it appropriate to carry out a qualitative textual analysis in this study. For this purpose, we have selected the Social Sciences textbooks of the 6th, 7th and 8th years of General Basic Education (between 11 and 13 years of age), which is where a specific development of the themes related to the evolution of societies and their constituent values takes place.

Results and conclusions: Through this research we can see how textbooks include the concept of consumption and develop it together with other descriptors included "with an experimental character". At the crossroads between the late Francoism and the democratic transition, consumption

-as a prescribed curricular content- was both a technical and liberating knowledge that sought to ally itself with certain ideological conceptions of a social state that was emerging strongly from the dictatorial quagmire. Conclusions. We can see how, in 1981, advertising investment in favour of spending was 136,000 million pesetas (286 pesetas per inhabitant per month), while investment to inform the population and warn them against excessive consumption was only 458 million (1.11 pesetas per inhabitant per month). Social groups and the Ministry of Health and Consumer Affairs itself had to take measures to stop this avalanche in favour of consumerism.

### **Debate Modernizador sobre el Concepto de “Consumo” en el Currículum Educativo Español de los Años 70**

Descripción general y objetivos: El concepto de consumo, como actitud personal ante determinados objetos de necesidad y de deseo, pero también como actividad de gran arraigo económico, político y social, ha evolucionado considerablemente con el paso de los años y con el devenir de los nuevos tiempos. La escuela, como institución esencial en la creación, transmisión y perpetuación de los conocimientos, ha desempeñado un papel fundamental en su definición y aceptación, sobre todo a partir de la publicación de la Ley General de Educación de 1970. Esta ponencia pretende describir, analizar e interpretar los motivos que llevaron a los editores de los libros de texto de Ciencias Sociales a desarrollar un peculiar concepto de consumo -relacionado con la contención del gasto- durante los primeros años de la Transición democrática en España. Los objetivos establecidos son dos: primero, comprobar cuál es el significado que se le otorga a la noción y a la práctica del consumo y, después, analizar las variables intervinientes para entender dicha evolución.

Metodología: Hemos considerado oportuno realizar un análisis textual de carácter cualitativo en este estudio. Para ello, hemos seleccionado los manuales escolares de Ciencias Sociales de los cursos 6º, 7º y 8º de Educación General Básica (entre los 11 y 13 años de edad) que es donde se produce un desarrollo específico de las temáticas relacionadas con el devenir de las sociedades y de sus valores constitutivos.

Resultados y conclusiones: A través de este trabajo se puede comprobar cómo los libros de texto recogen el concepto de consumo y lo desarrollan junto a otros descriptores incluidos «con carácter experimental». En la encrucijada que supuso el tardofranquismo y la Transición democrática, el consumo -en cuanto contenido curricular prescrito- fue tanto un conocimiento técnico como liberador que pretendía aliarse a determinadas concepciones ideológicas de un Estado social que emergía con fuerza del barrizal dictatorial. Conclusiones. Podemos constatar cómo, en 1981, la inversión publicitaria a favor del gasto fue de 136.000 millones de pesetas (286 pesetas por habitante y mes), mientras que la inversión para informar a la población y prevenirle del consumo excesivo fue solo de 458 millones (1,11 pesetas por habitante y mes). Los colectivos sociales y el propio Ministerio de Sanidad y Consumo tuvieron que tomar medidas para frenar esta avalancha a favor del consumismo.

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### **Conservatives, Reformers, and the Forms of Internal Resistance in the Hungarian Socialist Educational Policy in the 1960s**

Tibor Darvai (Eötvös Loránd University Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education)

Following the repression of the Revolution of 1956, the new socialist system began to be built in Hungary. János Kornai argues that conflicts between different groups within a state party are characteristic of all communist parties (Kornai, 1992). On this basis, we can say the political history of the Kádár regime can be described as a struggle between two groups within the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), the conservatives and reformers.

In our research we interpret those groups as conservative that advocated the concept of complete equality, strong ideological control, indoctrination and the priority of heavy industry. This group wanted to conserve the Stalinist policy, thus they were conservatives from the respect of conservation and reservation (Robert, 2019). In the Kádár era they were called Stalinists as well as conservatives. They were confronted by the reformers that did not accept the emergence of extreme social inequalities, but believed in the system of reasonable inequalities. Between these two groups there was irreconcilable conflict, thus during their struggle they used the concept of total ideology (Mannheim, 1936).

The research seeks to find the answer to the question how this opposition appeared in the Hungarian educational policy in the 1960s, as well as where and when the resistance to the opposite group's concepts turned up in the educational policy. The peculiarity of the research is coming from the examination of resistance, as the majority of researches reveal the resistance against the socialist system (Kudláčová & Šebová, 2019; Růuk & Walt & Wolhuter, 2018). However, in this study, the groups of the resistance did not oppose the entirety of the socialist system, but the operation of the current socialist system, arguing that the operation of the socialist system could operate more efficiently.

In the educational system the most relevant group of the conservatives were the socialist educational scholars and the pedagogues loyal to the socialist education. This professional group believed in the concept of implementation of the social equality and accordingly supported the schooling of worker-peasant's children. In contrast with it, the reformers were economists and not pedagogues. Their institutional basis was the National Planning Office. This group interpreted the issue of educational system from a socialist economical point of view (Timár, 1964).

In the educational reform which was based on the Public Education Law (1961) the ideas of the conservative educational groups became manifested. The Resolution of the HSWP Political Committee in 1965 that stopped the process of the educational reform passed in 1961 is to be considered the sharpest manifestation of their ideas (Kardos & Kornidesz, 1990). With this political act the reformers defeated the conservatives.

Following their defeat, the conservatives went in to opposition and organized the 5th Educational Congress in 1970. The timing was not a coincidence, as the HSWP held their 10th Congress in November that year. With organizing the Educational Congress, the representatives of the conservative socialist pedagogy wanted to influence the direction of the Congress of the HSWP, but this political endeavour was a failure (Sáska, 2018).

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### **The Conservative Interpretation of Liberal Education — A Study on the Russell Kirk's Ideas of a University**

ShanShan Jing (Beijing Normal University)

Russell Kirk (1918-1994) is a famous American Conservative scholar in the 20th century. His interpretation to Conservative mind makes him the founder of the post-world war II conservative movement in America. His conservative thought inherits from Edmund Burke and develops his. Russell

Kirk shapes his unique contribution to the American conservative ideas. On education, Russell Kirk holds traditional liberal education based on his own conservative perspective, in fact he interprets liberal education in his conservative thought.

The dissertation is intended to interpret his liberal education based on his conservative ideas. This paper mainly introduces his diagnosis on university issues, namely the decadence of university is the lost of liberal education, explores his understanding of university education, namely his conservative interpretation of liberal education, at the end , states his thought of maintaining of university education, namely how to defend liberal education. Kirk, explains the symptoms of decadence in the university , because it is deviated from the true purpose of liberal education, so he put forward the true meaning of liberal education that it is the development and the cultivation of moral imagination and order, so as to obtain the inner order of the soul and the outer order of the commonwealth, realize the unification of individual and social harmony, to become civil social citizens, while defending for liberal education needs the support of liberal education college as well as the right understanding of academic freedom and safeguard. Among these, Kirk discusses the relationship of the norms, the permanent things, humanistic literature and moral imagination, order, as well as the relationship between academic freedom and various ideology , religious , through the interpretation of the intrinsic relationship between these important concepts, Kirk constructs his conservative interpretation of liberal education.

Kirk's argument for liberal education has its distinctive conservative characteristics, through the conservative understanding on traditional heritage, religion, history and culture , Kirk reflects education, and regards the important concepts in the ideas of his conservatism - moral imagination and order - as its essence of liberal education. In general , Kirk makes a unique contribution to understand the education problem based on the perspective of the conservative ideas.

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**WEDNESDAY June 16                      2:00 - 3:30**

**01-SES 11: PERIPHERIES TO THE CENTRE. BORDERLAND SCHOOLING IN INTERWAR EUROPE**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lisbeth Matzer (LMU Munich)

**Peripheries to the Centre. Borderland Schooling in Interwar Europe**

The panel is dedicated to a discussion of the newly published monograph: 'Peripheries to the Centre. Borderland Schooling in Interwar Europe'. The author will present the monograph, after which two reviewers and one discussant are asked to provide comments. Afterwards, a discussion with the audience is moderated by the Chair.

Following the Treaty of Versailles, European nation-states were faced with the challenge of instilling national loyalty in their new borderlands, in which fellow citizens often differed dramatically from one another along religious, linguistic, cultural, or ethnic lines. *Peripheries at the Centre* compares the experiences of schooling in Upper Silesia in Poland and Eupen, Sankt Vith, and Malmedy in Belgium — border regions detached from the German Empire after the First World War. It demonstrates how newly configured countries envisioned borderland schools and language learning as tools for realizing

the imagined peaceful Europe that underscored the political geography of the interwar period. The book demonstrates how borderland schools became the place, borderland pupils the people, and language learning the tool to bring about the imagined peaceful Europe that underscored the political geography of the interwar period. Reconfiguring schools in the borderlands, however, turned out to be one of the greatest challenges interwar continental Europe faced. It is concluded that going to school in Polish Upper Silesia or the regions of Eupen, Sankt Vith and Malmedy was, and continued to be, a significantly different experience than going to school elsewhere in respectively Poland or Belgium throughout the interwar period.

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### **Peripheries at the Centre. Borderland Schooling in Interwar Europe.**

Machteld Venken (University of Luxembourg)

The author will present her book at the beginning of the book discussion.

In the introduction, the book looks at Europe's past through an elaborated empirical historical comparison of the Polish-German borderlands (Upper Silesia) and the Belgian-German borderlands (Eupen-Malmedy) and sheds light on how the borderlands joined, respectively, the Polish and Belgian nation-state following the peace negotiations at Versailles in 1919.

Chapter 1 asks whether during the First World War, growing up on the fringes of the Ger

Chapter 2 provides a spatiotemporal framework of comparison that facilitates a historical multidimensional and relational analysis of two different borderlands in interwar continental Europe. Insights from human geography, political science and border studies are integrated into a newly developed framework

In chapter 3 is analysed how, at the very moment when Poland and Belgium were implementing their new laws on compulsory education, primary schooling in the two case study borderlands became a crucial means for establishing and confirming the new spatial demarcation. Decisions about the languages offered in borderland primary schools became a prominent way of making the border.

In chapter 4 we follow how the border was scaped; the multidimensional dynamics of reconfiguring primary schooling at and across local, national, international, transnational and supranational levels of decision-making. Indeed, both Polish Upper Silesia and the regions of Eupen, Sankt Vith and Malmedy became the settings for discussions held over language learning that would take on a much wider significance within Poland, Germany, Belgium and the League of Nations.

In chapter 5, it is argued that the geographical situation of the borderlands remained a decisive factor for pupils during their primary education, but that fewer similarities existed between the Polish and Belgian borderlands than had previously been the case. Although language learning rules were more permissive for borderland pupils in the regions of Eupen, Sankt Vith and Malmedy than for children living elsewhere in Belgium, or in Polish Upper Silesia, the question of how these pupils were to learn these languages was not even considered. Polish Upper Silesia, on the other hand, became a resource for innovative scientific research on the shaping of pupils' learning practices.

### **Book Reviewer 1**

Professor Diana Gonçalves Vidal (Brazilian Studies Institute) accepted the assignment to offer a review of the book.

## **Book Reviewer 2**

Professor Andrea di Michele (Free University of Bozen-Bolzano) will offer a review of the book.

## **02-SES 11: HIGHER EDUCATION: GLOBALIZATION, IDENTITIES, BRANDING**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University)

### **Answers To The Challenges Of Higher Education In The Globalization –Comparing The Different Approaches Of Germany And Hungary**

Carla Liege Rodrigues Pimenta (Eötvös Loránd University), Zoltán Rónay (Eötvös Loránd University), András Németh (Eötvös Loránd University)

Higher Education systems have gone through changes and institutions should base their missions and philosophical principles in the shift of the nature of higher education as an institution of social change. The pursuit of quality improvement is imbued with a responsibility to offer qualification adjusted to the current context in linking with the past approaches and the needs that emerge of policies reforms. The article analyzes the transformations that occurred in the policies of higher education from 1990 and intends to provide a concise historical overview of the key connection between the social quality dimension, quality assurance and the effects of globalization of people's rights including the right to education, in a comparative perspective between Hungary and Germany Higher Education contexts. This article aimed to organize an analytical framework that allows us to understand how educational policies were impacting the definition of quality indicators for higher education in both countries. We selected those documents to be analyzed: Berlin Higher Education Act of 17 October 1990; Berlin Higher Education Act of 26 July 2011; the Hungarian Higher Education Act LXXX of 1993 on Higher Education; and the Hungarian Higher Education Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education. The qualitative content organized by codes served as the corpus of the research was subject to a content analysis supported by Nvivo 11. This study, therefore, set out to assess the effect of the transformations of the 1990s on the past and current policies that impact processes through which institutions planned/implemented the quality assurance policies and strategies enacted in both countries. This historical point of view allowed us to comprehend the relationship between the global determinations and the historical singularities of the context in which these policies are implemented which has been influenced fundamental changes in the discourses for the quality and promotes reforms in the universities over time. The chosen of this both countries were mainly to investigate the Humboldt University of Berlin which their foundation brought the modern idea of university, that means to look from its origin, through the great events and their relation with the policies of HE for enhancing the quality of education, until nowadays; that allowed us to compare the German original model and the adaptation in the classic Hungarian Universities which was based on the Humboldt model. However, nowadays, Hungarian Higher Education system is centrally regulated and monitoring by the government which indicates a lack of organizational autonomy of the institutions to implement their programs, manage resources and we can infer a distance discourses between the principles of

legal discourse and ideologies of the German model when brought the idea of academic autonomy and institutional autonomy.

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**The Absence of University Partnership and Intellectual Identity - The History of the American Sociological Association Archives**

Yu Sun (Pennsylvania State University)

## The History of the American Sociological Association Archives

### 1. Purpose

This study examines the history of the struggling establishment of the American Sociological Association (ASA) archives. It is analyzed how sociologists built or failed to build a collective identity of advocates and partnership between universities and the ASA, and how this absent collaboration hindered the ASA archives. By incorporating the research methods including political history, case study, and archive study, this research analyzes relevant historical materials, such as letters, newsletters, reports, proceedings, and meeting minutes, and reconstructs the establishment.

ASA is the largest professional sociological society worldwide. However, it was after many years that the ASA records were organized into a functioning archival collection. Hearing about this story, I came to notice the discrepancy between the importance of the ASA records and ignorance about their repository. Why was it difficult for the archives to be taken care of?

### 2. History

The chronology begins with the weak and unofficial callings for an organizational archive in the 1950s-1960s. Because of the lack of archival awareness, the opportunity in this rich era was missed by archive advocates. The first official proposal for the archive was submitted in 1969 by Hinkle and Cahnman. The proposal was denied for three possible reasons: the conflict between insufficient budget and ambitious scope of archiving, the conflict between the academic need of scholars and the informational need by officers, and the concern for privacy. The second event was the appointment of the Page committee on archives in 1969 and its report in 1972. The Page committee was restricted by no financial supports, understaffed activities, and failure to adopt previous archive advocates. The third event was the collaboration with the Library of Congress from 1974 to 1992. The cooperation could have been more successful if the ASA was not delayed by institutional inertia. The fourth event was the change of repository to the Pennsylvania State University after the Library of Congress decided to discard the ASA archives in 1992. Lastly, from 2012 to 2017, current archive advocates in the ASA successfully reversed a crisis of discarded materials into an initiative for the digitalization of past archives.

### 3. Primary conclusions

By and large, the history of the ASA archives demonstrated the difficult circumstance of a humanistic database in the trend of scientification. The development was affected by multiple forces: money, research paradigm, people, and institutions. Much literature demonstrated the importance of funding and paradigm (Geiger, 2017; Solovey & Cravens, 2012). But research is a human activity in which the agency of people plays a vital role. There are existing researches studying professors, scholars, and intellectuals but most of them focus more on how intellectual life was influenced by the transformation of social science (Calhoun Ed., 2008; Jacoby, 2008). This study, using the ASA archive case, argues that human not only is influenced but also actively influences academic research. The determinant in the development of social science is not money or authority, but the collaboration among people and across institutions.

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### **The Unmodern University. Cartographies of the Idea of the University and its Relation to the Future.**

Hans Schildermans (University of Vienna)

The question of how universities can or should relate to social issues has characterized much of the debates about the future of the university. Whereas philosophers of education have speculated about how the university can contribute to the social good without making it subservient to social needs (Humboldt, 1809/2018; Newman, 1852/2018), sociologists of education have developed a more critical stance toward what they call the regime of academic capitalism that has characterized university policies and management since the advent of the knowledge economy (Bok, 2003; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Today, this question resurfaces in the debates about the so-called 'third mission' of universities. This third mission is mostly understood in a narrow economic sense as contributing to regional economic development and welfare (Compagnucci and Spigarelli, 2020; Laredo, 2007).

Interestingly, what resonates throughout these debates is a kind of reciprocal capture between the university and the future. This means that at once the university is grasped as a maker of futures and as made in light of a certain future. As a maker of futures, the university fosters scientific invention, technological innovation, and social progress to make an imagined future real. Claiming that the university is also made in light of a certain future, emphasizes the fact that the university itself has been the object of speculations about its future and how it can contribute to social advancement given certain technological developments (e.g., MOOCs, Open and Distance eLearning, etc.).

The paper will present the general framework and theoretical underpinnings of a starting research project that aims to flesh out this double capture between university and future from a historical perspective, in terms of what preliminarily could be called an historiography of 'past futures' of the university. These past futures are the specific imaginations of the university that were prevalent in a particular historical milieu and that contained certain assumptions about the place of science and technology in the university, the meaning and use of teaching, and the societal role of the university.

Drawing on postcolonial theories (Tsing, 2005, 2015), and insights from Science and Technology Studies (Jasanoff, 2015; Latour, 2005), the research will try to problematize the Western 'modern' educational futurity associated with the university. In general terms, this is a futurity that is predicated on progress and educationalization, understood as the salvation stories of how social problems can be overcome in terms of futures known (Nisbet, 1980; Tröhler, 2013, 2017). It begs the question of how in other places and at other times the future has come to matter to the university and, vice versa, in which way the university paved the way for the future. In doing so, it is crucial to look away from Europe and its ideas of the university and to have a closer look at how in other historical milieus these ideas of the university have been affirmed, negotiated, or resisted and how new 'ideas' of the university emerged, often on a very practical and a very local level.

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### **Responding to industrialization: the graduate educational idea of Charles William Eliot**

Zijiang Li (Beijing Normal University), Chan Lu (Beijing Normal University)

Charles W. Eliot (1834-1926) is an American educator. He served as President of Harvard University from 1869 to 1909. During his time as President, American higher education was undergoing a complete transformation in response to industrial development. Integrating to the trend of this time, Eliot also responded to industrialization, vigorously developed graduate education, improved the quality of teaching and scientific research, and made Harvard rise in the process of transformation. By analyzing the background, motivation, words and deeds of Eliot's reform of graduate education in Harvard, this study focuses on examining Eliot's idea of graduate education, and explores how Eliot formed his unique concept of graduate education based on the actual situation of graduate education in Harvard University, so as to promote the development of Harvard University.

Eliot's idea of graduate education is closely related to the social background of American industrialization. In the 19th century, the rise of industrial and commercial enterprises in the United States led to the professionalization of social sectors such as agriculture, transportation and manufacturing, which brought about the demand for advanced knowledge and high-level professionals. Eliot advocated the simultaneous development of research-oriented and employment-oriented graduate education. He wants to enhance the awareness of scientific research and the quality of personnel training. First, he believes that talent training is fundamental. He promoted the elective system, expanded enrollment, and strictly controlled the admission and graduation standards of graduate students, so as to cultivate a large number of intellectual and technical elites. Secondly, he advocated the development of higher education structure suitable for industrial social environment. He met to society's need for agricultural, industrial and business by building graduate schools of agriculture, applied science and business; Finally, he believes that scientific research is the driving force for the development of universities. So he recruited talented teachers, set up graduate school, equipped with zoo, planetarium, laboratories and other excellent infrastructure, and encouraged faculty and students to conduct scientific research.

This study reveals Eliot's philosophy of graduate education, which emphasizes both practicality and scholarship, and investigates Eliot's experience of developing a modern and localized American university, which is helpful to analyze the relationship between graduate education and social development, and to interpret the relationship between epistemology and political theory in higher education.

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### 03-SES 11: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Panel Session (English, French)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Joakim Landahl (Institutionen för pedagogik och didaktik)

#### **Continuity And Change In The Promotion Of Education For International Understanding C. 1920-1950**

Elisabeth Teige (Volda University College)

Education for international understanding was promoted by UNESCO as one of several initiatives to create peace after the Second World War. In this paper, I will argue that there is a distinct continuity in the work on education for peace and international understanding from the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 and up to UNESCO's work on education for international understanding from 1947 onwards.

During the establishment of the League of Nations, the question of whether education should be an area within of the work of the League of Nations came up. After some discussion, education for peace eventually became an issue within the organization, but through sub-organizations such as International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) and International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC).

Among the press groups working to include education as part of the League of Nations' work were international associations and networks that dealt with issues concerning moral education, peace education and similar themes. Between these organizations and networks, there was an overlap in matters covered and people involved. The same people were often members of several committees and commissions, others some worked together. These people introduced each other to new



acquaintances, formed new commissions and used the established networks in order to create new ones, and thus spreading their work. Among these organization were the British League of Nations Union (LNU), the Council for Education for World Citizenship (CEWC) and the The Norden Association.

When World War II broke out, many of the formal and informal structures in this field collapsed. From 1941, the Allies realized that the war was going to be long lasting. The war effort continued with full strength. But the governments in the Allied countries at the same time began to prepare for the reconstruction of the war-torn area. The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) became the central body for the planning of education as part of the re-building process after the war. Among the results of the conference's work were the establishment of UNESCO, and the focus on education for international understanding the organization had during the first years it operated. Another, and perhaps even more important result in the short term, was that by the time the war was over, plans had been drawn up for how education should be used to prevent a new world war by spreading ideas of peace and international cooperation.

In my paper I will show that the personal connections of the interwar period, established through the work done within the League of Nations, in other, more nationally based, associations and by individuals during the 1920s and 30s were an important reason that education early on became part of the planning for reconstruction. These connections also affected the focus on how to create lasting peace through the schools, the fact that this work could start as early as it did, and become as comprehensive as it was, during the war years.

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**Behind the scene : actors and relations bridging the International Bureau of Education with Unesco**

Emeline Brylinski (University of Geneva)

Geneva: on May 16, 1945, the Management Committee of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) met, concluding with a tribute to the Director, Jean Piaget, who managed to hold the Bureau's activities running despite the closing of the borders during the second World War. The director refuses the honours and instead of congratulating past accomplishments, he urges to "seriously consider the tasks of tomorrow", meaning how does the IBE position itself vis-à-vis the new world order being established?

A month later, on June 16, 1945, the United Nations Charters were adopted in San Francisco, and subsequently the creation of an education agency, the future Unesco. The IBE seeks to be recognized at the risk of seeing its doors closed, as it is the case for the League of Nations and the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. Thus, the actors of the IBE actively work to produce a legitimate identity, and this, by employing - inventing and reinventing - various strategies, demonstrating a strong capacity to adapt to a reality that is being built on the very moment.

For this, the IBE's actors operate by creating new social relationships. Marie Butts, General Secretary of the IBE, acts as an "involuntary diplomat" (Mylonas, 1976) and, through her dedication, becomes central to the process of socializing the IBE. For this institution, it is a matter of being recognized by Unesco: ensuring that the heritage is known, mobilizing the support of states delegates, and persevering the implementation of their activities in the domain of international education. Thus, the actors seek to ensure visibility but also a unique character, in order for the IBE to be recognized for Unesco: ensuring that the latter will need the service of the former.

As a result, the BIE adapts, asserts and (re) asserts its identity. These approaches are fraught with challenges, even dissonance in between points of view, yet the IBE's actors congratulate themselves for having acted with care, thus obtaining the recognition that they hoped for: to be invited as observers representing a so-called "intergovernmental" organization. Their strategies were not without success, their efforts enabled them to face a number of stormy negotiations, leading to the signing of a draft provisional agreement between the IBE and Unesco in 1946, which became final in 1952.

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## **The History of UNESCO's Futures of Education - An Analysis of Commission Reports**

Franziska Primus (Örebro University)

This paper pursues futures of education of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The futures constructed, presented, and related to allegedly necessary action within commission reports, published by the UNESCO in the second half of the 20th century, are here of central interest.

Futures and the way actors construct and frame these seem to be key elements for motivating and legitimating 'present' action on individual and any social level (Beckert, 2013, p. 220 & 234). Affecting the respective present affects the present to become. "To set up a prognosis means to have already altered the situation from which it arises." (Koselleck, 2014, p. 263) A core characteristic of education is that it is meant to cause progress, to reach individual and social goals, which need to meet anticipated and possibly projected demands of the future. Educational policy actors therefore try to predict and prepare and by that discursively determine the context for educational practice. In order to justify action, which inevitably has social and material consequences, coherent and convincing pictures of the future must be drawn (see for example Beckert, 2013, 2016).

In November 2019, the UNESCO launched the project "Futures of Education: Learning to become" (UNESCO, 2019a). Here, an international commission together with public participation is supposed to re-vision educational futures and to compile a 'global report' with practice and policy recommendations. By that, the new project builds on and relates to three central publications along UNESCO's history (Brehm & Sobe, 2019; UNESCO, 2019b, p. 3). The project with its subtitle "Learning to become" refers to the "Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow" or so-called Faure report (1972) and the Delors report (1996) "Learning: the treasure within". Both reports were generated similarly by an international commission, but in a less transparent process as the new "Futures of Education: Learning to become" project aims to be. Furthermore, the UNESCO published in 2015 "Rethinking Education: towards a global common good?", generated by a senior experts' group to review the Delors report "in order to identify future orientations of global education" (UNESCO, 2015, p. 5).

This paper presents an analysis via a qualitative coding process of the futures told in UNESCO's Faure report (1972) and the current project. More precise, it aims to gain a deeper understanding of how conclusions and recommendations - like the support of lifelong learning (see for example Elfert, 2015, 2018) - are legitimised by referring to (the) future(s). Moreover, the study explores how the respective futures are made plausible, which may be feared, desired and/or 'just' expected. As part of a broader study on futures in the global education governing space along the example of UNESCO's commissions and inspired by the discourse historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), the paper presents first findings. Subsequently, the analysis should enable to relate the upcoming commission report to the decisive discourses as simultaneous historical prerequisites and part of present effects of the social.

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### **The International Bureau of Education perceived and seconded by Latin American countries (1925 to 1952).**

Clarice Moukachar Batista Loureiro (Université de Genève)

The creation of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva in 1925, which would become one of the first intergovernmental institutions since 1929, directed by Jean Piaget, is the subject of several publications (Hofstetter, 2015; ERHISE, being prepared) and three ongoing theses, including Loureiro (2018). The latter aims to study the development of pedagogical cooperation based on the interconnections between the IBE and Latin American countries. Under the support of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva, the IBE took advantage of the international networks already established by this institution to legitimize itself on the international scene as an institution aggregating different pedagogical models.

The present study focuses on the participation of the Latin American countries in this movement to reassure the IBE within the international scenario, since the moment of its creation until its attachment to the UNESCO in 1952. In a global context of an organizing turn of the international at the beginning of the 20th century, Latin America shone as an important symbolic space to be conquered for those who had universal aspirations (Hofstetter, 2017). The Latin American nations, for their part, strongly

engaged in a movement to build up their national identities (Dumont, 2018), searched abroad the inspiration to develop their educational systems.

The purpose of this work is to contribute to the historiographical research on the IBE having as a starting point how the Latin American countries perceive that institution. We have followed up the works of McPherson and Wehrli (2015) which aim to extract Latin America from the margins of the historiography of the League of Nations, supporting the thesis that the continent has played an important role in it. Thus, we advance the idea that the interconnections between the Latin American countries and the IBE may also have contributed in a particular way to the evolution of the institution during the period being focused.

In short, we mean to understand whether the participation of Latin American countries in the IBE causes inflections in the operating modes of the institution or even in the way it collectively formulates what contemporaries call a "charter of worldwide aspirations in educational affairs" (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2013).

In order to do that, we have relied on the transnational methodological instruments (Iriye, 2013) and exploited sources of multiple origins. Therefore, the documentary corpus is made up not only from sources available in the historical archives of the IBE, in Geneva, but also from sources collected in three Latin American countries, Brazil, Argentina and Ecuador. We expect to contribute to the history of the IBE from a new point of view - that of Latin American countries - while enriching it with approaches from a European perspective, conducted in parallel by ERHISE.

### **Le Bureau International d'Éducation vu et investi par les pays latino-américains (1925 à 1952).**

La création du Bureau International d'Éducation (BIE) à Genève en 1925, qui deviendra l'une des premières institutions intergouvernementales dès 1929, dirigée par Jean Piaget, fait l'objet de diverses publications (Hofstetter, 2015 ; ERHISE, en préparation) et trois thèses en cours, dont Loureiro (2018). Celle-ci a pour objet la promotion d'une coopération pédagogique à partir des interconnexions entre le BIE et les pays latino-américains. Avec le soutien de l'Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau à Genève, le BIE profitait des réseaux internationaux déjà établis par cette institution pour se légitimer sur la scène internationale comme un organe fédérateur de différents modèles pédagogiques.

L'investigation ici présentée se centre sur la participation des pays de l'Amérique Latine à ce mouvement d'affirmation international du BIE, dès le moment de sa création jusqu'à son rattachement à l'UNESCO en 1952. Dans un contexte global de tournant organisateur de l'international du début du 20e siècle, l'Amérique Latine rayonnait comme un important espace symbolique à conquérir pour ceux qui portaient des aspirations universelles (Hofstetter, 2017). Les nations latino-américaines, de leur côté, fortement engagées dans un mouvement de formation des identités nationales (Dumont, 2018), cherchaient à l'étranger l'inspiration pour la construction de ses systèmes éducatifs.

Le propos de ce travail est de contribuer à la recherche historiographique sur le BIE ayant comme point de départ la perception des pays latino-américains sur cette institution. Nous suivons les traces des travaux de McPherson et Wehrli (2015) qui visent à extraire l'Amérique Latine de la marge de l'historiographie de la Société des Nations, soutenant la thèse que le continent y a joué un rôle important. Nous avançons ainsi l'idée que les interconnexions entre les pays latino-américains et le BIE peuvent, elles aussi, avoir contribué d'une manière particulière à l'évolution de l'institution pendant la période sous la loupe.

En bref, nous cherchons à comprendre si la participation des pays latino-américains au sein du BIE provoque des inflexions dans les modes opératoires de l'institution ou même dans sa façon de

formuler collectivement ce que les contemporains appellent une « charte des aspirations mondiales en matière éducative » (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2013).

Pour ce faire, nous nous appuyons sur l'outillage méthodologique transnational (Iriye, 2013) et exploitons des sources d'origines multiples. Le corpus documentaire est ainsi composé des sources disponibles aux archives historiques du BIE, à Genève, mais aussi de sources latino-américaines récoltées dans trois pays du continent, le Brésil, l'Argentine et l'Équateur. Nous espérons, ce faisant, contribuer à l'histoire du BIE à partir d'un nouveau point de vue - celui de pays de l'Amérique Latine - tout en l'enrichissant des approches issues d'un regard européen, conduites parallèlement par ERHISE.

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## **04-SES 11: HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUALITY**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Mette Buchardt (Aalborg University)

### **Social Justice and Equality in a Soviet School: Slogans and Reality**

Irena Stonkuvienė (Vilnius University)

Inequality, which was predetermined by the market economy, was one of the biggest problems encountered by the post-soviet society. Such inequality was also observed in education. Therefore,

one of the leitmotifs of soviet nostalgia was “We all felt equal then”. Official soviet doctrine declared equality of everybody.

The principle of equality was provided for in laws, declared during in the congresses of Communist party and demonstrated in various posters. This principle was also reflected in the teaching materials of that time: curricular, textbooks, recommended books, etc.

However, a big number of researchers on the soviet system identify the difference between slogans and reality. For example, the declared gender equality most frequently was just “a smokescreen”. Disabled people were also deprived of equal opportunities. Despite declaration about freedom of religion, people practicing religion faced difficulties. According to Don Filtzer, who investigated privileges and social inequality in communist societies: “like capitalist societies, the Soviet Union and the Soviet-type societies of Eastern Europe showed a high degree of social stratification and inequality”. D. Filtzer considered the educational system to be one of the most relevant factors that result in social stratification. He states that “because privileges in the Soviet Union were only weakly monetarized, and wealth could not be accumulated or inherited, privileged groups perpetuated themselves mainly through the use of internal ‘connections’ and by ensuring their offspring preferential access to higher education through which they would secure elite positions”. In the Soviet Union such links were called ‘blat’ (favours). Lithuanian sociologist R.Žiliukaitė, who investigated ‘blat’ as a form of social capital, stated that namely ‘blat’, which provided access to the desired consumption goods and services, had influence on the individual’s social status. The informants of our qualitative research ( “Raising of the "New Man" in Soviet Schools: the Case of Lithuania” This project has received funding from the Research Council of Lithuania (LMTLT), agreement No S-LIP-19-68/(1.78) SU-810) also stated that the links of ‘blat’ functioned not only while entering a higher education institution but also as early as attending general education schools and, thus, created ‘inequality among equal’. On the basis of the interviews conducted during the research and the analysis of pedagogical press, textbooks, documents and scientific literature, the presentation will target at answering the following question:

- How was equality declared in soviet pedagogy?
- How was equality understood in a soviet school? What manifestations of equality and inequality can be identified?
- Finally, why in the presence of obvious inequality, some of the informants insisted on claiming that they felt ‘equal’ then.

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Žiliukaitė, R. Kaip pažintys virsta ekonominiu kapitalu: blato tinklų struktūrinės charakteristikos (How Connections Turn into Economic Capital: Structural Characteristics of ‘Blat’ Networks). In

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### **Echoes Of Equality: African American Education In The United States, From Brown To No Child Left Behind,1954-2004**

Robinson Scott Baker (Wake Forest University)

Echoes of Equality: African American Education in the United States, From Brown to No Child Left Behind, 1954-2004

This proposed paper examines why educational policy makers turned from a civil rights agenda of opportunity and embraced test based accountability as a way of promoting racial equality. I analyze the effects of opportunity and accountability policies on African American life chances.

During the 1960s, grassroots African American movements forced significant state inventions. I argue that the combined effects of opportunity policy: the war on poverty, school desegregation, Head Start, the Elementary and Secondary Educational Act of 1965, and affirmative action fueled significant improvements in the circumstances of black life. While racial equality remained elusive, economic and educational measures demonstrate that African Americans were, by 1980, closer to equality with whites than at any time in United States history.

What deserves more scrutiny is why politicians turned from opportunity policy and institutionalized neoliberal accountability policies that were intended to promote racial equality. This turn occurred in an historical context shaped by declining productivity and growing global competition trends that stoked white anxieties. The neoliberal proponents of accountability argued that markets would solve social problems and that tests would hold students and teachers responsible for educational outcomes. Ronald Reagan was at the center of the neoliberal alliance that transcended partisan lines. Reagan cut spending on social welfare and educational programs, appointed Supreme Court justices that dismantled desegregation, and supported accountability policies that shifted attention away from discrimination as a cause of inequality.

During the late 1980s, critical race theorists argued that the price of black progress was benefits for whites. Derrick Bell urged blacks to seek more equitable funding for effective all black schools. African Americans won legal victories in school equalization litigation. However, authorities resisted the redistribution of resources, and court rulings did as much to legitimize accountability as equalize spending. As the NAACP adopted a new stance of testing, new civil rights organizations including The Education Trust supported test based accountability. As schools resegregated in the 1990s and funding disparities persisted, neoliberal presidents, governors, and policy makers ratcheted up the stakes attached to test results through the assessment of students in elementary schools, test based promotion policies, and high school exit exams. These policies contributed to the stalling of African American advancement.

By the beginning of the 21st century, accountability had eclipsed the expansion of opportunity as a way of promoting racial equality. Although there was little evidence that accountability had promoted more equal outcomes, in 2002 George W. Bush forged a bi-racial neoliberal political coalition that passed NCLB, an act to close the achievement gap. NCLB, like earlier test based reforms, addressed the symptom of racial inequality, differences in achievement, rather than the cause of racial inequality, a lack of opportunity. As a result, African Americans were by educational and economic measures were



no closer to equality with whites than they had been in 1980. Opportunity not accountability brought African American closer to elusive goal of racial equality.

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### **Ideological Struggle in Education: Brian Simon and the Comprehensive Education Movement in England (1946-1965)**

Hsiao-Yuh Ku (National Chung Cheng University)

Brian Simon (1915-2002), an influential Marxist historian and educationist in Britain, was a leading pioneer in the comprehensive education movement. In essence, this movement, which embodied the spirit of social justice in education, was a grass roots movement. From the late 1940s, many local organizations including trades councils, some local Labour Parties, Communist Party branches, some local National Union of Teachers (NUT) associations and Co-operative organizations exerted the unceasing pressures on the issue from below.[1] Immediately after the Second World War, Simon, as a member of a Manchester Area Committee of the Communist Party[2], embraced the concept of the comprehensive school as central to any progressive policy in education.[3] Not only the Party itself provided him with a 'positive source of support for those activities he felt to be of over-riding importance'[4], but the Marxist ideas the Party represented stimulated Simon's analysis and thinking on educational issues, especially his belief in every child's educability and his challenge to intelligence testing as well as selection and streaming. In the Communist Party, Simon pressed for ideological struggle in education in pursuit of real equality of educational opportunity for the people. Aside from this, in 1958, he co-founded a journal, the *Forum*, which became a key vehicle to promote exchanges of teachers' experiences in developing a common secondary education for all.[5] Immediately after the issuing of the Circular 10/65, which requested all the local education authorities to submit plans to the Secretary of State for the reorganization of secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines within one year, he aided in the set-up of the Comprehensive Schools Committee (CSC), a national pressure group, to monitor the transition to a comprehensive system.[6]

In general, Simon's great contribution to the comprehensive education movement has been recognized by historians. For instance, David Reeder claimed that 'He was undoubtedly the chief intellectual influence on the comprehensive school movement, providing a rationale for the common

secondary school, exposing the inadequacies of psychometric testing, and evaluating the history and progress of the transition to comprehensive schooling as well as giving support to the teachers involved in it.' [7] In 2004, at a conference to honour the memory of Simon, contributors also recalled his various engagements with radical thought and reform of the British education system, especially in regard to the fight for comprehensive secondary education. [8] However, very surprisingly, few researches were focused on Simon's ideals and practice in relation to the movement. In view of this, this paper aims to investigate Simon's ideals and his various engagements in the movement, especially from the immediate post-war years to the issue of the circular 10/65. Through examining Simon's books and papers in his personal Archives, evidence and articles published in the Forum, and the Communist Party's papers, the current paper will provide a deeper understanding of Simon's role in this grass roots movement. More importantly, this article will shed some light on how Simon's Marxist ideas bolstered his ideals and actions.

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- [4] *Ibid.*
- [5] Simon, *A Life in Education*, 88.
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- [7] David Reeder, 'Brain Simon: A Tribute', *History of Education* 31, no. 4 (2002): 307-310 (p. 308).
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### **Second Class Education for Second Class Citizens? Education of Urban and Rural Dwellers in Post-colonial Nigeria, 1960 to 2018**

Grace Oluremilekun Akanbi (Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo)

There is no gainsaying the fact that education if administered effectively, is a catalyst for national development. Most nations of the world, therefore, rely on education to move their society forward. However, such education must be universal in content - both in quality and quantity - no matter the location of the recipients; rural or urban. The environment of education may also go a long way to determine the quality of teaching and learning that would take place. This is responsible, in part, for the Child-Friendly School Initiative (CFSI) that was launched in 1999 (Yabo; 2017). At the inception of western education in Nigeria, schools that "existed were located in the urban centres" (Nwangwu 2011: 65), leaving out the rural dwellers. It is almost becoming a curse to live in a rural area; this is because almost all services - social and economic - are scarcely made available to the rural dwellers. Rural dwellers in Nigeria may, therefore, conveniently qualify to be referred to as second class citizens in their own country. This situation tends to lend credence to UNESCO's (2014:192) observation that, "where children are born determines their opportunity to learn". In spite of the CFSI, there still exists

a wide disparity in school facilities, infrastructure, and human resources, between the urban and rural areas even though all students, not minding their location, will write the same final examinations. This is a historical and survey research, hence, both historical and survey method would be employed. A checklist of basic amenities and resources that should be available in secondary schools was prepared to find out their availability and accessibility in both rural and urban secondary schools in three (3) geo-political zones in Nigeria. Such amenities include electricity, water, internet facility, conducive classrooms, laboratories, technical and technology laboratories, consumables for the laboratories, qualified teachers for the core subjects for admission into the higher institutions, and other facilities that are deemed fit. The results will be analysed using simple percentages. Adequate recommendations would be made for improvement in education delivery. In the conceptual framework of qualitative and functional education, this research focuses on how to improve the quality of secondary education for both urban and rural dwellers in Nigeria as this will culminate in balanced national development. This paper will, therefore, focus its discussion on:

- An operational definition of a second class citizen;
- Statement of the problem of study;
- Introduction of western education in Nigeria;
- The development of secondary school education in Nigeria;
- The beginning of disparity between urban and rural secondary education in Nigeria;
- Findings and discussion on the availability of basic amenities in the schools
- Suggestions for improvement of secondary education, especially in rural areas.

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## **05-SES 11: EDUCATION AND THE MEDIA**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Christian Lundahl (Örebro university)

### **An archive that one reads – the periodic of Liga Nacional de Instrução (1915-1917)**

Cláudia Pinto Ribeiro (Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Oporto University; CITCEM -Transdisciplinary Research Centre «Culture, Space and Memory»), Helena Vieira (CITCEM -Transdisciplinary Research Centre «Culture, Space and Memory»)

The Liga Nacional de Instrução, founded in 1907, was born from the initiative of a «group of patriots», and it had as main promoters José José Francisco Trindade Coelho and Manuel Borges Grainha, important personalities of the Masonry in Portugal.

Stepping into his eighth year of existence, the Liga Nacional de Instrução, realizing the richness of their archives and considering that the disclosure of the documentation in their collection would be truly public service, decided to publish a journal – Liga Nacional de Instrução: Arquivo dos seus Trabalhos – in February 1915, as we can read in the minute n.º 123 from the direction.

It would be a mistake to let so many efforts to be forgotten and to hide what had been done in so many topics that concern the educational problem; and seeing the significance of publishing what we possess, we can express our willingness and justify what we have been doing. The aim of this publication is to select from our archive what is more interesting and useful, to report on the daily events where the Liga Direction show their constant activity, to transcribe files that offer stories and narratives worthy of esteem, and to deal with current affairs that relate to the goals of this association and the summary of our minutes.

The journal was a showcase for the pedagogical effervescence that boiled in the Liga; the main subjects debated were the propaganda of the principles of the scientific pedagogy, and the concerns around education, the “cancer” of illiteracy, elementary and secondary school, and the creation of schools and colleges inspired by the examples in the most developed countries.

Between 1915 and 1917, there were twelve issues published, although only six editions came out. In 1915, they published three issues, being the last two brought together in a single edition (double issue); in the following year (1916), they began a second series, publishing two double issues; and, in 1917, they gathered the four issues in a single edition.

The methodology was based on reading and analysing the content of the journal, trying to identify names, data, events, trends and other subjects that seemed significant.

Besides the spotlight given to important people from the pedagogical panorama, the journal also presents reports, studies and papers about “modern schools”, “domestic teaching”, “arts and crafts” and the “teaching of abnormal children”, the problem of illiteracy, the case for «social education», school hygiene, the practice of physical education, manual work; and documentation related to the association, like excerpts of the minutes from the direction meetings; the constitution of the governing bodies; charts on the attendance of the several courses sponsored by the association; references to the lobby exerted near the political power, fundraising campaigns and other supports; summaries of the works of the IV Congresso Pedagógico, among other subjects, sometimes followed by photographs that showed the conference room full of teachers, students working in classrooms and workshops, pedagogical supplies, among others.

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### **The Education In Spain Through The Press: The Newspaper El Sol (1917-1939)**

Isabel Grana (Universidad de Málaga), Cristina Redondo (Universidad de Málaga)

Much has been written about Education during the period under study, especially from a legislative point of view: laws and decrees that are developed; and from the theorist: what intellectuals and thinkers write about it. However, the new political history of education has sought new paths of analysis. From this perspective, we want to address the concept of "the social" and we want to reflect the different ideas and positions that were being postulated over a period rich in political, economic and social events that will directly influence Education. At the beginning of the twentieth century some written media sensed their socio-pedagogical potential and considered that they could contribute with the content of their articles and their dissemination to the promotion of change and social development, each from their particular ideological perspective. To this extent, we think it is important the role that the press could play at the time as an educational and socializing agent and, therefore, the relationship it maintained with social pedagogy. In this particular case, we will do it from what is written in the supplement dedicated to Pedagogy and Public Instruction of the newspaper El Sol of liberal and reformist cut. This newspaper was considered one of the best in Europe and the best in Spain for many years. It was published from December 1917 to March 1939. The supplement of Pedagogy and Public Instruction was published on Mondays and this was discussing the current education of the moment both nationally and internationally. Urgoiti himself, founder of the newspaper, referred to the press as "that very important popular education body". The objective of the communication is to take a tour of the legislation, curriculums, aspirations, achievements and disappointments of Education in Spain through the look of pedagogues and intellectuals, some of the likes of Lorenzo Luzuriaga, who was at the helm of it from its beginnings until 1922. To do this, we will mainly use the primary sources, since we will analyze the information published in the Pedagogy and Public Instruction Supplement over a few years as neat as these that cover the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War.

### **La Educación En España A Través De La Prensa: El Periódico El Sol (1917-1939)**

Mucho se ha escrito sobre la Educación durante el periodo objeto de estudio, sobre todo desde el punto de vista legislativo: leyes y decretos que se desarrollan; y desde el teórico: lo que escriben los intelectuales y pensadores sobre el tema. Sin embargo, la nueva historia política de la educación ha buscado nuevos caminos de análisis. Desde esta perspectiva, queremos abordar el concepto de "lo social" y queremos reflejar las distintas ideas y posturas que se iban postulando a lo largo de un periodo rico en cambios políticos, económicos y acontecimientos sociales que van a ir influyendo directamente en la Educación.

A comienzos del siglo XX algunos medios escritos intuyeron su potencial socio-pedagógico y consideraron que podrían contribuir con el contenido de sus artículos y su difusión a la promoción del cambio y desarrollo social, cada uno desde su particular perspectiva ideológica. En esta medida nos parece importante el papel que pudo cumplir la prensa en la época como agente educativo y socializador y, por tanto, la vinculación que mantuvo con la pedagogía social.

En este caso concreto, lo vamos a hacer desde lo que se escribe en el suplemento dedicado a Pedagogía e Instrucción Pública del periódico El Sol de corte liberal y reformista. Este diario fue considerado uno de los mejores de Europa y el mejor de España durante muchos años. Se publicó desde diciembre de 1917 hasta marzo de 1939. El suplemento de Pedagogía e Instrucción Pública se publicaba los lunes y en este se iba comentando la actualidad de la educación del momento tanto a nivel nacional como internacional. El propio Urgoiti, fundador del periódico, se refería a la prensa como “ese importantísimo órgano de educación popular”.

El objetivo de la comunicación es hacer un recorrido por la legislación, planes de estudio, aspiraciones, logros y desengaños de la Educación en España a través de la mirada pedagogos e intelectuales, algunos de la talla de Lorenzo Luzuriaga, que estuvo al frente del mismo desde sus inicios hasta 1922. Para ello, vamos a utilizar fundamentalmente las fuentes primarias, ya que vamos a analizar la información publicada en el Suplemento de Pedagogía e Instrucción Pública a lo largo de unos años tan prolivos como son estos que abarcan la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera, la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil Española.

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## **The Popular School of Lorenzo Milani and Its Social Representation in Italian Cinema and Television**

Paolo Alfieri (Catholic University of the Sacred Heart)

Lorenzo Milani (Florence, 1923-1967) is one of the best known Italian nonconformist educationalists and priests of the post-WWII period. His educational method was alternative to the strategy pursued by some sectors of the Church of the time that sought to engage young people by offering them forms of entertainment, such as cinema and football. Milani identified schooling for his working class parishioners as the most critical component of his ministry and argued that education, particularly the acquisition of good writing and verbal skills, was an essential prerequisite for comprehending the Christian message and consciously accepting it, as well as for the improvement and social emancipation of the poorer classes. Both evening school of San Donato di Calenzano, an industrial quarter on the outskirts of Florence, and full-time school of Barbiana, a remote village in the Mugello hills, devoted attention to students' social and cultural background. In these schooling experiences for lower classes, Milani developed the idea that school was a means of supplying the necessary technical instruments, and above all, language, through which the poor can themselves teach the teachers. Indeed, in the famous Lettera ad una professoressa of 1967, his own pupils, writing jointly with their teacher, called for a new model of school, based on their experience in Barbiana, and strongly criticizing the school system of the day, especially in relation to its class bias and selectivity. Lettera ad



una professoressa is Milani's most significant legacy, and was the work that made him well known, and in consequence either criticized or praised by both experts in education and the general public.

However, the memory of the school in Barbiana was popularized in Italy above all thanks to the media. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to analyse the image of Milani's school represented by Italian cinema and television. The research is based on the analysis of the three films that to date have been devoted to Milani – two of which were produced for the cinema (in 1975 and 1976) and one for television (1997) – and of nine documentaries, made between the Sixties and the beginning of XXI century. As we shall see, the cinema and TV reconstructions remained true to historical fact in narrating the absolute originality and uniqueness of Milani's school, bringing audiences to appreciate the exceptional nature of this model. At the same time, however, these films and documentaries have supplied the collective memory of Italians with an ideal vision of schooling that is rich with novel pedagogical and social perspectives. Thanks to the films and documentaries that have narrated it, Milani's school, while remaining an isolated phenomenon in time and space, has been successful in stirring the consciences of those who have felt and continue to feel the need for a social and political renewal of the school system.

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### **A Rising Tide of Discontent: Mediocrity, Meritocracy, and Neoliberalism in American Education, 1971-1983**

Chelsea Angela Rodriguez (University of Groningen)

Mediocrity as a concept in education has been frequently used by both modern-day and historical actors to express discontent with the status quo of pedagogy and schooling. Despite its pervasiveness in discourse, however, the concept has largely evaded academic scrutiny, particularly in terms of its historical development in the years leading up to its famous appearance in the United States Government report, *A Nation at Risk*. This paper aims to construct a conceptual history of mediocrity

in American education through the analysis of newspaper articles from The New York Times, in order to explore how the concept developed amidst the rise of neoliberalism and meritocratic discourse in education. This study finds that the concept of mediocrity between 1971 and 1983 had a number of nuanced conceptualizations, and played a pivotal role in developing meritocratic notions of natural talent and ability, as well as neoliberal and marketized narratives concerning educational equality, business approaches to education, and performance-pay for teachers. These findings allow educational researchers to meaningfully reflect on the ways that language shapes, and is shaped by, historical developments in education, and provides layers of meaning and context to oft-used educational concepts which are crucial for the authentic evaluation of our modern education systems.

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## 06-SES 11: TEACHERS' IDENTITY, MORALITY AND EMOTIONS

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Sara Backman Prytz (Stockholm University)

### **The Materialization Of Education: The Social Efforts Of Slovenian Teachers In The Habsburg Empire And The Successor Countries**

Branko Šuštar (Slovenian School Museum)

What do you see from the pedagogical efforts in the passing of time? The social influence of the teaching profession and education was also marked by the cultural and economic history of Slovenes who have lived in different countries over time, and today we still live in the Republic of Slovenia and neighboring countries and elsewhere. The contribution of the teachers (and other educators) and the schools to the development of the Slovenian language and to the formation of the Slovenian nation, as well as its economic and social development in general, is indisputable. The question is, what were the contributions of teachers to social development and what can we see today?

Teachers affiliated to teacher associations (which provided professional and trade union links, professional journals, teachers' assemblies, libraries, school museums), which also brought with them international pedagogical ideas from abroad, stood out in particular with their educational contribution. Teachers' activities were largely local and regionally limited, but in places with school educational and socially significant. In which areas of social activity have teachers and women teachers been especially established since the end of the 19th century? How can we visualize, with material resources, the diverse social functioning of Slovenian teaching in the countries of Austria-Hungary and after 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs Croats, Slovenes / Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria / Germany and Hungary? The article thus deals with the subjects and objects of more than a dozen socially active teaching personalities and highlights many areas of their activity.

The presentation analyzes, with the help of literature, print and archival sources, the contribution of teachers who have characterized editorial, literary and musical, economic work (e.g. beekeeping, fruit growing, cooperative), cultural and various social activities, established themselves in different directions of politics, taken care of a new school building and teaching aids, pioneered protection of cultural monuments and ethnological research as well as tourism and mountaineering. Many of them also acted as ordinary but important teachers and as such an influential educator (e.g. in special education) and as a mentor.

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### **Identity Problems and the Discourse of Justice: the Situation of Home Teachers Born in the Baltic Provinces and Finland**

Olga Solodyankina (Cherepovets State University)

The purpose of the project is to consider the situation of the home teachers who were the natives of the Baltic Provinces and the Grand Duchy of Finland during the reign of Nicholas I. The sources are: 1. Regulatory documents that determine the status of home teachers. 2. Office paperwork that consists of archival materials from the fonds of the Ministry of Education, stored in the Russian State Historical Archive (St. Petersburg), in particular, the correspondence of the Minister of Education S.S. Uvarov (minister in 1833-1848) and a trustee of the Dorpat school district E.B. Kraftstrem (trustee in 1836-1854). 3. Ego-documents, reflecting the views of the contemporaries on the problem. The methodological basis of the study is formed by the concepts of identity, marginality, representations of historical imagology, and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social capital. Project results: As Russian subjects, the home teachers who were the natives of the Ostsee Provinces and the Grand Duchy of Finland should have had the full amount of rights and privileges given to home teachers by the Provision on Home Mentors adopted in 1834. However, the difference was obvious to the contemporaries: one could be "one of our own" *de jure* but a "stranger" *de facto*. The markers of being a "stranger" were citizenship, language, faith, everyday behavior, political views, etc. From the legal point of view, the natives of the Baltic Provinces and the Grand Duchy of Finland who worked in the system of home education and upbringing were "ones of our own", but at the same time they belonged to "strangers" in many respects. A native of the Grand Duchy of Finland, "alien" in language and confessional affiliation, was "one of us" in all respects if he was able to pass the exam in grammatical knowledge of the Russian language; insufficient knowledge of the language and inability to pass the exam turned him into an absolute "stranger" even in legal terms. The situation with the native language was even more painfully perceived in the Ostsee Provinces. All-Russian rules were in force there, and a potential candidate for the title of home teacher was required to know Russian as a native language despite the fact that the home teachers were Germans by their mother tongue. The Dorpat school district was concerned with this conflict and demanded a fair solution to this issue. However, the Ministry of Public Education understood justice differently: all subjects of the Russian Empire had to obey the same rule and to pass the examination in the knowledge of Russian as their native language regardless of what their mother tongue really was. Obviously, the natives of the Ostsee Provinces were "alien" in language and confessional affiliation, but "ours" in terms of subordination to all all-Russian norms. Thus, the position of the home teachers who were the natives of the Ostsee Provinces and the Grand Duchy of Finland as parts of the Russian Empire was ambivalent.

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### **The Irish teacher: Identity and nationalism, 1860-1868.**

John Michael Carroll (Maynooth University)

The establishment of a national system of primary education in Ireland in 1831, by British imperial administration, decades before similar systems emerged globally, was largely characterised by the singular belief that education could effect change in national identity (Coolahan 2001). The Commissioners for National Education, who oversaw the system, employed strict rules and regulations to ensure that all involved, from inspectorate down to the teacher in the schoolroom were strictly supervised (O' Donovan 2017). It was envisioned that the teachers employed in the primary schools would assist in recasting Irish identity to create a loyal colony within the British Empire (Commissioners for National Education in Ireland 1835). However, the teachers employed within the system play an insignificant role in existing histories of the primary education system in Ireland, with most focusing on a 'top-down' narrative of the system structure and little emphasis on the teacher as an individual (Coolahan 1981; Akenson 1970).

This paper considers the extent of Irish national teachers' involvement in nationalism in nineteenth century Ireland, preceding the Fenian uprising of 1867. The British government moved to quell seditious activity by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in 1866, which allowed for internment without trial of suspected dissidents. Data collected from the Irish Crime Records in the National Archives of Ireland for this time show a proportion of those interned to have been national teachers. The methodologies employed in analysing the data are situated within a qualitative framework of primary documentary analysis.

The central hypothesis of this presentation is that the teachers employed by the CNEI were actively involved in nationalism, as well as undermining the efficacy of British efforts at recasting Irish identity. This raises questions around the national teacher's loyalty and adherence to the rules and regulations as stipulated by the Commissioners of National Education (CNEI 1847). Occupying an integral position within the narrative of Irish primary education, an insight into the lives of these teachers illuminates an aspect of Irish educational history previously unseen.

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### **History of Education and the Emotional Turn: the Affective Dimension of Teaching in the Primary School in Argentina (1870-1940)**

Ana Laura Abramowski (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, UNGS; Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO)

This presentation problematizes methods and concepts provided by the emotional turn, and it inquires their impact in the history of education, starting from a research that focuses on the affective dimension of teaching.

This is a recent investigation which aims at historicizing the configuration of the affective dimension of teaching by focusing on the Argentine teaching profession in the period between 1870 and 1940. This temporary cutback, which begins with the opening of the Escuela Normal de Paraná —that coincides with the organization of the teacher training system in Argentina— and spans the decades of the New School movement apogee, allows us to analyze what herein has been conceptualized as “teacher affection normalista”. By means of exploring a diverse documentary corpus, it is described how the teaching profession was producing its affective substrate of teaching, showing, mainly, its educable character.

Along the research, which I will present in a summarized way, teacher affection is examined through four edges: as a “tone” that overflies the teachers, from the attaching to the task of educating, by the attempts to influence the student body, and in the “embodiment”. Likewise, it is made manifest that teacher affection is not a trait “of” teachers as individuals, but rather a quality proper to the task of teaching.

This study covers a subject that has been scarcely addressed, and it lies at the intersection among the history of education, the studies on affections and emotions, and the history of emotions. The theoretical approach that is herein adopted proposes to understand teacher affection in a collective and political sense, to accept the opacity of emotional meanings and to weigh its place in the production of identities. For this purpose, I work with some concepts such as: emotional communities (Rosenwein, 2016), emotional habitus (Gould, 2009), tone (Ngai, 2007), mood (Flatley, 2008), affective atmosphere (Anderson, 2009; Riedel, 2019), emotional practices (Scheer, 2012), emotional labor (Hochschild, 2003).

Looking at teachers “through” the affective dimension makes it possible to capture some little explored edges of the construction and consolidation of their identity, and it shows, in addition, how it has been deposited in an elusive and poorly defined feature of the teaching task, such as it is the affective one, much of the success of the educational enterprise.

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### **WEDNESDAY June 16      4:00 - 5:30**

#### **01-SES 12: SEX, SCIENCE & COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY. THREE STUDIES OF HOW EDUCATION “FOR ALL” SHOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR PROGRESS AND MODERNIZATION**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Barbara Emma Hof (University of Zurich), Carmen Flury (University of Zurich), Noah Webster Sobe (Loyola University, Chicago)

#### **Sex, Science & Computer Technology. Three Studies of How Education “For All” Should Pave the Way for Progress and Modernization**

School reforms are often introduced as problem-solver for society (Aikenhead, Orpwood & Fensham, 2011; Labaree, 2008; Smeyers & Depaepe, 2008; Tröhler, 2008; Tröhler, 2017). The idea of basic and general education “for all” is closely linked to the discourse on modernization, progress and prosperity. Education should prepare society for change, help it adapt to change or bring about a desired change. Today, the “for all” can be interpreted as a function and duty of the nation-state in the context of change, if change is perceived as a challenge to the organization of society. Education “for all” can also serve to counter forms of resistance and fear when it provides people with the knowledge and skills to understand, tolerate and benefit from the effects of change (DeBoer, 2000). However, education “for all” is by no means to be equated or even confused with achieving equality. “For all” is rather a rhetorical term that serves the stakeholders using it. Therefore, education “for all” and the selective education of elites need to be seen as intertwined. In some cases, knowledge initially reserved for an elite was subsequently popularized to harvest the whole potential of “human resources”, while in other cases some humans were selected from the broad mass, e.g. by IQ testing in the military, in order to determine the best recipients of specialized training. Distinctive features of equal education stand in marked contrast to selection (Fensham, 2014) as well as educational interventions for “vulnerable” groups. It is this tension between elite education, the popularization of knowledge, targeted specialization, and the enlightenment of the “vulnerable” that social history can cover.

General education is closely related to the concept of literacy (Herdt, 2007; Roberts, 2013; Hannum, 1991). The concept of literacy is as deliberately vague as the rhetorical term “for all” as it can be

interpreted in various ways and used by stakeholders with different political demands, thus serving multiple ideologies (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008; Goodson & Mangan, 1996). We, four early career researchers, take sex, science & computer technology education in order to investigate the struggles over what education “for all” and being “literate” means in these specific areas. The panel is divided into three cases studies and addresses the questions: Why did certain knowledge become general knowledge and how was it decided what is relevant knowledge for everyone? What was the role of political, social and economic factors in prompting governments, scientists, and teachers to demand a basic education and literacy “for all” in a certain area of knowledge? In what ways was the justification for the “for all”-concept linked to the broader visions of the (future) society and to the discourse on progress and modernization? Through a reconstruction of debates in media, politics, pedagogy and the research community, the three studies examine and compare efforts that were made to establish education “for all” in a socialist and a capitalist state in the second half of the 20th century, in order to investigate whether these efforts were founded on distinctive imaginaries of society in the two different economic systems—and how these ideas circulated between the East and the West.

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### **Knowledge of Physics for the Benefit of Democracy and the Good? Why “Popeye” taught the American Youth...**

Barbara Emma Hof (University of Zurich)

Knowledge of Physics for the Benefit of Democracy and the Good? Why in the late 1940s “Popeye” taught the American Youth what an Atom is, how it is Split, and What it is Used for

“Popeye” was a famous role model for American children in the mid-20th century. Once he ate spinach—after the consumption of energy, a key symbol of modernity—he solved any problem with ease. In the late 1940s, our hero not only explained to children the difference between good and evil, he was rather also teaching them atomic science. In other words, he explained them the way uranium atoms are split, how much energy is released in the process, and, most importantly, what this energy means for future generations: economic prosperity, a better medicine, faster vehicles, and an improved outcome in agriculture. In so doing, the fictional character acted as a translator between the knowledge of a hitherto small elite of scientists and the general public while transporting ideology: By fighting the bad and helping the weak, “Popeye” represented masculinity, the American ideal of heroism, progressivism, and Western modernity. “Popeye” was only one of several cartoon characters used in public campaigns to positively connotate and popularize science and the scientific man. The paper uses these cartoons as a starting point to examine the relationship between the education of the masses through mass media and the massification of science education in the mid-20th century. How did the popularization of science in American pop culture relate to the increasing relevance of scientific literacy, when not only the Cold War, but also the emerging nuclear industry demanded ever more technoscientific expertise? Why was knowledge of physics considered fundamental for the future affluent society and, even as the basis of democracy?

The paper addresses knowledge of physics “for all” from a socio-pop-cultural perspective by using archival material from NARA at College Park and articles published in *Physics Today* and the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. It covers the first decades after World War II, a period in which the so-called peaceful uses of nuclear energy were developed and tested for industry, agriculture and medicine and were considered as a fuel for ships, airplanes, and rockets. To date, historical research on science education has mainly focused on the expansion of secondary and higher education in the 1960s. The paper presents initiatives by scientists and government agencies aimed at public education that were taken before science education was considered as increasingly relevant in the wake of Sputnik shock, but paved the way for this development.

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### **Every Boy and Girl a Programmer: Computer literacy in the GDR in the 1980s**

Carmen Flury (University of Zurich)

Every Boy and Girl a Programmer: Computer literacy in the GDR in the 1980s

Computer technology had been of paramount importance to the political leadership in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) since the mid-1960s. The modernization of the socialist economy through the means of automation and electronic data processing was supposed to contribute significantly to social progress and prosperity. Consequently, the workforce had to be trained in the use of computers. At first, focus was put on the computer education of a technical and scientific elite. But as ever smaller and more powerful computers were developed, their usefulness in many areas of economic planning, organization and production became increasingly apparent. By the mid-1980s, the political leadership of the GDR decided that everyone should be taught some basic knowledge about computers and what could be achieved on a macrosocial scale with this new technology. A computer education “for all” was meant to inculcate a specific mindset and attitude towards information technology. It served to spread the promise of modernization and prosperity with the help of computers and robots, and to secure the peoples’ support for the political leadership’s costly strategy to promote technological innovation in this field.

Drawing upon an analysis of historical documents of government officials and pedagogues, as well as popular science and kids’ magazines, the paper investigates in what ways the new information technologies were perceived profoundly as an educational challenge by the political and scientific elite. What kind of social imaginaries were behind the socialist government’s belief that every boy and girl in the GDR should be able to program a computer and understand its basic functioning? In what ways did computer education “for all” convey a message about the role that computer technology was supposed to serve within the socialist economy and society? The paper highlights the attempts of the political leaders to distinguish “socialist” computer literacy and education from the use of computers in the capitalist systems, as they developed and implemented a computer technology curriculum “for all”.

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### **Teaching Tenderness to the Peoples – Socialist Sexual Education in the GDR after the 1960s between Subjectivation and Measurement**

Daniel Töpfer (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Sónia Vaz Borges (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The 1960s were a very active time for initiatives in the field of sexual education not only in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) but also in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Most research focuses on the FRG case; however, as we will show, for the field of sexual education the GDR is a highly relevant case as it developed an influential research-based and monitored socialist sexual education approach that became widely received.

In our paper we will first present what socialist sexual education was about and how it was institutionalized. Secondly, we will discuss how earlier obstacles to sexual education were overcome in the institutionalization process – age heterogeneity, fear of sexualization of the young, church dominance, cooperation between school and out-of-school actors, sexual counsellors, and doctors. Then thirdly, we will discuss more broadly the entanglement of the sexual education practices: Scientists of education, medicine and psychology were not only involved in conceptualizing and implementing the sexual education agenda. They were also accompanied by strong social science research that monitored via youth studies whether their attempts to create a socialist subject equipped with the required sexual literacy worked. Lastly, we will present first results on how this concept of monitored socialist sexual education was internationally received (Cuba, Mozambique and Nicaragua). Our presentation is based on literature from GDR sexual educators and researchers and selected archives of the relevant state agencies.

The case study itself is a good example of the close connection between social science research and political-social action and thus illustrates the effectualness of such research. The interpretation of sexual education for all is therefore to be understood on two levels: On the one hand, it is an intentional re-arrangement of society, aiming to create a new uniform standard that necessarily creates new margins as well as distance to the competing capitalist societies – in past and present –, and their inferior educated citizens. “For all” here then refers to an attempt to replace prior heterogeneities – the elites vs. the peoples – with an utopian vision of equal sexual behavior, knowledge and subject positions of the masses. This need to involve all closely connected with the legitimacy of the socialist society and the founding assumptions of the involved materialistic sciences, that both promised to achieve higher equality. “Reaching all” was not alone a rhetoric figure but

explicit aim of state education, that interestingly overcome all calls for age or class differentiation that discussions on sex education had been dominated by before and parallel in the FRG. Then, seeing the wide audiences reached by this state lead popularization of knowledge, it is important to reflect on how social sciences were working as shaping force – combining normative ideas with surveys that monitor the results of the prescribed educational activities.

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## **02-SES 12: RE-IMAGINING TEACHING: THE SOCIAL AND THE (INTER)PERSONAL IN EARLY 20TH C EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Kristen Nawrotzki (Pädagogische Hochschule Heidelberg), Johan Samuelsson (Karlstad university)

### **Re-Imagining Teaching: The Social and the (Inter)Personal in Early 20th C Experimental Schools**

This panel reports on key findings of a long-term study of the diffusion, implementation and embodiment of “progressive” educational ideas within and across case study schools in five countries: Austria, Soviet Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Brazil. (For logistical reasons, detailed findings from three of the five case study schools - namely, those in Austria, Russia and the United States - will be presented in the panel; however, the papers will include mention of the other case study schools where appropriate.) These specific schools were all connected to - and, in some ways, through - transnationally-networked efforts to address social and economic challenges through education (Passow, 1982; Popkewitz, 2005; Röhrs & Lenhard, 1995; Roldán Vera & Fuchs, 2019). An examination of the cases individually and together allows us to see the processes of educational innovation at work, as New Education concepts are adopted and amended by local educators, contributing to both innovation and indigenization and feeding back into broader transnational discourses and movements.

Important to the emergence of these experimental schools and the desire to implement new visions of school, teacher, and child were contexts of mass compulsory education, socio-political transformation and an increasing confidence that science (in the form of psychoanalysis, developmental psychology or pedagogy, for example) could hold answers for how to re-shape nations and their citizens, and improve the lives of individuals, too. The nature of child-centered teaching involved planning for learning based on students’ interests and participation, active learning, and education promoting students’ participation in determining social and political change (Spring, 2015). These components played out differently in each of the case-study schools, leading us to ask: How was

the teacher reimagined in each of these contexts, and what effects did this have on the teachers themselves, the pupils, and the schools as institutions?

Taken together, the papers in our panel aim to illuminate the space between the local and global, to show how these social, political, intellectual and pedagogical strands were embodied in teachers and expressed in relationships and social interactions in the schools, and how all of that was “constructed at the crossroads between international trends and local concerns” (Roldán Vera & Fuchs, 2019, p. 16). The panel contributes to the conference strand entitled “new social educational histories from emerging margins of society” precisely because of those local concerns; we argue that experimental thinking placed the case study schools in a marginalised space in their respective societies, in which each of the schools served a narrowly-defined socio-economically-specific subpopulation.

Prochner’s paper focuses on the Dewey school’s kindergarten (1896-1904), exploring teacher/pupil relationships in light of Dewey’s reimagined teacher, child, and curriculum, and considering the processes involved in incorporating new discourses into established practices. Valkanova’s contribution uses children’s accounts of their experiences in the laboratory schools of post-revolutionary Russia in order to understand how teaching was seen and enacted as part of the schools’ transformative agenda. Finally, Nawrotzki’s paper draws on teachers’ and pupils’ memoirs and reminiscences to analyze how teachers’ roles were re-imagined at the Hietzing School (1927-1932), a short-lived and very small progressive school in Vienna, Austria, founded by and for members of the Freudian psychoanalytic circle.

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### **“Thus by indirection to direct”: The Complexity of Teaching at the Dewey School (1896-1904) and its Impact on ‘the Social’**

Larry Prochner (University of Alberta)

The Dewey School, which operated at the University of Chicago from 1896 to 1904, is well known over a century later for being a laboratory for John Dewey’s curriculum ideas. Less attention has been paid to its role as a ‘pedagogical laboratory’ for ideas of teaching and learning, including those related to teacher/pupil relationships which are the focus of this paper. Whereas a pre-set ‘official’ curriculum can be a barrier between teachers and students, for Dewey (1902) the child and curriculum were in relation rather than opposition. Moreover, the teacher and child were in a democratic relationship.

Nevertheless, much of what Dewey had to say about teaching seemed to minimize the democratic idea. In Dewey's view, the teachers' role was to mediate a child's experience and the subject matter. While he wrote little that was specific about pedagogy, he was certain that teachers were central to his idea of inquiry learning. The teacher psychologizes the subject matter, by which Dewey meant she transforms it by developing it "within the range of and scope of the child's life" (Dewey, 1902, p. 38). In order to achieve this, the teacher establishes "what there is in the child's present that is usable with reference to it; how such elements are to be used; how his own knowledge of the subject-matter may assist in interpreting the child's needs and doings, and determine the medium in which the child should be placed in order that his growth may be properly directed" (Dewey, 1902, p. 30). The teachers' work is supported by the course of study, which enables them "to determine the environment of the child, and thus by indirection to direct. . . . It says to the teacher: Such and such are the capacities, the fulfilments, in truth and beauty and behaviour, open to these children" (Dewey, 1902, p. 30).

This paper draws on examples from an ongoing study of teaching in the Dewey School to explore teacher/pupil relationships in light of Dewey's reimagined teacher, child, and curriculum. The Dewey School's teachers' task was complex: it involved keen observational strategies, along with an in-depth knowledge of child development and culture epoch ideas, the latter being the underpinning of Dewey's theory of curriculum (Kliebard, 1999). As Larry Cuban described, teachers have tended to persist with practices that worked in the past rather than adopt new methods, particularly those considered to be complex. And, to the extent that teachers incorporated new discourses into established practices, it resulted in entangled practices reflecting 'in-between' discourses; those usually about the new, and those which had previously been in use. Ultimately, the paper commentates on the ways the new curriculum idea became, in their turn, a barrier to teacher/pupil relationships in the case of the Dewey School.

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### **Re-envisioning Early Soviet Experimental Pedagogy through Children's Accounts of Daily School Life, 1917-1928**

Yordanka Valkanova (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Conceptions of giving children and teachers equal importance in the learning equation gained popularity in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. Relying on archived children's drawings and testimonies that were recorded by trainees and novice teachers in laboratory schools in Moscow and Moscow district, this paper looks at the evolving images of teaching in the post-revolutionary progressive era and demonstrates how experimental pedagogy in the Narkompros-endorsed laboratories (the People's Board of Education) was interpreted and enacted in everyday children's experiences. In particular, I draw my examples principally from the research work undertaken at units associated with Stanislav Shatsky's (1878–1934) First Laboratory Station, consisting of a set of laboratory schools and institutes, whose transformative agenda was fed by two intellectual traditions, pragmatism and Russian utopianism. Experimental schooling with underprivileged, predominantly



street children was an essential part of the work of Stanislav Shatsky, an ardent advocate of new education, who was named “the Dewey of Russia” by Western visitors (Strong, 1923) and one of the greatest educational geniuses on the pages of the organ of the New Education Fellowship, *The New Era* (Washburne, 1928). Shatsky concentrated on two areas: (i) exploring pedagogy as the “child’s kingdom”; and (ii) studies of children’s “social instincts” or social engagement, designated as social behaviourism by Dewey when he visited Moscow in 1928. Still, children in the laboratories were placed in an equivocal situation when associated with the research process: they experienced the awkwardness of growing up both as offspring and as research objects. My research, therefore, deals with intricate, subjective issues. Inter-disciplinary latitude, drawing from a variety of fields, including visual ethnography and psychology provides a methodological framework for scholarly exactitude.

The recent rise of individualised/behavioural approaches in social history has made it possible for studies in education to question children’s role in schooling. Nevertheless, relevant scholarship currently remains locked within the critical public debate among private persons who discuss matters of public concerns in a disinterested way or in Habermas’ terms ([1962]1989) the public sphere. The studies of Romanov (2011), Law (2013) and Karp (2010) can serve as convenient examples of the trend just outlined. Utilising children’s personal testimonies and drawings allows this study to suggest an alternative to the tendency for researching for ‘public opinion’ (Habermas, [1962] 1989) by displaying the significance of child’s personal, ‘non-objective’ account. The study, therefore, questions the homogeneous character of the public sphere and consensus.

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### **“Our Little Intellectual and Affluent Society”: Teachers and Teaching at the Hietzing School (1927-1932)**

Kristen Nawrotzki (Pädagogische Hochschule Heidelberg)

The Hietzing School was a small and short-lived private school founded by members of the Freudian psychoanalytic circle in Vienna in 1927. It was founded and led by individuals such as Anna Freud, Dorothy Burlingham, Peter Blos and Erik H. Erikson, and although they all eventually garnered fame

for work relating to children and adolescents, none of it was in connection with the school. Thus, although it is mentioned the numerous published biographies and memoirs about and by its founders and teachers, the Hietzing School has not received much attention in its own right. Worthy exceptions to this include Rolf Göppel's (1991) critical analysis of the school's pedagogy, and a handful of more recent studies. The latter include an article by Nick Midgley's (2008) and book-length treatment of the school by Florian Houssier's (2010), both of which explore (and ultimately underscore) Anna Freud's role in shaping the institution. Most recently, the essays in a 2018 volume edited by Elizabeth Ann Danto and Alexandra Steiner-Strauss (including one each by Midgley and Houssier) situate the individuals and strains of thought involved in the school amidst the broader Viennese cultural, socio-political and psychoanalytic-pedagogical contexts, and detail the school's unique expression of those influences.

This paper contributes to these efforts by offering the results of a new analysis of the Hietzing School at the crossroads of the then-emergent transnationally intermixing intellectual and social-political streams of the New Education and of child psychoanalysis. Specifically, it discusses the ways in which the teacher's role was reimagined and instantiated at the school, which existed on the margins of Vienna's educational establishment as an intimate, almost familial space occupied by members of overlapping and rarified social and professional circles. Those hired to teach at Hietzing included individuals with and without teaching qualifications, expertise, and experience, including Erik Erikson, who at that time, in the words of his childhood friend and Hietzing colleague Peter Blos, "had never taught children, in fact he knew nothing about children" (Peter Blos, "An Intimate History of the School in the Wattmanngasse", unpublished, 1974). The analysis shows how the Hietzing School's psychoanalytic inflection and its head's interest in the Deweyan project method a re-imagining of the teacher as intuitive educator, a replacement parent, a fellow learner, and, most importantly, a non-oppressive empath.

The paper's analysis is based on published articles, memoirs, biographies, and interviews by and about Freud, Burlingham, Erikson and others connected to the school, as well as on an extraordinarily rich array of archival sources, including examples of Hietzing pupils' schoolwork and unpublished reminiscences written by former pupils and staff in the mid-1970s, describing and assessing the school, its teachers, and their impact on the pupils' lives more than 40 years after the fact.

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## **03-SES 12: AGENCY AND PERSPECTIVES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS IN BRAZILIAN EDUCATION**

Panel Session (Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Joaquim António de Sousa Pintassilgo (University of Lisbon)

## **Self-education: Gender and Race in the Press Made by and for Black People in São Paulo, Capital City (1907-1929)**

Bianca Amorim (University of São Paulo)

In this work, we aim to investigate the different ways that Black women appear in the independent press made by and for Black people in the capital city of São Paulo in the beginning of the 20th century. Those newspapers were predominantly written by men, and reflected many different views of men regarding women's behavior and their expected role in society, including, but not restricted to, their views on female work and education. However, even though the male point of view is predominant on these papers, women are not absent. Therefore, we also aim to have a closer look into how women appeared in those papers as writers, organizers of recreative societies, amateur actresses, and their studies and occupations.

Our sources for this work are the series of Black newspapers that were printed during our established time frame: *O Propugnador* (1907), *Menelik* (1915-1917), *A Rua* (1916), *O Alfinete* (1918-1921), *O Bandeirante* (1918-1919), *A Liberdade* (1919-1920), *O Xauter* (1920), *A Sentinella* (1920), *Kosmos* (1922-1925), *O Clarim d'Alvorada* (1924-1929), *Elite* (1924), *Auriverde* (1928), and *O Progresso* (1928-1929). Preservation issues arised with these sources, consisting in a peculiarity that one needs to keep in mind when working with such documents. The intrinsic effemerity of the material made for some irregularity both in the length of the series and in the time skips between editions. Some well-known and important newspapers, such as *O Menelik* and *O Alfinete* used to have far more published editions, but only a small number of them made it to the present days. Other less-known newspapers, such as *O Propugnador*, *A Rua*, and *O Xauter* have only one edition available.

These newspapers focused mostly on social life, therefore, on educating the public behavior of Black people, and particularly of Black women. The role the Black women should play in society as a whole was also a recurring subject: some newspapers backed the idea that they should be loving wives and caring mothers, and should be educated as such. Other papers defended the idea that women should be educated to be able to find jobs in which they don't need to do strenuous physical work, such as washing, cleaning and cooking maids, occupations that were commonly practiced by them in the beginning of the 20th century. In reality, women had their own ways to act and to approach and to use the literate knowledge that didn't conform exclusively to the way these male authors thought they should.

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### **Social Representations About School Created By Students: Possibilities For Understanding The Educational Institution From The 20th To The 21st Century**

Patrícia Aparecida do Amparo (Faculdade de Educação da USP)

This paper aims to discuss social representations about school created by students from social groups traditionally excluded from the educational process have built on school knowledge in the transition from the 20th to the 21st century. For this, a set of 10 oral testimonies, produced through interviews, with high school students and former students who attended the school in the 1970s, 1990s and 2010 was taken as a source, exploring especially how they relate to student's knowledge associated with the Portuguese language discipline, in general, and literature. It is important to highlight that

secondary education underwent important expansion processes in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, expanding the number of students served within it. It is understood that the new social history of education can benefit from understanding the ways in which students, often the first of their families to complete extended schooling, have produced meaning for education. Along with Verena Alberti (2005), it is considered that the interviews are important sources for the understanding of the subjects' narratives or versions about a theme and, thus, offer the possibility of constructing investigations in a socio-historical perspective (NÓVOA, 1991). Through this source, it is possible to highlight the problems inherent in the links between society and school through the view of social groups barely visible in the history of education. Thus, still from the point of view of the theoretical-methodological basis of the investigation, we spoke with authors such as Roger Chartier (1991), Dominique Julia (2001) and Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho (2014) to build a fertile point of view for the investigation of student representations about schooling. In this way, the research results indicate that students have experienced teaching practices that support a school culture with which they can hardly identify. Their cultural references, especially literary ones, are not linked to schooled forms of language organization. Students turn to a set of small conflicts that occur in their daily lives for this, questioning school knowledge and practices that involve school culture. There is a clash between the educational ideal that has been built since the beginning of the republican period in Brazil, which began in 1889, and the expectations of formation and social insertion intended by the school. Thus, the voices that emerge from the margins of society and the school offer different possibilities for research in the history of education when problematizing the school form and its culture.

#### **Representações De Estudantes Acerca Da Escola: Possibilidades De Compreensão Da Instituição Educativa Na Passagem Do Século XX Para O XXI**

Esta comunicação de pesquisa tem como objetivo discutir as representações que estudantes oriundos de grupos sociais tradicionalmente excluídos do processo educativo têm construído acerca do saber escolar na passagem do século XX para o XXI. Para tanto, toma-se como fonte um conjunto de 10 depoimentos orais, produzidos por meio de entrevistas, com estudantes e ex-estudantes do ensino médio que frequentaram a escola nos anos 1970, 1990 e 2010, explorando especialmente como eles se relacionam com os saberes associados à disciplina Língua Portuguesa, de modo geral, e à literatura, de modo particular. É importante destacar que o ensino médio passou por importantes processos de expansão na segunda metade do século XX e início do século XXI, ampliando os alunos atendidos em seu interior. Entende-se que a nova história social da educação pode se beneficiar da compreensão das maneiras pelas quais estudantes, muitas vezes os primeiros de suas famílias a completarem a escolarização prolongada, têm produzido sentidos para a educação. Considera-se, ao lado de Verena Alberti (2005), que as entrevistas são fontes importantes para o entendimento das narrativas ou versões dos sujeitos acerca de um tema e, assim, oferecem a possibilidade de construção de investigações em perspectiva sócio-histórica (NÓVOA, 1991). Por meio desta fonte, pode-se colocar em evidência os problemas próprios dos elos entre sociedade e escola pela visão de grupos sociais pouco visíveis na história da educação. Assim, ainda do ponto de vista da fundamentação teórico-metodológica da investigação, dialogamos com autores como Roger Chartier (1991), Dominique Julia (2001) e Luciano Mendes de Faria Filho (2014) de modo a construir um ponto de vista fértil para a investigação das representações de estudantes acerca da escolarização. Desse modo, os resultados da pesquisa indicam que os estudantes têm vivenciado práticas de ensino que sustentam uma cultura escolar com a qual pouco conseguem se identificar. Suas referências culturais, especialmente as literárias, não se ligam às formas escolarizadas de organização da linguagem. Os estudantes recorrem a um conjunto de pequenos conflitos ocorridos no cotidiano para isso, problematizando os saberes escolares e as práticas que envolvem a cultura escolar. Ocorre um choque entre o ideal educativo que

se tem construído desde o início do período republicano no Brasil, iniciado em 1889, e as expectativas de formação e de inserção social pretendidos pela escola. Assim, as vozes que emergem das margens da sociedade e da escola oferecem diferentes possibilidades de investigação em história da educação ao problematizarem a forma escolar e sua cultura.

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### **100 Years Of Paulo Freire: Education, History And Memory**

Maria Zeneide Carneiro M. DE Almeida (Pontifícia Universidade Católica Goiás), Lizandro Poletto (Pontifícia Universidade Católica Goiás), Betânia Oliveira Laterza Ribeiro (Universidade Federal de Uberlândia), Cesar Evangelista Fernandes Bressanin (Universidade Federal do Tocantins; Pontifícia Universidade Católica Goiás), Mercedes Blanchard Giménez (Universidad Autonoma de Madrid), José Maria Baldino (Pontifícia Universidade Católica Goiás)

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire, known only as Paulo Freire, was born in Recife, capital of Pernambuco on September 19, 1921 and died in the city of São Paulo, on May 2, 1997. In 2021 we celebrated 100 years of his birth. He had a life dedicated to the cause of education. He was an exemplary human being, a man beyond his time. He thought about education not only in Brazil, but on the five continents. His books are translated into more than 20 languages. Paulo Freire was appointed by President Dilma Vana Rousseff on April 13, 2012 with Law 12.612 / 2012 as the Patron of Brazilian Education, being recognized as one of the most notable scholars of Pedagogy in the world. He held public positions, such as secretary of education for the city of São Paulo, was a professor and an extraordinary writer. His story is one of struggle for everyone to have a quality education. His thinking has always been to educate to transform. He had the banner of universalizing Basic Education and EJA (Youth and Adult Education) as a way of liberation from the oppression of the powerful. Literacy, the eradication of illiteracy was and remains a form of defense against oppressors who oppress those excluded from our society. In all of his books Paulo Freire defends a liberating education, an education that frees from the oppression of savage capitalism and the greed and exploitation of the powerful. Transformative education, defended by Freire, is not yet a reality in our country, much less in other continents. As we remember Paulo Freire and celebrate 100 years since his birth, we remember the importance of education in our lives. Based on a bio-bibliographic research, this work proposes to present fragments of the educator's life and trajectory, his writings, his thought and his legacy which, in summary, is a constant invitation for the transformation of the society in which we live, for the construction of a world better, more just and humane, through a quality, autonomous and liberating education, which will provide a free and conscious society.

## **100 Anos De Paulo Freire: Educação, História E Memória**

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire, conhecido apenas como Paulo Freire, nasceu em Recife, capital de Pernambuco no dia 19 de setembro de 1921 e faleceu na cidade de São Paulo, no dia 2 de maio de 1997. Em 2021 celebramos 100 anos de seu nascimento. Teve uma vida dedicada a uma causa da educação. Foi um ser humano exemplar, um homem além do seu tempo. Pensou a educação não apenas no âmbito do Brasil, mas dos cinco continentes. Seus livros estão traduzidos em mais de 20 línguas. Paulo Freire foi nomeado pela Presidenta Dilma Vana Rousseff no dia 13 de abril de 2012 com a Lei 12.612 / 2012 o Patrono da Educação Brasileira, sendo reconhecido como um dos estudiosos mais notáveis da Pedagogia no mundo. Ocupou cargos públicos, como o secretário de educação da cidade de São Paulo, foi professor e um extraordinário escritor. Sua história é de luta para que todos tenham uma educação de qualidade. Seu pensamento sempre foi educar para transformar. Ele tinha a bandeira da universalização da Educação Básica e a EJA (Educação de Jovens e Adultos) como forma de libertação da opressão dos poderosos. A alfabetização, a erradicação do analfabetismo era e continua sendo uma forma de defesa contra os opressores que oprimem os excluídos da nossa sociedade. Em todos seus livros Paulo Freire defende uma educação libertadora, uma educação que liberta da opressão do capitalismo selvagem e da ganância e exploração dos poderosos. A Educação transformadora, defendida por Freire, ainda não é uma realidade em nosso país e muito menos nos outros continentes. Ao fazermos memória de Paulo Freire e celebrarmos 100 anos de seu nascimento recordamos a importância da educação em nossa vida. A partir de uma pesquisa biobibliográfica, este trabalho se propõe a apresentar fragmentos da vida e trajetória do educador, seus escritos, seu pensamento e seu legado que, sumariamente, é um convite constante pela transformação da sociedade em que vivemos, pela construção de um mundo melhor, mais justo e humano, por meio de uma educação de qualidade, autônoma e libertadora, que propiciará uma sociedade livre e consciente.

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#### **04-SES 12: THE VISUAL, THE MATERIAL, AND THE PLACE**

Panel Session (Portuguese, English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Inês Félix (Umeå university)

#### **SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE 1980s: SECOND LEVEL EDUCATION INTERSCHOOL CENTER DOCTOR JOÃO BACELAR PORTELA**

Nadjelena Araújo Souza (IFMA)

The Second Level Education Interschool Center Doctor João Bacelar Portela (CIEJBP), located in the capital of Maranhão, was inaugurated in the beginning of the 1980s, and that school project had its roots in the 1970s, when Brazilian Educational Laws and Guidelines (LDBEN), number 5.692/71, was passed, which was reformulated the former elementary and secondary levels into middle and high schools, whose goal was to develop student's potentialities for their self-realization, work and exercise of citizenship.

The approval of the legal device has generated the need of restructuring of public and private network and obliged public authorities to guarantee and widen the supply of places in the primary and secondary school teaching, so that it could assist the destitute population, historically, from the early and final grades.

On that context of human resources vocational to the labour market, the implementation of high school demanded on school adequacy to the vocational education pattern, what caused sticking points in its organization for the high cost of equipment by the burden of creation and readjustment of physical spaces for workshops and for the lack of graduated teachers for vocational school subjects from the classroom studies.

On this context, the construction of the referred institution building followed the standards of a functional architecture of a low cost with straight line and flat shape, absence of decoration and organized in blocks with a view of each space could carry out certain function.

Being typical of implemented educational policy in Brazil in the 1970s, characterized by the educational expansion attempt without the increased financial resources, in order to not compromise the economic policy adopted, the decision of constructing school in steel structures with standardized physical installations was defined by the local government as necessary to replace traditional techniques of school buildings with high costs. In this vein, it was adopted a simpler structure which reflected the minimum investment of capital for the maximum yield, which benefited Brazilian steel industry.

This work aims to understand the concreteness of the interschool center Doctor João Bacelar Portela, concerning to its architecture for considering it a historic object and a rich source for the understanding of school practices. A temporal cut has as a landmark the year of 1971, and as a final reference, the year of 1983, with removal of the referred center and its transformation into technical school.

Research sources used were officials, emerged from the state and federal government, school floor plans and documents.

Concepts used in this text are taken roots in authors as Magalhães (2004), Frago and Escolado (2001), Foulcault (2014). It is concluded that the building material arrangement expressed and reflected particular speeches, transmitted contents, incentives and values, imposing a discipline of how to use the areas, as well as movements and gestures.

Keywords: school architecture, educational institutions, vocational education.

### **Arquitetura Escolar para o Ensino Profissional na Década de 1980: O Centro Interescolar Dr João Bacelar Portela**

O Centro Interescolar de Segundo Grau Dr. João Bacelar Portela (CIEJBP), situado na capital do estado do Maranhão foi inaugurado no início da década de 1980 e o projeto de escola teve suas raízes na década de 1970 quando houve a aprovação da Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (LDBEN) nº 5.692/71, a qual reformulou os antigos ensinos primário e secundário em ensino de primeiro e segundo graus, cujo o objetivo era de desenvolver as potencialidades dos educandos para autorrealização, para o trabalho e para o exercício da cidadania.

A aprovação do dispositivo legal gerou a necessidade de reestruturação da rede pública e privada e trouxe a obrigação dos poderes públicos em garantir e ampliar as vagas no ensino de primeiro e segundo graus, de modo que atendesse à população excluída historicamente das séries iniciais e das séries finais.

Naquele contexto de formação de recursos humanos para o mercado de trabalho, a implantação do ensino de segundo grau demandava a adequação das escolas ao modelo de ensino profissionalizante, o que gerava pontos de estrangulamento na sua organização pelo alto custo dos equipamentos, pelo ônus da criação e readaptação de espaços físicos para oficinas e pela carência de professores com formação para as disciplinas profissionalizantes do currículo.

Nesse contexto, a construção do prédio da referida instituição seguiu os parâmetros de uma arquitetura funcional de baixo custo com formas retilíneas, planas, ausência de decoração e organizado por blocos com o intuito de que cada espaço desempenhasse determinada função.

Típica da política educacional implantada no país na década de 1970, caracterizada pela tentativa de expansão do ensino sem o aumento dos recursos financeiros, a fim de não comprometer a política econômica adotada, a decisão de construir escolas em estruturas metálicas com instalações físicas padronizadas foi defendida pelo governo como necessária para substituir as técnicas tradicionais de construções escolares que geravam altos custos. Nesse sentido, adotou-se uma estrutura mais simples que refletia o mínimo de investimento de capital para o máximo rendimento, o qual beneficiou o ramo da indústria siderúrgica brasileira

Neste trabalho objetiva-se compreender a materialidade do Centro Interescolar Dr. João Bacelar Portela no que diz respeito à sua arquitetura escolar por considerá-la objeto histórico e rica fonte para o entendimento das práticas escolares. O recorte temporal tem como marco inicial o ano de 1971 e como referência final o ano de 1983, com a extinção do referido centro e a sua transformação em escola técnica. As fontes de pesquisa utilizadas foram as oficiais emanadas do governo federal e estadual, as plantas escolares e os documentos escolares. Os conceitos utilizados neste texto estão ancorados em autores como Magalhães (2004), Frago e Escolano (2001), Foulcault (2014). Conclui-se que o arranjo material do prédio expressava e refletia determinados discursos, transmitia conteúdos, estímulos e valores impondo uma disciplinarização do uso dos espaços, assim como dos movimentos e dos gestos.

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### **When The Objects Speak: A Study On The History Of Education In The City Of Guarulhos, Brazil (1970 - ...)**

Renata Marcílio Cândido (Universidade Federal de São Paulo, UNIFESP), Pedro Henrique Gonçalves Amorim (Universidade Federal de São Paulo, UNIFESP; Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo, FAPESP), Stefane Lino de Freitas (Universidade Federal de São Paulo, UNIFESP)

The abstract presents two investigations of Scientific Initiation linked to the thematic project “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810 - ...)”, financed by FAPESP (process no.: 2018/26699-4) - Axis 4: “Materiais didáticos para ensino público e formação de professores” and entitled: “Saberes e práticas em perspectiva histórica: um estudo das escolas públicas de Guarulhos (1970 - ...)”, Financed by FAPESP (process no.: 2020/06040-8) and “Saberes e práticas em perspectiva histórica: um estudo da profissão e carreira docente no município de Guarulhos (1970 - dias atuais), under analysis by FAPESP (process no.: 2020/10606-7). The research has as its starting point the 1970s and the final point present day. In the scope of research, the concepts of school culture (Julia, 2001) and school forms (Vicent et al., 1991) are mobilized as key concepts for understanding public schools in Guarulhos and the teachers’ work. In addition to these, the formulation “school material culture” in the conception of Paulilo (2019) allows us to deepen the analysis of school culture and form, enabling a new way of making the history of education. The relations between “school material culture” and teacher’s work and the teaching identity were woven from the contributions of Lawn and Grosvenor (2001). The concept of identity is understood based on Lawn (2001), for whom the teacher's identity is fixed and managed by the speech given by the State and the result of a process of struggles and conflicts (Nóvoa, 1992), in which official prescriptions mix with the way each one feels and says he/she is a teacher. For document analysis Chartier (1992) helps us to understand the document in its broad sense, encompassing textbooks and teacher’s handbook, curricular texts, school’s programs, education regulation, etc. The public schools in Guarulhos are our focuses geographical, with emphasis on the institutions: “Escola Estadual Capistrano de Abreu” and “Escola Estadual Conselheiro Crispiniano” (the oldest school group - a form of primary school organization - and high school in the city), in order to gather evidence and traces about the history and memories of these institutions. It is intended to investigate the main historical milestones of these institutions, with privilege for the questions surrounding the organization of the contents to be taught and the role of textbooks, teaching methods, configuration of school time and space, discipline, schools' relationship, evaluation and working conditions through documentary analysis. Both studies use the approach of qualitative research in education (Bogdan and Biklen, 1994). The information about documents and

histories of the teaching profession collected in schools and among the professionals who worked in them will be organized into analytical categories by which the data collected will be explored. The construction of these will be based on the bibliographic foundation mobilized in the research. As preliminary results, we highlight the consolidation of the theoretical framework and the study of the researched schools, with emphasis on the history of the institutions, in particular, and their relations with the organization of the local and national education systems.

### **Quando Os Objetos Falam: Um Estudo Sobre A História Da Educação No Município De Guarulhos-SP (1970 - ...)**

A comunicação de pesquisa pretende apresentar duas investigações em nível de Iniciação Científica vinculadas ao projeto temático “Saberes e práticas em fronteiras: por uma história transnacional da educação (1810 - ...)”, financiado pela FAPESP (processo no.: 2018/26699-4) - Eixo 4: “Materiais didáticos para ensino público e formação de professores” e intituladas: “Saberes e práticas em perspectiva histórica: um estudo das escolas públicas de Guarulhos (1970 - ...)”, financiada pela FAPESP (processo no.: 2020/06040-8) e “Saberes e práticas em perspectiva histórica: um estudo da profissão e carreira docente no município de Guarulhos (1970 - dias atuais), em processo de análise pela FAPESP (processo no.: 2020/10606-7). As pesquisas possuem como marco inicial a década de 1970 e marco final os dias atuais. No âmbito das pesquisas os conceitos de cultura (Julia, 2001) e forma escolares (Vicent et al., 1991) são mobilizados como conceitos chave para a compreensão das escolas públicas de Guarulhos e da profissão docente. Além desses, a formulação “cultura material escolar” na concepção de Paulilo (2019) nos permite um aprofundamento das análises sobre a cultura e a forma escolares, possibilitando uma nova maneira de fazer a história da educação. As relações entre a cultura material escolar e o trabalho e a identidade docente puderam ser tecidas a partir das contribuições de Lawn e Grosvenor (2001). O conceito de identidade é compreendido com base em Lawn (2001), para quem a identidade do professor é fixada e gerida pelo discurso proferido pelo Estado e resultado de um processo de lutas e conflitos (Nóvoa, 1992), no qual prescrições oficiais mesclam-se com o modo como cada um se sente e se diz professor. Para a análise documental Chartier (1992) nos auxilia a compreender o documento na sua ampla acepção, abarcando os livros e manuais didáticos, textos curriculares, programas pedagógicos, legislação educacional etc. As escolas públicas de Guarulhos constituem o nosso recorte geográfico, com destaque para as instituições: “Escola Estadual Capistrano de Abreu” e “Escola Estadual Conselheiro Crispiniano” (o grupo escolar e o ginásio mais antigos do município), com o intuito de reunir indícios e vestígios acerca da história e das memórias dessas instituições. Pretende-se investigar os principais marcos históricos dessas instituições, com privilégio para as questões em torno da organização dos conteúdos a serem ensinados e o papel dos livros didáticos, métodos de ensino, configuração do tempo e do espaço escolares, disciplina, relação pedagógica, avaliação e condições de trabalho mediante a realização de análise documental. Ambas as pesquisas se valem da abordagem qualitativa (Bogdan e Biklen, 1994). As informações sobre os documentos e as histórias da profissão docente recolhidas nas escolas e entre os profissionais que nelas atuaram serão organizadas em categorias analíticas pelas quais os dados levantados serão escrutinados. A construção destas se baseará na fundamentação bibliográfica mobilizada na pesquisa. Como resultados preliminares destacamos a consolidação do quadro teórico de referência e o estudo sobre as escolas pesquisadas, com ênfase para a história das instituições, em específico, e das suas relações com a organização dos sistemas de ensino local e nacional.

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### **School Inspection and the emergence of Educational Media in the Swedish Elementary School, 1861-1930**

Jakob Evertsson (Uppsala University)

Across Europe, school inspections were an important instrument with which to implement new regulations, as well as to disseminate ideological influences to schools. The issuing of national curriculum texts, along with revised Elementary School Acts, saw the state further increase its influence over teaching methods. In the late nineteenth century, more specific guidelines were issued for how the classes should be taught in the different subjects. In spite of the inspections’ role in promoting educational reform, I am not advocating a one-dimensional process so that systems of mass education were simply set up and implemented “top-down”. Interaction and cooperation between inspector, teacher and parish was probably decisive for achieving any success. In Sweden, one specific element of the inspectors’ work was evaluation of all the educational media used in schools, and from the 1860s onwards considerable effort was made in the school inspection programme to build up a

material base for audio-visual education. School inspectors were required to visit all schools in their area to observe teachers and pupils in the classroom, test pupils and give teaching recommendations. They were also expected to interview the school board and parents about conditions at the school. Based on these observations, an extensive report was produced every fifth year. After the first wave of inspections, it was already possible to draw some conclusions regarding teaching materials. The first national meeting of school inspectors was held in Stockholm in 1862 to discuss the current situation in the country's schools, at which it was claimed that teaching materials were generally inadequate. Between 1872 and 1910, the number of pages of the Swedish guidelines given over to recommending teaching materials increased from one page to 24, indicating the increasing importance of general teaching technologies in school. A challenge was that teachers and school boards could sometimes have different opinions than the school inspector regarding the necessity to purchase and use new teaching material. Furthermore, the cost was often high and the teachers also have an awareness of how to use new methods with the aid of this educational media. Drawing on inspector reports and national and local statistics as well as teaching guidelines, this paper will examine the existence of and use of educational media in history, geography, geometry and natural sciences during the period 1861-1930. By doing so, I address a more specific setting that has thus been largely ignored hitherto, and thus aiming at contributing to new insights in the field of educational history. The research is part of a project funded by the Swedish research council 2020-2022 entitled "School inspection and the implementation of the elementary school in Sweden, 1861-1930."

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### **Changes In The Visual Contents Of Classroom Walls In Hungary During The Era Of Socialism**

Panna Berta-Szénási (University of Pécs)

Factors that determine the course and quality of education include, in large numbers, methods and different forms of structural systems that help the cooperation of students, teachers and parents. The biggest visual surfaces of school units are their walls, which, as diverse sources of information, form a bridge to the public through their own communities, while at the same time function as boundaries between the physical environment and the way intellectual content appears visually. The topic's scientific background draws from both the rhizome concept's education-related systems, as well as the possible answers of pedagogical anthropology, which we sum up by defining the human image and the views of the socialist ideology on the image of children. In addition to this, the documentation behind the second phase of the various waves of Hungarian school architecture, contributes to familiarizing ourselves with research areas that were passively overlooked in pedagogy, such as: the visual culture of classrooms, changes in the spatial structure of classrooms (ceiling height, window size), school hygiene, co-education etc.

In the last decade, many studies focused on analyzing the visual contents of classrooms and their impact on the cognitive development of children. This study helps the analysis of values that were left behind by those communities who participated in the educational culture of socialist pedagogy, and explores the analysis of the complexity of objects having multiple functions that appear on the walls of schools. According to the hypothesis, visual contents in Hungarian schools in the 1960s, suggest a pattern of democratization processes. To prove this, the present study uses image analysis on the database of the Hungarian educational press. In focus is the internal environment of primary school walls, which, first shows a grouping system of objects and visual aids, second helps describe the relationship between students and objects, and third, illustrates the formal exhibition of the teachers' own educational beliefs. As a smaller part of the study, this also allows for the compilation of a photo collection that showcases co curricular activities that relate to the concept of shadow education. This smaller unit is closely tied to creating visual and decorative contents in classrooms, hence making it possible to create new pedagogical criteria during the research.

The focus of the proposed lecture deals with the spatial and objectual apparatus of classrooms, however, it does not analyze them from a methodological point of view. By exploring the above-defined areas, it becomes possible to collect and analyze images that have not been examined before. The results can help characterize the changes that occur in the internal environments of schools, as well as a systemic study of these said changes, and then describing the unique features that define the general state of classroom equipment that was present in Hungary, between 1960 and 1970.

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## 05-SES 12: EDUCATION AND SCHOOL REFORMS IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Panel Session (Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

### **Cuba and the Global South. Transfer and self-sufficiency in large-scale education**

Dayana Murguía Méndez (Instituto de Historia de Cuba & Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The paper is a result of my current doctoral project on the affirmation and creation of identities in the "Internationalist Schools" on the Isle of Youth in Cuba (1977-2012). The Internationalist Schools were a massive, multicultural programme structured in official scholarships for complete education - from primary to tertiary education - for children, adolescents and young people from about 40 countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.

Also based on a unique boarding school regime of study and work known as the Secondary Basic Countryside School (Escuela Secundaria Básica en el Campo), the Internationalist Schools raise many questions in the field of educational transfers. The paper explains, why a country like Cuba took on the challenge of large-scale transnational education in its own territory; how responsibilities were shared between Cuba and the foreign parties, given that the programme was clearly Cuban; what profile the curricula fulfilled; and what spaces were critical in the conception of school design. Thus, examining the purposes and administration of the institution allows for an analysis of what occurs in the order of cultural transfers within the programme.

Finally, the approaches of the field of study of South-South cooperation answer the question of whether the Internationalist Schools on the Isle of Youth were implemented as a variant of colonization that aspired to exercise relations of domination over foreign counterparts, or whether on the contrary they were disinterested aid from Cuba to the global South that promoted its self-sufficiency.

### **Cuba y el Sur global. Transferencia y Autosuficiencias en una Educación a gran escala**

La ponencia es un resultado de mi actual proyecto de doctorado sobre afirmación y creación de identidades en las “Escuelas Internacionalistas” de la Isla de la Juventud en Cuba (1977-2012). Las Escuelas Internacionalistas fueron un programa de carácter masivo y multicultural estructurado en becas oficiales de formación completa –desde la enseñanza primaria a la terciaria-, para niños, adolescentes y jóvenes de alrededor de 40 países de África, Asia, Medio Oriente y América Latina.

Basadas en un singular régimen de internado de estudio y trabajo conocido como Escuela Secundaria Básica en el Campo, las Escuelas Internacionalistas plantean numerosas interrogantes al campo de las transferencias en educación. La ponencia explica por qué un país como Cuba asumió en su propio territorio el desafío de la educación transnacional a gran escala; cómo fueron compartidas las responsabilidades entre Cuba y las partes extranjeras, tratándose de un programa claramente cubano, qué perfil cumplieron los currículos, y ¿qué espacios fueron críticos en la concepción del diseño escolar. De este modo, el examen de los propósitos y administración de la institución permite analizar qué ocurre en el orden de las transferencias culturales dentro del programa.

Finalmente, los enfoques del campo de estudio de la cooperación Sur-Sur responden a la pregunta de si las Escuelas Internacionalistas de la Isla de la Juventud se implementaron como una variante de colonización que aspiraba a ejercer relaciones de dominación en las contrapartes extranjeras, o si por el contrario estas se trataron de una ayuda desinteresada de Cuba al Sur global que promovió sus autosuficiencias.

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### **New School Movement and the reform of rural primary education in Chile (1930s and 1940s)**

Camila Pérez Navarro (Universidad de O'Higgins)

Unlike other Latin American countries, we know little about the history of rural education in Chile. Considering the diversification of research perspectives and the intense intellectual production registered in recent years in Chile (Orellana, 2019; Silva, 2015), studying rural primary education's

history represents a significant challenge. This study contributes by exploring unpublished historical sources on the subject.

This paper analyzes the Escuela Nueva movement's influence in Chilean rural primary education reform during the 1930s. In this period, the significant transformations implemented in rural primary education are part of the educational reform process during the Carlos Ibáñez del Campo dictatorship (1927-1931) (Pérez Navarro, 2018; 2020). On the one hand, the Normal Education Law's promulgation in November 1929 determined normal rural schools' creation. On the other, the approval of Decree No. 3143, dated June 7, 1930, established special provisions for rural primary schools. The Decree established various innovations. First, it determined that rural schools would differ from urban schools based on their forms of work, programs, and organization in general. The Decree resolved that rural schools should teach the same curriculum as urban primary schools and a specialized program. This program included various activities such as agricultural work, animal husbandry, manual activities, hygiene, childcare, and home economics. Finally, the Decree established that teaching in rural schools would be objective, experimental, practical, and socialized. Rural schools are laboratories for experimentation and testing.

To show the implementation of this reform, we study the case of a public primary school located in the rural sector of El Perejil. In chronological terms, the research covers the 1930s and 1940s. Methodologically, we work with sources of various kinds: legal (mainly laws and decrees), newspaper and journal articles (Revista de Educación Rural, Revista Agrícola, Revista de Educación, and newspapers of the time), and historical documentation belonging to the old rural school.

Based on this documentary corpus, this work answers the following research question: what impacts did the reform of the early 1930s have on Chilean rural primary education? The sources analyzed not only confirm their influence on rural primary schools. Also, allow us to show the introduction of new knowledge and new practices in rural education.

### **El Movimiento de la Escuela Nueva y Reforma a la Educación Primaria Rural en Chile (décadas de 1930 y 1940)**

A diferencia de otros países latinoamericanos, poco sabemos sobre la historia de la educación rural en Chile. Considerando la diversificación de las perspectivas de investigación y la intensa producción intelectual registrada en los últimos años en este país (Orellana, 2019; Silva, 2015), estudiar la historia de la educación primaria rural representa un desafío importante. Este estudio contribuye explorando fuentes históricas inéditas sobre el tema, como es el archivo histórico de una antigua escuela primaria rural.

Este artículo analiza la influencia del movimiento Escuela Nueva en la reforma de la educación primaria rural en Chile durante la década de 1930. En este período, importantes transformaciones implementadas en la educación primaria rural fueron parte del proceso de reforma educativa durante la dictadura de Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1927-1931) (Pérez Navarro, 2018; 2020). Por un lado, la promulgación de la Ley de Educación Normal en noviembre de 1929 determinó la creación de escuelas rurales normales, en las cuales se formaría el profesorado que iría a desempeñarse en los campos. Por otro, la aprobación del Decreto No. 3143, de 7 de junio de 1930, estableció disposiciones especiales para las escuelas primarias rurales. El Decreto estableció varias innovaciones. Primero, determinó que las escuelas rurales se diferenciarían de las escuelas urbanas en función de sus formas de trabajo, programas y organización en general. El Decreto resolvió que las escuelas rurales deberían enseñar el mismo plan de estudios que las escuelas primarias urbanas y un programa especializado. Este programa incluyó diversas actividades como el trabajo agrícola, la ganadería, las actividades manuales, la higiene, el cuidado de los niños y la economía del hogar. Finalmente, el Decreto estableció que la

enseñanza en las escuelas rurales sería objetiva, experimental, práctica y socializada. En este sentido, las escuelas rurales eran consideradas como laboratorios de experimentación.

Para mostrar la implementación de esta reforma, se estudia el caso de una escuela primaria pública ubicada en el sector rural de El Perejil. En términos cronológicos, la investigación abarca las décadas de 1930 y 1940, período en que la maestra Emilia Riquelme Ahumada -en su rol de directora- realizó cambios en las prácticas pedagógicas. Metodológicamente, trabajamos con fuentes de diversa índole: legales (principalmente leyes y decretos), artículos de diarios y revistas (Revista de Educación Rural, Revista Agrícola, Revista de Educación y periódicos de la época), y documentación histórica perteneciente a la antigua escuela rural.

Con base en este corpus documental, este trabajo responde a la siguiente pregunta de investigación: ¿Qué impactos tuvo la reforma de principios de los años treinta en la educación primaria rural chilena? Las fuentes analizadas no solo confirman su influencia en las escuelas primarias rurales. Además, nos permitirá mostrar la introducción de nuevos conocimientos y nuevas prácticas en la educación rural.

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### **Argentine New School From Its Beginnings Until The 1960s. Development And Historiography: Perspectives And Interpretations Of Analysis.**

Ignacio Olano (FLACSO)

In this paper the New School will be approached as an object of study, contextualizing it in Argentina in the first half of the 20th century, including until the 1960s, with the intention of debating whether a complete understanding of the subject has been achieved through the lines of research who have worked it. Starting from the idea that the NE escapes unanimous definitions, its historical development will be analyzed through the authors who have investigated it to understand how it was deployed in history and what were the particular characteristics that it obtained in the country.

From the observation of its deployment, the historiographic concepts that have been made about the New School Argentine will be addressed to understand the vision of the researchers who were building on it, presenting the attempts of definition, characterization and categorization that were given by analyzing mainly the lines founded by Manuel H. Solari and Adriana Puiggrós, as well as the contributions of Sanda Carli, Silvina Gvirtz and Mariano Narodowski.

At the light of this analysis, we will seek to conclude with the presentation of a new line of research that is not very developed but that finds antecedents in the works of Sandra Carli, Héctor Rubén Cucuzza and Marcelo Caruso. Understanding that when researching and approaching the NSA always mainly weigh ideological and political definitions as ordering categories, neglecting the curricular

variable, understanding that this can be a great ordering agent for the analysis and understanding of these pedagogical proposals. Based on what was stated by Cucuzza that local Argentine experiences manifested as heterogeneous adaptations with varying degrees of eclecticism, the pedagogical proposals will be analyzed to be able to indicate which were the foreign ideas that influenced, their degree of adaptation and what were the characteristics of the environment that influenced or limited its implementation.

To do this, it is proposed to use the theory of the international circulation of ideas and reception to understand the transatlantic influences and the category of School Format of Flavia Terigi that will allow to differentiate the organizational model from the pedagogical model, understanding how the latter is influenced by the local school organization, how it limited the experiences in its implementation, what adaptations they made and what characteristics were their own. Under this line, an approximation to possible systematization variables is expected through the similarities, differences and particularities found in the different NSA proposals.

Responding to what Caruso (2016: 131) indicates “there is a slogan that unifies historians of education: more research is needed about the Escolanovist experiences and its social trajectory to be able to affirm if it has a port, if it reached it or if the ship has ever set sail”, an attempt will be made to provide a new perspective on this object of study: if it really was a pedagogical alternative that pushed for a radical educational reform or a myth of pedagogues, a fantasy of a better model than really help to shape the triumphant modern school.

#### **Escuela Nueva Argentina Desde Sus Inicios Hasta La Década Del '60. Desarrollo E Historiografía: Perspectivas E Interpretaciones De Análisis.**

En este trabajo se abordará a la Escuela Nueva como objeto de estudio contextualizándola en la Argentina de la primera mitad del siglo XX incluyendo hasta la década del '60 con la intención de debatir si se ha logrado una comprensión acabada del tema por las líneas de investigación que la han trabajado. Partiendo de la idea que la EN escapa definiciones unánimes se analizará su desarrollo histórico a través de los autores que la han investigado para comprender cómo se fue desplegando en la historia y cuáles fueron las características particulares que obtuvo en el país.

Desde la observación de su despliegue se abordará los propios conceptos historiográficos que se han realizado sobre la Escuela Nueva Argentina para comprender la visión de los investigadores que fueron construyendo sobre ella, presentando los intentos de definición, caracterización y categorización que se dieron en su historiografía, analizando principalmente las líneas fundadas por Manuel H. Solari y Adriana Puiggrós, así también los aportes de Sandra Carli, Silvina Gvirtz y Mariano Narodowski.

A luz de este análisis se buscará finalizar con la presentación de una nueva línea de investigación poco desarrollada pero que encuentra antecedentes en trabajos de Sandra Carli, Héctor Rubén Cucuzza y Marcelo Caruso. Entendiendo que al momento de investigar y abordar a la ENA siempre sopeso principalmente las definiciones ideológicas y políticas como categorías ordenadoras desatendiendo la variable curricular, entendiendo que esta puede ser una gran ordenadora para el análisis y comprensión de estas propuestas pedagógicas. A partir de lo planteado por Cucuzza que las experiencias locales argentinas se manifestaron como heterogéneas adaptaciones con diversos grados de eclecticismo, se analizará las propuestas pedagógicas para poder indicar cuáles fueron las ideas extranjeras que influyeron, su grado de adaptación y cuáles fueron las características del medio local que influyeron o limitaron su implementación.

Para ello, se propone utilizar la teoría de la circulación internacional de ideas y de la recepción para comprender las influencias transatlánticas y la categoría de Formato Escolar de Flavia Terigi que



permitirá diferenciar el modelo organizacional del modelo pedagógico, entendiendo como el último es influenciado por la organización escolar local, cómo limitó las experiencias en su implementación, qué adaptaciones realizaron y cuáles características fueron propias. Bajo esta línea se espera una aproximación a posibles variables de sistematización a través de las similitudes, diferencias y particularidades encontradas en las diferentes propuestas de la ENA.

Respondiendo a lo que indica Caruso (2016: 131) “hay una consigna que unifica a los historiadores de la educación: es necesaria una mayor investigación acerca de las experiencias escolanovistas y su trayectoria social para poder afirmar si tiene puerto, si lo alcanzó o si el barco se ha echado alguna vez a navegar”, se intentará aportar una nueva perspectiva sobre este objeto de estudio: si realmente fue una alternativa pedagógica que pujaba por una reforma educativa radical o un mito de los pedagogos, una fantasía de un modelo mejor que auxilio realmente a la conformación de la escuela moderna triunfante.

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**THURSDAY June 17      9:00 - 10:30**

**01-SES 13: CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY, EDUCATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE HISTORY OF NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES OF THE DANUBE MONARCHY**

Preformed Panel (English, German)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): András Németh (Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Education and Psychology), Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

**Concepts of Identity, Education of Ethnic Minorities in the History of Neighbouring Countries of the Danube Monarchy**

In recent decades, identity has become a fashionable word in the European Union. Its fundamental reason is that the cultural identity of regions and minorities and their educational and training rights played an important role in the process of European integration. On the one hand, the political events of 1989 shattered traditional concepts of identity, which questioned ideological, educational and geographical boundaries within European states and between Western countries and the former Eastern Bloc. On the other hand, economic globalization and environmental problems are leading to ever-increasing migration, i.e. a redefinition of the relationship between one's own and the foreign, crossing state borders. Identity also has a great relevance for recent educational research, as it is closely intertwined with debates on cultural self-understanding, self-perception and perception of others, nationalities, nationalism and the situation of minorities. At the same time, the different forms of identity, even in the course of the historical pedagogical investigation of the historical constitution of cultural spaces of meaning, are questionable and worthy of discussion, and the considerations of these ideas are brought into the foreground. Our symposium focuses on the concepts of identity, education and training of ethnic minorities in the history of the neighbouring countries of the Danube Monarchy. According to our thesis, the heritage of the monarchy is still unmistakable in collective identity and retrospective memory, in the results of education and training of minorities and in the culture of the successor states.

The symposium is therefore based on country-specific case studies, which, with the help of hermeneutical and empirical methods, analyses the pedagogical characteristics of identity, education and training concepts of the ethnic minorities of selected neighbouring countries (Austria/Italy, Hungary, Slovakia and Transylvania/Romania) of the Danube Monarchy.

The first paper "Comparative Historical Analysis of Minority Education in Hungary and Slovakia until 1945" analyses with the help of hermeneutic methods the Hungarian and Slovak school systems, educational structures, laws, regulations and textbooks from the perspective of minority identity in the first half of the 20th century.

The second paper entitled "Remembered oppression and resistance in the current collective narrative of German-speaking South Tyroleans" presents research on the retrospective remembering of fascist nationalisation and ideologisation measures in schools in the current collective narrative of the German-speaking population.

The third paper entitled "Similarities and differences in the identities of early career Hungarian teachers in Romania in the 1980s and 2010s" allows us to take a look at the world of the Hungarian teacher minority living in Romania, which is largely influenced by continuous changes, pauses, loss of objectives and new starts of the Romanian educational reforms. The speaker with qualitative interpretative research method, examines how Hungarian teachers live, create and interpret their own professional identity as early childhood primary and preschool teachers in two different periods - the last years of communism and 30 years after that.

The fourth paper entitled „The concept of research on the minority identity of Hungarian minority teachers in Slovakia,, gives on the one hand a historiography and typology with an analysis of the most important previous research on this topic of Hungarian minority identity. On the other hand, it presents a new research on the identity of Hungarian minority teachers in Slovakia.

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### **Comparative Historical Analysis of Minority Education in Hungary and Slovakia until 1945.**

Béla Pukánszky (Selye János University Komárno; University of Szeged)

The Hungarian education system was created and regulated by the state, directly and indirectly, during the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at the end of the 19th century, and it became the most important means of creating a Hungarian national consciousness. From the turn of the century, the State wanted to promote the idea of Hungarian nationalism by teaching the children of national minorities in Hungarian and educating them in the Hungarian national spirit. (Puttkamer 2003) Against this background the competing nationalities in dualistic Hungary began to develop their own national consciousness strongly even before the First World War. The integration of intellectuals and "ordinary people" into the national movement also meant a conscious and emotional identification with the nation and its political goals. After the First World War, the content of public school education played a key role in anchoring the national idea in the territory of the successor states and also in Hungary after the Trianon peace treaty, which divided the northern parts of Hungary populated by Hungarians into Slovakia. The new Republic of Czechoslovakia became a nation state in which ccca 45% of the citizens (German, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian), of which more than a million Hungarians, were in minority status. In the interwar period, Hungary reacted to this with a policy of revisionism, which drove it to the side of National Socialist Germany. In 1938, when Hungary was re-connected, some of the lost Hungarian-populated areas were returned to Hungary. (Bauer 1994), In the paper, different pedagogical components of this problem were analysed a) the structural and content differences in school education and teacher training in Czechoslovakia and Hungary in these periods (1868-1945) b) the role of Hungarian mother-tongue schools in the preservation and development of Hungarian identity in Slovakia c) the characteristics of the development of certain types of teacher training for

minority school teachers after 1918 in both countries. The methodological background of the research is hermeneutical and comparative analysis of school systems, educational structures, laws, regulations and textbooks.

### **Vergleichende historische Analyse von Minderheitsbildung in Ungarn und Slowakei bis 1945.**

Das ungarische Bildungssystem wurde in der Zeit der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts direkt und indirekt vom Staat geschaffen und reguliert, und es wurde zum wichtigsten Mittel zur Schaffung eines ungarischen Nationalbewusstseins. Seit der Jahrhundertwende wollte der Staat die Idee des ungarischen Nationalismus fördern, indem er die Kinder der nationalen Minderheiten auf Ungarisch unterrichtet und sie im ungarischen Nationalbewusstsein erzieht. (Puttkamer 2003) Vor diesem Hintergrund begannen die konkurrierenden Nationalitäten im dualistischen Ungarn schon vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg stark ihr eigenes Nationalbewusstsein zu entwickeln. Die Integration von Intellektuellen und "einfachen Leuten" in die nationale Bewegung bedeutete auch eine bewusste und emotionale Identifikation mit der Nation und ihren politischen Zielen. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg spielten die Inhalte der öffentlichen Schulbildung eine wichtige Rolle bei der Verankerung des Nationalgedankens auf dem Gebiet der Nachfolgestaaten und auch in Ungarn nach dem Friedensvertrag von Trianon, der die von Ungarn besiedelten nördlichen Teile Ungarns in die Slowakei teilte. Die neue Republik Tschechoslowakei wurde zu einem Nationalstaat, in dem circa 45% der Bürger (Deutsche, Ungarn, Polen, Ukrainer), davon mehr als eine Million Ungarn, in der Minderheit waren. In der Zwischenkriegszeit reagierte Ungarn darauf mit einer Politik des Revisionismus, die es auf die Seite des nationalsozialistischen Deutschlands trieb. Im Jahr 1938, als Ungarn wieder angeschlossen wurde, wurden einige der verlorenen ungarisch besiedelten Gebiete an Ungarn zurückgegeben. (Bauer 1994), In dem Aufsatz wurden verschiedene pädagogische Komponenten dieses Problems analysiert: a) die strukturellen und inhaltlichen Unterschiede in der Schulbildung und Lehrerausbildung in der Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn in diesen Perioden (1868-1945) b) die Rolle der ungarischen Muttersprachenschulen bei der Bewahrung und Entwicklung der ungarischen Identität in der Slowakei c) die Charakteristika der Entwicklung bestimmter Arten der Lehrerausbildung für Minderheitenschullehrer nach 1918 in beiden Ländern. Methodischer Hintergrund der Forschung ist die hermeneutische und vergleichende Analyse von Schulsystemen, Bildungsstrukturen, Gesetzen, Verordnungen und Schulbüchern.

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### **Remembered Oppression and Resistance in the Current Collective Narrative of German-Speaking South Tyroleans**

Annemarie Augschöll Blasbichler (Free University of Bozen-Bolzano), Ulrich Leitner (University of Innsbruck)

In the course of the peace negotiations of Saint Germain (1919) the former crown land of Tyrol (Habsburg monarchy) is divided. The area south of the strategically important Brenner Pass, the Italian-speaking Trentino and the German-speaking South Tyrol, were annexed to Italy. In the nationalistic spirit of the time, fascism in particular writes itself on its flag to Italianize the new German-speaking and other minorities in the state. Extensive measures covered all areas of people's lives and were carried out with the means of the totalitarian state. The fascists directed a special focus on school and extracurricular education.

The lecture presents a research on the retrospective memory of school measures of nationalization and ideologization by the fascists in the current collective narrative of the German-speaking population. The "steering" of collective memory in favour of a hero myth and the individual memories, which are partly incompatible with it, are not only difficult for the last contemporary witnesses to integrate into their identity affiliation, but become action-leading over generations, e.g. in implicit attitudes towards school.

### **Erinnerte Unterdrückung und Widerstand in der aktuellen kollektiven Narration der deutschsprachigen Südtiroler**

Im Zuge der Friedensverhandlungen von Saint Germain wird das ehemalige Kronland Tirol (Habsburgermonarchie) aufgeteilt. Das Gebiet südlich des strategisch wichtigen Brennerpasses, das italienischsprachige Trentino und das deutschsprachige Südtirol, werden zu Italien geschlagen. Im nationalistischen Zeitgeist zielt in den folgenden Jahrzehnten der Faschismus auf eine radikale Italianisierung der neuen Minderheiten im Staat. Umfangreiche Maßnahmen umfassten alle Bereiche des Lebens der Menschen und wurden mit den Mitteln des totalitären Staates durchgezogen. Einen besonderen Fokus richteten die Faschisten dabei auf die schulische und außerschulische Bildung.

Der Vortrag präsentiert eine Forschung über zur retrospektiven Erinnerung schulischer Nationalisierungs- und Ideologisierungsmaßnahmen der Faschisten im aktuellen kollektiven Narrativ der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung. Die „Steuerung“ der kollektiven Erinnerung zugunsten eines Heldenmythos und die zum Teil damit nicht kompatiblen individuellen Erinnerungen sind nicht nur für die letzten Zeitzeugen in ihrer identitären Zugehörigkeit schwer einzuordnen, sondern werden über Generationen handlungsleitend z.B. in impliziten Einstellungen zu Schule.

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### **Similarities and Differences in the Identities of Early Career Hungarian Teachers in Romania in the 1980s and 2010s**

Andrea Bordás (Partium Christian University, Oradea)

The educational systems nested in social, historical, cultural contexts and the organizational structures have a combined effect on teachers' identity and thinking. This research allows us to look inside the indigenous minority Hungarian teachers' world living in Romania, which is largely influenced by continuous changes, pauses, losing of goals, reboots of Romanian educational reforms. We study how Hungarian teachers live, create and interpret their own professional identities as early career primary and preschool teachers in two different periods: the last years of communism and 30 years after that.

After closing the traditional teacher training institutions in Transylvania and restructuring it in the spirit of the Educational Act from 1978, at the end of 1980s only two vocational high schools (*école normale*) were allowed to have Hungarian classes. This process caused a huge teacher-deficit in all Hungarian schools in Transylvania. In the last 30 years major changes occurred in Romanian teacher training in institutional and content-related variables which can be interpreted as signs of adjustment to European Union requirements: the heightening of the level of teacher training to higher education (although teacher training institutions still exists at ISCED 3 level), the diversification of the system and content of further trainings, the development of an entire system for ensuring quality and accreditation. At the same time considering Romanian training requirements there are nowadays multiple possibilities for Hungarian preschool and primary school teacher training.

We applied a qualitative interpretative research method that is based on the social construction of reality, which emphasizes subjective meaning constructions. We analysed 20 semi-structured interviews conducted with Hungarian primary and preschool teachers: ten of them being early career teachers in the 1980s, and ten of them in 2010s. In the making of teachers' professional identity, three dimensions occur in both groups. 1. Although the elements of the career dimension (qualification, promotion exams and special professional roles) are the most visible and eligible socially, their role in shaping identity is expressed only via their actuality, these seem to be more important for 2010s early career teachers, and less important for the others because of the distance in time of the mentioned events. 2. Professional development dimension seems to be the most important dimension.

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## **The Concept of Research on the Minority Identity of Hungarian Minority Teachers in Slovakia**

Zsuzsanna Huszar (University of Pécs)

Following the First World War, with the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the abolition of the new state borders created by the Trianon Treaty, the subject of Hungarian nationality and minority research has radically changed (Gazsó 2015). From this point of view, the two objectives of the presentation follow. On the one hand, there is a historiography and typology with an analysis of the most important previous research on the subject. On the other hand, it presents a new research on the identity of Hungarian minority teachers in Slovakia.

Although there are institutions and forums for minority research also in Slovakia and Hungary, the personal and professional identity of minority teachers has not been the focus of research interest in the past. Current Hungarian publications (Bindorffer 2000, 2007, Dancs 2016, Egrý 2017, Kovács, Szarka 2003, Varga 2018) focus on national identity, language use, assimilation and historical changes in minority identity. In this close international cooperation, we are conducting pioneering research on the minority teacher's identity and on the determinants of professional attitudes of Hungarian-speaking teachers in Slovakia. The Minority Teacher Identity Questionnaire is a self-developed survey tool. It consists of 48 questions in seven thematic blocks. The questionnaire consists of closed questions with Likert scales, Bogardus scales and time scales.

Ethnicity is a complex phenomenon, not unchanging, and the different components of it gain a different importance in an individual's self-definition and classification by others. Wendy Roth discusses the different bases of ethnic classification with the need for synthesis (Roth 2016) and highlights the importance of the aspects that determine the classification of individuals and groups from the point of view of social inequalities. Ethnic identity can manifest itself in ethnic self-definition. This is greatly enriched by the strength of ethnic identity, experiences, motivations and feelings of belonging to an ethnic group. As a result of Phinney, Jacoby, and Silva (2007), distinctive types of identities also develop along the dimensions of the explorativity and the commitment. Expressing the need for "ethnocultural continuity" as well as its individual, family or community focus is also an identity-building element for individuals and groups (Szabó, Nguyen, al 2012). The relationship of ethnic identity to acculturation is complex and difficult to study because both areas of research have been defined and measured using different, often overlapping indicators (Phinney 2003). Berry's acculturation model (Berry 1980) distinguishes four types of acculturation based on how the individual relates to his or her origin group and majority society.

Mature intercultural thinking is more likely to be true in the case of an agreed ethnic identity, and in the case of a well-established identity, the attitudes between the groups are more positive and accepting among the young people studied (Phinney, Jacoby, Silva, 2007). Aspects of intercultural communication highlight the productive effects of cultural relations and the interdependence of these effects within a region. Taking these aspects into account can facilitate the exploration of values in national cultures and the interaction between cultures (Alabán 2019).

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## 02-SES 13: SCHOOL COMPUTERS AND DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Michael Geiss (University of Zurich)

### **Educational Imaginaries: A Genealogy of the Digital Citizen**

Lina Rahm (Linköping University)

This study makes use of a genealogical approach to map out and explain how and why computers and citizenship have become so closely connected. It examines the historical continuities and disruptions, and the role that popular education has played in this interrelation. Drawing on previous research in the overlap between Swedish popular education history and historical computer politics, this study adds knowledge about how imaginaries of popular education, operating as silver bullet solutions to problems with computerization, have had important functions as governing tools for at least 70 years. That is, Swedish popular education has since the 1950s been imagined as a central solution to problems with computerization, but also to realize the societal potentials associated with computers.

By historicizing and analyzing the relationships between computer politics, citizenship and popular education politics, this study has shown that citizens and computers are now more entangled than ever before, but also that computer technology has, since at least the 1950s, had a significant impact on citizenship. This relation has shifted from managing the unwanted side-effects of computerization to imaginaries of total digital inclusion. Regardless of whether the sociotechnical imaginaries are colored by hope or fear—popular education is repeatedly imagined as one of the central solutions to realize the hopes and steer clear of the threats of computers. The targets for popular educational efforts, such as social programmes, information campaigns and mass education, have often been the whole body of citizenry—although certain risk groups have also been seen as particularly important to adjust. These risk groups have been historically contingent, but often had in common that they are construed as already marginalized or problematic in some sense.

Specifically, this study makes two contributions: 1) Empirically, the study unearths archived, and in many ways forgotten, discourses around the historical enactment of the digital citizen, and the role of popular education, questioning assumptions that are taken for granted in current times; 2) Theoretically, the study proposes a conceptual model of educational imaginaries, and specifically introduces the notion (and method) of 'problematizations' into these imaginaries.

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### **Computers and Educational Hierarchies: Social History of Introducing Computer Education in Municipal Schools**

Kalyan Shankar V (Symbiosis School of Economics, Pune), Krishna Kanta Roy (Symbiosis School of Economics, Pune)

Computers were officially introduced in select schools in India in the early 1980s. The core objective was to demystify computers and incorporate them into the classroom teaching-learning processes. That introduction of computers in schools was expected to have a liberalising effect among students and teachers (NCERT, 1984). However, a host of questions remain unanswered. What schools received them and how was the choice made? What were the trajectories of these computers? What curriculum was woven around them? More introspectively, what did the government expect from schools in the form of computer education?

As per the Unified District Information System for Education (UDISE) government data (2015-16), computers infrastructure in schools was still limited. Only one-fourth of the schools in the country had computer machines (NEUPA, 2016). This statistic runs contrary to the success story of software industry in India in last three decades. At this juncture, a larger question comes to the fore: what was the curriculum and pedagogy for computer education in Indian schools corresponding to the time frame when the software industry emerged and established itself in the Indian employment markets?

In this paper, we delve into the incorporation of computers into the formal delivery systems in India. More specifically, we seek to trace the infrastructure, curriculum and pedagogical aspect of computers in government schools in the city of Pune (India), one of the emerging software hubs in the country. Municipal schools come under the jurisdictions of Municipal Corporation of Pune and cater to socially underprivileged in the city. These schools are therefore at the lower rungs of educational hierarchies, resembling the low social status of its participants. In such schools, the role of the state becomes pre-eminent. When did the local government either at the level of the state or the city decide upon introducing computer machines in schools in the city? What were the policy directives in this regard? Going further, how were these directive operationalised? By answering these questions, we seek to understand the perceptions of the state regarding the education of the marginalized- as seen through the lens of computer education in this case.

Methodologically, we draw upon two key sources in this paper. Firstly, we rely on interviews with key government officials from the Education department of the Pune Municipal Corporation. Secondly, we draw upon extensive fieldwork and discussions with Municipal school officials, where computers got installed. Collectively, we seek to understand some of the underlying reasons for the lack of integration of computer education in schools, especially Municipal ones.

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### **Modernization, International Influences and the Arrival of Computers in Schools in Spain (1970-1990)**

Cristian Machado-Trujillo (Universidad de La Laguna), Jonatan Medina-Santana (Universidad de La Laguna)

From the middle of the last century, and especially from the 1960s onwards, different discourses pointed to the importance of the modernization of education systems and the use of mass media as a fundamental driving force for economic development. The influence of the work of Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1964) among others, as well as the recommendations of organizations such as UNESCO, the OECD, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), urged countries to modernize their educational systems, especially through new technological media such as television, teaching machines and the first computers. These tools were postulated as the ideal ones to maximise these claims of improving quality and efficiency in the modernization of education and could be of significant support in the democratization and extension of schooling. All this, together with other factors, resulted in a synergy towards technologization and modernization during the Cold War that D. Tröhler (2018) called «technocratic momentum».

Specifically, Spain made various agreements with organizations such as the OECD, the IMF, the WB, UNESCO and various US agencies in order to obtain funding and advice on educational issues. These foreign funds were largely responsible for the creation and maintenance of the National Research Centre for the Development of Education (CENIDE, created in 1969) and the Institutes of Education Sciences (ICES). From the beginning of the 1970s, the network created by these centres developed multiple courses, seminars and conferences with the aim of training teachers in the new media and techniques, all of which were taught, to a large extent, by experts brought in from abroad. This fact, added to the general reform of the system that was being tackled through the Ley General de

Educación (1970), led to Spain being chosen by UNESCO as the ideal context for developing the experimental programme The Plan for the Use of Computers in the Education of Teachers (1972), with the intention of exporting it to other developing countries, although in the end it was not developed due to funding problems. On the other hand, innovations in the field of computers led to an exponential increase in the number of computers at the beginning of the 1980s, with a massive introduction in the country's schools. Specifically, in 1983, the Ministry of Education and Science's Ministerial Commission for Computing decided to create a working group to study the implications and possibilities of computers in the classroom, and they ended up developing the Atenea project (1985-1989). This was the first serious national initiative to introduce computers on a massive scale in the Spanish educational system, trying to replicate the strategy of other neighbouring countries that were proposing similar programmes. Although its results were quite controversial, it was a milestone in providing 1,004 compulsory education centres with a total of 8,013 computers, training some 12,500 computers (OECD, 1991).

### **Modernización, Influencias Internacionales y Llegada de Los Ordenadores a Las Escuelas en España (1970-1990)**

Desde mediados del siglo pasado, y especialmente a partir de los años sesenta, empezaron a desarrollarse diferentes discursos que apuntaban la importancia de la modernización de los sistemas educativos y del uso de los medios de comunicación de masas como motor fundamental para el desarrollo económico. La influencia de los trabajos de Daniel Lerner (1958) y Wilbur Schramm (1964) entre otros, así como las recomendaciones de organismos como la UNESCO, la OCDE, el Banco Mundial (BM) y el Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI), instaron a los países a modernizar sus sistemas educativos, especialmente a través de los nuevos medios tecnológicos como la Televisión, las máquinas de enseñar y los primeros ordenadores. Estas herramientas se postularon como las idóneas para maximizar esas pretensiones de mejora de la calidad y eficiencia en la modernización de la educación, pudiendo ser de gran ayuda para afrontar la democratización y extensión de la escolarización. Todo ello, sumado a otros factores, generaron una sinergia hacia la tecnologización y modernización durante la Guerra Fría que D. Tröhler (2018) denominó como «technocratic momentum».

En concreto, España realiza diferentes pactos con organismos como la OCDE, el FMI, el BM, la UNESCO y diferentes agencias de Estados Unidos en pos de obtener financiación y asesoramiento en materia educativa. Estos fondos que venían del exterior fueron los causantes, en buena medida, del surgimiento y sostenimiento del Centro Nacional de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo de la Educación (CENIDE, creado en 1969), y los Institutos de Ciencias de la Educación (ICEs). La red creada por estos centros desarrolló desde inicios de los 70 múltiples cursos, seminarios y jornadas con el ánimo de formar al profesorado en los nuevos medios y técnicas, impartidos todos ellos en buena medida por expertos traídos del extranjero. Este hecho, sumado a la reforma general del sistema que estaba abordando a través de la Ley General de Educación (1970) llevó a que España fuese elegida por la UNESCO como el contexto idóneo para desarrollar el programa experimental The Plan for the Use of Computers in the Education of Teachers (1972), con intención de exportarlo a otros países en desarrollo, aunque, finalmente, éste no llegó a desarrollarse por problemas en la financiación. Por otro lado, las innovaciones en el campo de la informática hicieron que el parque informático creciera exponencialmente a inicios de los años 80, aterrizando de forma masiva en las escuelas del país. En concreto, la Comisión Ministerial de Informática del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia decide en 1983 crear un grupo de trabajo para estudiar las implicaciones y posibilidades de los ordenadores en las aulas, y acaban desarrollando el proyecto Atenea (1985-1989). Esta fue la primera iniciativa estatal seria por introducir los ordenadores de forma masiva en el Sistema Educativo Español, tratando de

replicar la estrategia de otros países del entorno que estaban proponiendo programas afines. Aunque sus resultados fueron bastante discutidos, supuso el hito de dotar a 1.004 centros de enseñanza obligatoria un total de 8.013 ordenadores, formando a unos 12.500 ordenadores (OCDE, 1991).

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### 03-SES 13: TEXTBOOKS: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Panel Session (English, German)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Henrik Åström Elmersjö (Umeå University)

#### **The Image of Swedish Textbook Psychology 1960 – 2015 in Relation Social and Scientific Context**

Ebba Christina Blåvarg (Stockholm University; University of Gothenburg)

The aim of this paper is to introduce the school subject psychology and outline its historical and theoretical formation through psychology textbooks during 1960 to 2015. The development and the portrayed meaning of what psychology is as an epistemological subject in relation to social and scientific context will be considered.

Swedish textbooks on psychology have been around at least since the early 1900th. From early to mid-2000th century, there are textbooks clearly intended for upper secondary school level. The empirical source material consists of excerpts from psychology textbooks published between 1960 and 2015 in Sweden. One edition of each Swedish textbooks in psychology published for upper secondary school level will be included. The selected excerpts are the cover and the introductory texts. Curriculums, syllabus, and other contextual material will also be included in the analytical process to clarify transformations and relations within the studied time period. A semiotic approach is taken based on the idea that illustrations as well as text have an important role in forming the message of the subjects that is being portrayed and the analysis will be achieved mainly by discourse analysis, with the inclusion

of theories concerning language and meaning. A main assumption in the analysis is that it is not possible to step outside of one's language. By how psychology is communicated, specific assumptions about it are displayed, as are contemporary general suppositions concerning the world. Historicity can provide us with insights about the various language games that takes place within the semiotics surrounding the school subject psychology. Great emphasis will be put on the significant role of the metaphors and images in the text's assumptions about the world and in this case psychology. Psychology is a scientific field that relates to many other areas of science, philosophy and medicine being the most recognizable. The language used, the illustrations chosen, how psychology is communicated determines what is possible to think about it.

This paper will render an opportunity to reflect upon various and possibly interlocked meanings of psychology as a school subject that are being depicted trough both text and images in Swedish psychology textbooks and to consider them in relation to contemporary society, social development and scientific development.

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### **Socializing 'Future Citizens' Through National Historical Narratives. A Comparative Study of Swedish and Austrian Textbooks, 1870-1920s**

Daniel Ingemar Andersson (Umeå University), Nicole Elizabeth Gotling (Umeå University)

In Western Europe, during the Long Nineteenth Century and the Age of Nationalism, states needed to find a way to create loyal, national citizens who would fit a certain ideal. One of the ways that states tried to answer this problem was by educationalizing the making of “future citizens” - socializing children through mass education and a national curriculum. What we intend to do in our paper, is to analyze and compare how two different cases, Austria and Sweden, used national historical narratives to instill a certain sense of historical consciousness that would create the desired citizen while also uniting society at the national level (Friedrich, 2010). The Austrian case analyzes the writing of recent history (in their case, the Austro-Prussian “German” War of 1866 and its aftereffects) in history textbooks published from 1869 until the Interwar Period. This timeframe in particular encompasses the decades during which Austria was coming to terms with its ousting from the German Confederation and subsequent exclusion from a united Germany, as well as the time after which Austria had officially reached nation-state status (after the conclusion of the First World War in 1918). In perusing these textbooks, the role of the national historical narrative as it concerned Austria’s national identity is reconstructed. This is compared, in turn, with the Swedish case which analyzes the writing of a national historical narrative concerning the 18th century (the so called “Age of Liberty” and the reign of Gustav III) in history textbooks published from 1870 until the Interwar Period. The 18th century in Sweden was characterized by disruptions and subversions on several fronts. The national narrative concerning this period will serve as an example of how the Swedish State grappled with the issue of depicting a diverse and complex historical period while at the same time keeping education aimed at national unification and loyalty to the nation-state (Berg & Edquist 2015). The paper will elaborate on how the historical narratives in textbooks became tools purposed with shaping students into the ideal national citizens in these two different aspiring nation-states which were both trying to develop into independent, unified nations after separating from long intertwined histories with their neighbors. This will be done through the theoretical perspectives of socialization and educationalization (Smeyers & Depaepe, 2008; Tröhler, 2011).

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### **Demarcation from the other – The Image of Turks in German, Catholic History Textbooks of the 19th Century**

Timm Gerd Hellmanzik (University of Hamburg)

The 19th century's history of the Ottoman Empire was marked by a process of reconstruction, which resulted in a reform process and a political, cultural and economic rapprochement with the other European powers. In this context, both the concrete German influence – demonstrated through large-scale projects such as the German Military Mission (Deutsche Militärmission) in the Ottoman Empire or the construction of the Baghdad Railway (Bagdadbahn) - and the knowledge about the Orient produced by the development of a German Oriental Studies in the 19th century increased. At the end of the century, the German Empire was the European power that supported the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Due to historical entanglement and also the increase in knowledge, traditional stereotypes that portray the Turks as a barbaric horde from the Near East and the Horror of the Occident (Schrecken des Abendlandes) begin to disappear from the 19th century onwards.

The pedagogical segment plays a significant role in the development of the perception of the other. After all, relevant and at the same time socially accepted knowledge is transported and disseminated in schools and textbooks. History textbooks are, according to Jacobmeyer, the medium with the widest range for the transmission of historic knowledge, although they are also pedagogical instruments. In this area, the theological-confessional impact on textbooks lost importance in the 19th century due to state intervention in the educational sector, but it is still present. Thus the question arises to what extent the development and reforms of the Ottoman Empire and the ideas of Turks are reflected in Catholic history textbooks. This approach is an example of a marginal but still existing facet of the educational discourse on Turkey at that time.

Starting from Joseph Annegarn's (1794-1843) *Weltgeschichte für die katholische Jugend* (1840) (World History for Catholic Youth), this article will analyse the image of Turkey in a specifically Catholic context. In the 19th century, textbooks on world history were the dominant subgenre of history textbooks, and they intended to cover a wide range of selected topics. The analysis examines the texts that explicitly provide information on the "Ottoman Empire" or "Turkey" and their recurring narratives. The article's focus lies on answering the questions: How do the changing interests and relationships of both empires find expression in Catholic history textbooks? How does the impact of this on traditional perceptions and stereotypes look? Furthermore, this contribution is located in the field of postcolonial studies. I aim to reveal strategies of self-assurance in the text material. Particularly in the approach to the other, Turkey, the own can be revealed. For example, it can be referred to the europäische Geisteshaltung (European mindset), from which Turkey is excluded. Finally, the importance of religion in historical descriptions will be clarified.



## **Abgrenzung vom Anderen – Das Türkenbild in deutsch-katholischen Geschichtslehrwerken des 19. Jahrhunderts**

Die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches im 19. Jahrhundert war geprägt von einer Neustrukturierung, aus der ein Reformprozess und eine politische, kulturelle sowie ökonomische Annäherung an die übrigen europäischen Mächte resultierten. In diesem Kontext vergrößerte sich sowohl die konkrete deutsche Einflussnahme durch Großprojekte wie die Deutsche Militärmission im Osmanischen Reich oder den Bau der Bagdadbahn als auch das produzierte Wissen über den Orient durch die Herausbildung einer deutschen Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert. Am Ende des Jahrhunderts ist das Deutsche Reich die europäische Macht, welche sich für die territoriale Integrität des Osmanischen Reiches aussprach. Durch die Verflechtungen, aber auch den Wissenszuwachs beginnen ab dem 19. Jahrhundert althergebrachte Stereotype zu schwinden, welche den Türken als barbarische Horde aus Vorderasien und Schrecken des Abendlandes porträtieren.

Das pädagogische Segment spielt in der Entwicklung der Wahrnehmung des Fremden eine bedeutsame Rolle, schließlich wird an Schulen und in Schulbüchern das relevante und zugleich sozial anerkannte Wissen transportiert und verbreitet. Geschichtsschulbücher sind Jacobmeyer folgend das Medium mit der größten Reichweite zur Überlieferung von Geschichte, obwohl es sich zugleich um pädagogische Instrumente handelt. In diesem Raum verliert die theologisch-konfessionelle Färbung von Schulbüchern im 19. Jahrhundert durch staatliche Eingriffe in den Bildungssektor an Bedeutung, ist aber weiterhin präsent. So stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern sich die Entwicklung des Osmanischen Reiches und die Vorstellungen von Türken in katholischen Geschichtslehrwerken niederschlagen? Damit wird exemplarisch eine randständige, aber weiterhin existente Facette des pädagogischen Türkeidiskurses erfasst.

Der Beitrag wird ausgehend von Joseph Annegarns (1794–1843) Weltgeschichte für die katholische Jugend (1840) das Türkenbild analysieren, welches in einem spezifisch katholisch geprägten Kontext verhandelt wird. Weltgeschichtliche Schulbücher stellen im 19. Jahrhundert die dominante Untergattung unter den Geschichtslehrwerken dar, intendieren einen thematisch umfassenden, aber selektiven Zuschnitt. In der Analyse werden die Darstellungstexte untersucht, welche explizit über das „Osmanischen Reich“ oder die „Türkei“ sprechen und ihre wiederkehrenden Narrative herausgearbeitet. Der Fokus des Beitrags richtet sich auf die Frage: Inwiefern werden zeitgenössische Entwicklungen in katholischen Geschichtsschulbüchern rezipiert und gegenüber althergebrachten Wahrnehmungen und Stereotypen verhandelt? Gleichermaßen bewegt sich die Untersuchung im Feld der postkolonialen Studien und zielt auch auf die Offenlegung der Selbstvergewisserungsstrategien. Besonders in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Anderen äußern sich Bestimmungen dessen, was als eigen anerkannt wird. So kann beispielsweise die europäische Geisteshaltung angeführt werden, von welcher die Türkei exkludiert wird. Abschließend gilt es zu klären, welche Stellung die Religion in den Deskriptionen einnimmt.

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#### **04-SES 13: NEW APPROACHES TO GENDER IN EDUCATION: FROM GIRLS TO PRESIDENTS**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Sara Backman Prytz (Stockholm University)

##### **Education of Girls from Aristocratic Families in Hungary between 1848 and 1948**

Magdolna Rébay (University of Debrecen Faculty of Arts)

The research of education of the high nobility started in Hungary after the political turn in 1989/90. There is a concise study of the 1790-1848 period (Virág, 2013) and we would like to continue this work. In our presentation we want to focus especially on the education of girls by studying not only the relationship between the parents and the children but also the aim, content, methods of education (the persons of tutors and teachers, the location of education, the applied pedagogical methods).

Our sources were the memoirs that have been more frequently published (all together 20), that resulted in more detailed, subtle conclusions complete with personal motivations as well; however, we could only carefully make generalisations in connection with the whole social group due to the variety of details of the stories and the size of the sample. Our method was historical document analysis.

We concluded that in spite of the fact that the first woman with a university degree was in Hungary an aristocrat (countess Vilma Hugonnai), there were practically only some girls who had enrolled a secondary school before WW1 not only in public schools but also as private students (see Wasson, 2006, p. 82). However, after WW1 there were more and more girls taking part in school education, the reason being their financial circumstances. The education provided by the tutors and home teachers had finished earlier and earlier. (This process had started sooner in case of the boys' education [see Sinclair, 1969, pp. 241–242]) The relationship between the parents and children was different by families, basically it was mainly distant. One of the most important goal of education was the knowledge of modern languages, and a wide range of understanding literature and some human sciences. (The so important classical languages that was present in the boys' education was missing from the girls' [see Wienfort, 2005, pp 91-92.]). Besides practising religion and arts physical education and sports were present in the lives of the girls in the country, moreover, in the Count Andrassy-Zichy family healthy lifestyle had high priority. Girls could only move around in their own social groups, they put special emphasis on developing social competences. A girl's goal was to find a spouse who is worthy of her rank (see Lieven, 1992, p. 135).

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## **The Female Presidents of Women's Colleges Changed the Social Structure of Japan: From Above and Below**

Keiko Sasaki (The University of Electro-Communications)

Foreigners say that Japanese women look happier these days. This is the result of your contribution to society for the past half-century. I, as a Japanese woman, express my appreciation for your efforts. Thank you, my students. (Taki Fujita, 1992)

The above message was sent to the 1945 alumnae of Tsuda College by Taki Fujita, who was a professor and the fourth president of Tsuda College (1962–1973), a Representative of Japan to the United Nations (1958), President of the League of Women Voters of Japan (1956–1962), and the second Director General of the Women and Youth Bureau, Ministry of Labour, Japan (1951–1955).

The focus of this research is to examine the interaction between college presidents and students through analysis of the speeches and messages of the presidents, reminiscences of the students, and diaries and magazines published by college and alumnae associations. There are three research questions:

1. What careers did female presidents have (including overseas experiences and networks)?

2. How were Japanese women's rights and opportunities taught in women's colleges?

3. How did the vision of the women presidents influence the students?

There were several important periods in the process of developing women's higher education in modern Japan. The first occurred in the early 1900s, when various female educators founded colleges to promote women's economic independence through professions such as secondary school teachers, medical doctors, and certified accountants. These included Tsuda College (Ume Tsuda), the Tokyo Women's Medical College (Yayoi Yoshioka), the Women's Commercial College (Takako Kaetsu), and more.

The second period was during World War II. While many universities and colleges cooperated with the war, there were female presidents who allowed the persecuted English and American teachers in Japan to remain at school and who protected female students who resisted the military authorities. These included Ai Hoshino and Michi Kawai, who had studied abroad at Bryn Mawr College, USA. These women went on to play an important role in post-war Japan as members of the Education Reform Committee.

The third was the period of gaining equal rights and opportunities for Japanese women in the years following World War II. A key player was Taki Fujita, who graduated from Tsuda College with a major in English Literature and from Bryn Mawr College with a major in History, Economics, and Politics. She taught at Tsuda College for 25 years, working tirelessly for women's suffrage. Although she left her professorship temporarily due to official duties, she never forgot her passion as an educator and soon returned to the college. One of her students remembered her as follows:

In professor Fujita's class, we learned about humanitarianism, democracy, and women's suffrage from the roots of these words. We felt a deep kinship with people like Raicho Hiratsuka, Kikue Yamakawa, and Fusae Ichikawa, who made huge efforts in the Japanese women's liberation movement and for the improvement of women's status.

The female presidents' global perspective, and determination to improve the status of women permeated through their activities with everyday education.

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### **Discourse Analysis as a Postmodern Approaches to Gender History in History of Education**

Eva Dvořáková Kaněčková (Palacky University Olomouc, Faculty of Education)

The paper deals with the problems of theoretical and methodological anchoring of gender history in contemporary research in the history of education (Rose, 2010). The aim of the paper is to analyze the comparison of traditional and postmodern approach on the example of research of education of girls and women during the 19th century in Czech lands (Kaněčková, 2013). Particular attention will be focused on clarifying discourse analysis based on Foucault (1969), as an innovative tool of post modern (constructivist) approaches to „understanding“ and not just to „describe“ a historical phenomenon. New approaches in history of education are particularly important for clarifying still dark places in the history of education, but are also a necessity for rewriting history from a different perspective. This was particularly significant in the Czech Republic after the collapse of the Communist regime and the setting of a new political-socio-cultural-ideological and economic era, where it is necessary to look again and critically into the past. Unfortunately, the history of education in the Czech research environment has been struggling for years with the exclusion of the interest of educational sciences. Thus, a new rebirth can be seen only in recent years, when there is a growing interest in new theoretical and methodological approaches.

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### **Performing Death. Social Rites for Women's Education in XVII Century England**

Antonella Cagnolati (University of Foggia)

In XVII century England a new genre of eulogy for the dead took place. It was the so called "funeral sermon" whose main aim was the emphasis posed on the deep faith and spirituality of the dying woman. This kind of sermon was particularly practiced in the Puritan congregation, in front of "other" women who probably knew the "godly" woman the preacher was speaking about. Every stage of her life was analysed, in order to detect the "marks of election": from her infancy she read the Bible, she was humble, silent, obedient; a perfect wife and mother, an excellent teacher for her children and her servants, she went to the sermon every Sunday.

But the death of those godly women was an exemplum the preacher showed to all the congregation as a model of godliness and faith. He underlined the phases of their passage to the afterlife, the death-bed scene as an act in a drama played between God and the Devil. Puritan women knew how to dye: they prayed, they refused the Devil's advices, they were sure of their destiny.

Funeral sermons became such an important form of religious communication: although initially only recited in the presence of the congregation, they often came to be published at the request made by a relative of the deceased or by the church members, or else included in the numerous collections that were so frequently published from the second decade of the XVII century onwards.

Sometimes the main intention which led to the few scribbled words of the sermon becoming a real printed text appeared to be the wish to bring to the notice of a wider public the Christian life and holy death of a woman who had followed in Christ's footsteps, earning the affection of her husband and the reverence of her children, the admiration of the neighbors and the respect of friends, as well as the gratitude of the poor that she had helped and supported through her admirable charity. The fundamental aim, however, was the edification of the listeners who were still alive.

The narration offered by the preacher became a picture of the godly life lived by the dead and was a model of behaviour for everyone. Nothing in the description of feminine deaths resembles the details found in the sermons about men. The portrayal in funeral sermons of women's attitudes towards death appears to be accorded with the view promoted by the preachers on the theme of "the fear of death". So in this last stage, the lives of women are 'performed', and really presented in a theatrical manner. The paper is focused on the analysis of a corpus of funeral sermons (published from the end of XVI to the first half of the XVII century) dedicated to women in order to detect some peculiar characteristics not only such as humility, modesty, but also a great consciousness of their faith and virtue, in order to educate the other women listening to them.

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### 05-SES 13: EDUCATIONAL SPACE AND SPATIAL APPROACHES

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Germund Larsson (Örebro universitet)

#### **Material Didactics and Archival Tools. The Uses of School Visits for Studying the History of Educational Spaces**

Lisa Rosén Rasmussen (Aarhus University), Ning de Coninck-Smith (Aarhus University)

The material turn has taken its hold on the history of education (Grosvenor and Rasmussen, 2018; Darian-Smith and Willis, J. 2017, Lawn and Grosvenor, 2005 ) and new studies of school buildings and educational spaces have seen the light of day, inspired by as different thinkers as Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, Bruno Latour, Karen Barad and Tim Ingold.

While we welcome this development, we also find it challenging to bring in the materialities into our historical research. Bricks and mortar, the smells from the school cantina or the gym hall, the noise, children make, the voices of the teachers or the architects highly specialized knowledge about acoustics do not easily turn into documents/texts, we can keep in our archive and bring out, when needed.

Recently the British feminist scholar Maria Tamboukou has argued a case for the archival assemblage and for highlighting the archival processes and archival orders, meaning how archives have come into being. (Tamboukou, 2017) In several ways she has conceptualized, what we have been doing and developing, while creating our own archives, consisting of documents, impressions, photos, memories, sensibilities and hidden treasures (e.g. Coninck-Smith, 2011; Coninck-Smith, Rasmussen, & Vyff, 2015;



Rasmussen, 2019). This paper explores the use of school visits as didactic and archival tools, enlarging our understanding of the complexities of 'the materialities of schooling'. We will present and reflect on three different cases.

The first example comes from our research into the contemporary history of Danish education, where we visited schools with the main purpose of visualizing and sensing the 'archaeologies' of past buildings and practices; the 'atmosphere' of schooling – and the doing of schools.

Our second example comes from teaching programs for master-students and Ph.D. candidates. Here we have used school visits as a way of framing informal reflections about how buildings work – and their imprint on humans and landscapes.

The final example comes from our use of school visits as part of international network meetings, where we wanted to approach the acclaimed Nordic architecture from a different, everyday use perspective as well as contribute to a further development of the methodological and theoretical reflections on space and materiality as part of understanding school and school life.

Materiality matters is clearly a statement, which could not be overlooked, and why matters come to matter is another important question, raised among others by Karen Barad (Barad, 2007). School visits can be one answer, since they offers insights into the affective and lived entanglements of space and one might say work as a hunch as to how material and discursive intra-activity has unfolded in past and present processes of schooling.

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### **Geolocating the Spatial References of Education in the Francoist Documentaries**

Eulàlia Collellidmont (UNIVERSITY OF VIC), Núria Padrós (UNIVERSITY OF VIC)

Through the different visualizations of educational representations that appeared in the No-Do and in the films made by their opponents between 1940 and 1974, a map of spatial references can be plotted. It allows us today to identify one of the axes of configuration of the Francoist education system. This

is the geographical distribution of educational proposals by social class (Viñao, 2006), gender (Carrillo, Prat, 2019) and characterization of the guarantees of social and cultural opportunities (Puelles, 2000; 2001).

Our proposal is a communication for discussion with the results obtained from the study of the 1908 productions made in the period. The productions are identified in the register Registro de los reportajes y noticias en los que aparece representada la EDUCACIÓN (1940-1975)[1] and as a synthesis of the analyses performed in the previous studies on education in natural environments, education in urban settings and education in dropout environments (especially urban) [2]. A work in which theories of the presence of geography have been integrated (Kaplan, 2012; Schlögel, 2014) in the construction of historical memory from:

a) Create a digital tool for the geographical representation of education in the territory based on the following vectors:

- Institutional school education
- (Re) Institutional education in jails
- Education in political and social organizations (Juventudes, OJE, Sección Femenina, clandestine organizations)
- Vocational training

b) Identify references based on productions related to the Franco regime and the opposition

c) Include elements of documentary and testimonial contrast in the georeferences from links to:

- visual elements: photographs, drawings and cartographies
- regulatory elements: laws and institutional documents
- textual elements: institutional and particular narratives
- testimonial items: interviews and life stories

d) Identify the presences and forms of memorialization of the educational places of the Franco regime

With this research action, it has been proposed to use cartography as a tool for historical research and as a tool for disseminating memory, being an invitation to collaborative participation with the territory, as has been developed in the project "Activate the memory of citizens through street art".

The proposed communication shows the results of the whole process for discussion.

[1] Document accessible at: [https://www.uvic.cat/sites/default/files/registro\\_repnot.pdf](https://www.uvic.cat/sites/default/files/registro_repnot.pdf)

[2] Analysis done inside the project ARAEF. Análisis de las representaciones audiovisuales de la educación en documentales y noticiarios durante el franquismo. Programa Estatal de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación Orientada a los Retos de la Sociedad, en el marco del Plan Estatal de Investigación Científica y Técnica y de Innovación 2013-2016, (Ref. EDU2017-89646-R, AEI/FEDER, UE)

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### **Social Time And Educational Space In Agamemnon By Aeschylus And Seneca (Features Of Dramatic Visualization)**

Victoria Pichugina (Institute for Strategy of Education Development of the Russian Academy of Education), Yana A. Volkova (RUDN University)

Agamemnon, the same name tragedies by Aeschylus and Seneca, are the original poetic versions of the return of the Mycenaean king Agamemnon to Argos after a ten-year Trojan campaign. Aeschylus and Seneca's tragedies are similar, but not identical versions of the famous myth about the assassination of King Agamemnon, each of which has its own characteristic features of dramatic visualization [Catenaccio, 2011; Goldberg, 2014; Lavery 2004 et al.]. Aeschylus' tragedy of Agamemnon, used as a basis by Seneca, describes the events that occurred after Agamemnon, having had to face a moral dilemma, had been forced to make a deal with the gods by exchanging his daughter's life for the victory over Troy. We will try to demonstrate that all the main characters of the tragedy - Agamemnon, Cassandra and Clytemnestra – had once to face a moral dilemma, and the decisions they had taken turned out to be interrelated.

In both tragedies, the main characters' speeches disrupt the normal flow of time and perception of space. The boundaries between the past, present, and future are often blurred, and the features of Troy are manifested in Argos. The social time is subjected to the key event - the assassination of Agamemnon (what Pitirim A. Sorokin, and Robert K. Merton would call one of the "critical dates") [Sorokin, Merton, 1937]. The education space appears deformed: Argos had irreversibly changed over the ten years of Agamemnon's absence, and the mechanism of "learning through suffering" was launched in the city [Rogers, 2005]. By imitating the gods, Aeschylus and Seneca's heroes threaten each other with this kind of learning. When describing these events, Aeschylus resorts to the metaphor of fire, which allows focusing on a number of instructions that the heroes pass to each other, while Seneca uses the metaphor of the laurel branch, which makes it possible to divide the heroes into winners and losers, that is, those who have and do not have the right to instruct others (about these and other metaphors see: [Cesca, 2017; Hendry, 2000; Levine, 2015, Mitchell-Boyask, 2006 et al.]). In Aeschylus and Seneca, the murder of Agamemnon is presented as an inevitable punishment for him and an instruction to those who surround him. However, Seneca's Agamemnon possesses a slightly better ability to recognize the indications of the inevitability of punishment than Aeschylus' hero.

In both tragedies, social time and educational space are combined in order to determine what could be considered a sufficient punishment-instruction for the Greeks "for their abuse of victory" over Troy [Fantham, 1981-1982, p. 128]. For Aeschylus, this abuse is nothing less than Agamemnon's pride, while for Seneca, it is rather Agamemnon's connivance at the betrayal, a kind of moral blindness of a person

in authority. The study was carried out with a grant from the Russian Science Foundation (project No. 18-78-10001).

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### **Pedagogies of the (Deep) Past: Children and Prehistory in Twentieth-Century Spain**

Anna Kathryn Kendrick (NYU Shanghai)

What cognitive shift allows children to begin to scribble, to draw, to write? What can that tell researchers about the development of the human mind and of humankind? Starting from this classic ontogeny/phylogeny debate, this paper will use several case studies in Francoist and contemporary Spain to analyze the close ties between childhood, education and human visuality. Over the past decade, scholars have begun to explore the close ties between prehistorical research and educational spaces and didactics (Ruiz Zapatero 2010; Peraile et al 2015). This intervention joins these perspectives to rich theoretical work undertaken in the history of education on space and temporality to ask how prehistoric sites, images, art, tools and symbols have been employed in educational spaces, and in tandem, how children's own production has been harnessed in service of the popularization of prehistory.

Notably, Spain was the first nation to uncover a major cave of prehistoric art: the caves of Altamira, whose painted bison were discovered by the child María Sanz de Sautuola with her father Marcelino in 1879. Over the coming century, leading to the caves' establishment as a World Heritage Site in 1985,

the country underwent the ruptures of Civil War, dictatorship, and transition to democracy, after which 'neutral' abstract art was officially promoted and science became tightly controlled. How did national strictures of art and science shape the development of educational and didactic measures, and what spaces for creativity were opened by museums, books, magazines and pedagogies of a longer past?

Seeking initial clues, this paper studies several key moments in which educators, artists or archaeologists sought to open up new educational spaces through the expansive lens of prehistory, including interest in children's drawings as marks of prehistoric development by Sebastià Gasch (1953) and writer Josefina Aldecoa (1959), the beginnings of mass tourism and didactic outreach by newly established museums and highly-visited sites of national patrimony, and contemporary talleres (workshops) for children. Looking forward to Spain during the early 2000s, historian of science Oliver Hochadel (2012) observed "a boom without precedent in human-origins research". If there was indeed a "boom of bones", how was this interest translated into concrete, hands-on, active pedagogies for children, whose own cognitive, creative and physical development have so continually been connected to an imagined "childhood" of humankind (e.g. Wittman 2013; Franke 2018)?

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**THURSDAY June 17                      11:00 - 12:30**

### **01-SES 14: NEW APPROACHES AND DIRECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Linda Chisholm (University of Johannesburg)

## **New Approaches and Directions in South African Educational Historiography**

This panel seeks to tease out different aspects of the relationship between educational and social history and historiography in South Africa. Here, from the 1970s, social history was the dominant paradigm for a revisionist history of South Africa. Under the auspices of the History Workshop established at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg in 1977 it embraced an approach that shared broad similarities with its Anglo, American and European counterparts, but was also distinctive in the influence exercised in the first decades by a liberal Africanist historiography and in its normative orientation as ‘an emancipatory project, inextricable from the wider struggle against apartheid in South Africa’ (Posel, 2010: 33). Educational historiography in South Africa’s liberal, English-speaking universities was reinvigorated by these developments, many of the new educational historians being closely associated with the broad church approach that sought to write a ‘history from below’, about ‘ordinary people’ who had been ‘hidden from history’, and yet were not just victims of oppression but also exercised agency as women, rural peasants, urban workers, and aspiring elites.

The challenges that faced social history in the 1990s with the fall of the Berlin Wall, coinciding with the ending of apartheid, were also felt in educational history: both social and educational history went into steep decline and were forced to come to terms not only with the apparent irrelevance of history but also with new post-structural, post-modern and post-colonial concerns. Social history and historians came under severe attack – for the racial composition of history departments, ‘a general absence of self-reflexivity about the subjective role of historians in the production of historical knowledge’, ‘its over-determined nation-state framing and a general lack of explicit engagement in larger theoretical debates’. (Leroke, 1998; Rassool, 2010; Sparks, 2013) These criticisms did not spill over with the same force into history of education, where the threat posed by new emphases on policy and performance simply left historians of education stranded. (Michael Cross, Claude Carpentier and Halima Ait-Mehdi, 2009; Kallaway, 2012) More recently, social history has again been revitalised on the one hand by approaches to local history informed by more theoretically-derived notions of space and place and on the other by transnational approaches. (Bonner, Hyslop, van der Walt, 2007; Nieftagoedien, 2010) In addition, new themes such as environmental and animal history have emerged.

Although the History Workshop’s self-assessments have celebrated its popularising role and its teacher development workshops (Lekgoathi, 2010), there has been limited assessment of its relationship with educational history across the country and implications for future directions. Although social history was and probably remains the dominant approach in liberal universities, it was neither equally influential among all educational historians where other influences and approaches continue nor was it homogenous within the field of education. ‘The social’ was differently understood and interpreted both within and without the revisionist school. And directions within educational history have also had particularities related to its own history. From different contemporary vantage points, new questions are being asked of history of education and are helping to shape its continuous reinterpretation.

This panel seeks to re-examine the relationship of educational history to social history in three different ways. The first paper questions the role of ‘race’ and ‘nation’ in the framing of South African history of education in the Cape colony through a close examination of the infant school as a metropolitan-colonial transnational practice. The second re-examines the meaning of the social in explanation of the 1976 student revolt and the third casts new light on the making of South Africa’s segregated system of schooling in the 20thC through the lens of migration.

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### **Race, Radical Education And Childhood: A Case From The Colonial Cape In The 1830s**

Rebecca Swartz (University of the Free State)

A major preoccupation of social histories of education in South Africa has been on race and access to education. There is good reason for this: the colonial and subsequent Apartheid governments put racial policies into practice, denying 'black', 'coloured' and 'Indian' children access to the same resources and levels of education afforded to whites (see for example Kallaway, 1984). This focus has, however, sometimes obscured the connections between educational policies and practices across colonies and nations. In this paper, I use the example of the infant school movement in the 1830s Cape to show how educational practices moved between metropole and colony. In this example, a radical idea about educating children younger than six years old was transported and remade in colonial Cape Town. In the context of slave emancipation, very young children were educated together, regardless of their race. What counted more was their class status, as children of different classes were separated into different schools. The paper uses original archival material relating to the Cape's first infant schools to indicate how a pioneering educational system was transformed in the colony, adapting to the local circumstances and expertise of teachers. In doing so, it argues that some central categories in the history of education in South Africa, including race and nation, should be re-examined, as they were not inherent to educational policy and practice in the early nineteenth century.

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### **Political Resistance In The 1976 Soweto Uprising: A Social Historical Perspective**

Johannes Seroto (University of South Africa, UNISA)

Social history, sometimes described as the 'history of the people', or 'history from below', has emerged as an alternative to conventional political history. It can be distinguished from political history, which predominated during most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, by its primary focus on individuals who were previously 'hidden from history' as well as by the notion that history can be aptly portrayed via descriptions of 'ordinary life'. The 'social' in social history deals with the structures of societies and social change; social movements, groups and classes; conditions of work and ways of life; families; households; local communities; urbanisation; mobility; and ethnic groups (Conrad 2001).

In documenting the history of political resistance in South Africa, historians and political analysts concur that the 1976 Soweto uprising was a defining event in the national liberation struggle; its uniqueness lies therein that it was the only uprising where student protest triggered events which ushered in a totally new political landscape. In his book entitled *Hungry Flames and Other Black South African Short Stories*, Mbulelo Mzamane (1986) comments on the need to preserve the history of the Soweto uprising as seen from the inside. Mzamane (1986) argues that it is important that history be informed by local approaches to reveal experiences relevant to the people who stood at the centre of events (Pohlandt-McCormick, 1976).

Currently, the political history of the liberation movement in South Africa has been over-emphasised. According to Kallaway (2012), the neglect of (social) history is "associated with a desire to distance ourselves from the painful apartheid past". Although Gerhart (1978;1997), Seekings (1994) and Glaser (2000) have given critical attention to the role of political and youth movements in the struggle, they gloss over the genesis of the Soweto uprising and focus mainly on its relationship to educational issues. Brink, Malungane, Lebelo and Krige (2001) point out that recent historical works only refer to the participants of the uprising generically as students. Yet circumstances on the ground in Soweto between 1970 and 1976 were fundamentally characterised by disgruntlement and resistance due to a range of social factors. The residents of Soweto were plagued by housing shortages, influx control, inadequate income and educational facilities, over-crowding, and crime rates and these factors played



a key role in sparking the uprising. Based on archival and secondary sources, the aim of this paper is to explore how a critical examination of the social history of Soweto can contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the uprising.

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## **Transnationalism, Migration And History Of South African Education**

Linda Chisholm (University of Johannesburg)

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, patterns of cross-border migration have changed and xenophobia has become a marked feature of the society, raising questions about its historical relationship to education. Although cross-border migrancy was a central feature of South Africa's social history of the 1970s, its implications for education were under-explored within the dominant approaches. New transnational approaches and contemporary developments give the issue a new salience and significance. This paper provides a reinterpretation of the formation of South Africa's distinctively racialized and segregated system of education. It does so by examining first explanations provides in earlier historiographies, secondly the historical and contemporary relationship between education and migration in South Africa and thirdly the ways in which migrancy shaped how the system historically included and excluded particular groups of people. It approaches exclusion and inclusion/integration as relational concepts. It argues that the education system that came into being in South Africa over the twentieth century did so in the context of substantial internal and external migration. Such migrants were included into a socially-constructed, colour-coded system that erased migrants' specific histories and reassembled them within the constructed categories of 'white', 'Indian', coloured' or 'African'. Both forms of migration and the system of education changed in post-apartheid South Africa, now systematically excluding and defining migrant children as the 'Other', not worthy of rights. In elaborating the argument and implications, the paper draws on both secondary and primary archival sources in so doing.

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## 02-SES 14: THE RISE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUEST FOR EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Philipp Eigenmann (Thurgau University of Teacher Education), Martin Lawn (University of Edinburgh)

### The Rise of Social Sciences and the Quest for Equal Educational Opportunities

In the Western world, education in the 1960s and 1970s was subject to a number of different reforms aimed at reducing educational inequalities. These reforms were intended to open up the education system to sections of society that were previously not included. This resulted (a) in expansion of the educational systems as the number of students visiting secondary education increased, and (b) in the introduction of comprehensive education by reducing early selection or internal stratification.

One of the central sources of legitimacy for these reforms was social science research on the education system, especially on inequalities. Above all, the sociological findings on the reproduction of educational inequalities were used to promote a policy of equal educational opportunities. So far, historical research on education has focused primarily on reforms and their legitimization in individual countries and therefore follows a perspective of methodological nationalism. Other research focuses on supranational organizations such as Unesco or the OECD and their impact on developments in individual countries. The proposed panel, however, pursues an internationally comparative

perspective. The aim of the panel is to compare the policies of equal educational opportunities in selected countries and to highlight parallels, convergences, but also differences in national trajectories, which cannot be attributed solely to the influence of supranational organizations, but can also be regarded as a diffusion process.

One key to this is to take a closer look at the contexts in which the social sciences emerged, for it is astonishing to see how in the western world after 1950 reference works were published in individual countries which showed very similar findings of school inequality, despite of different empirical bases. England drew on J. Floud and A. H. Halsey (Floud et al., 1956), France on P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964), Germany to R. Dahrendorf (Dahrendorf, 1965). Other European countries, such as Switzerland (Hess et al., 1966), the Netherlands (Van Heek, 1968) or Sweden (Husén, 1960), also knew their own references, which were used in the reform debate (and also retrospectively in the national stories).

The panel draws on the history of science. It aims at an international comparison of individual country studies and thus includes three case studies from Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The panel focuses on the following two sets of questions.

On the one hand, the contributions shed light on the rise of empirical social science research on education after 1950 in each country: How were sub-disciplines such as a ‘sociology of education’ formed? Against which backgrounds did the research focus on educational inequalities emerge? Which aspects did the research focus on? And to what extent does the rise of social science in the USA play a decisive role?

On the other hand, the questions relate to the impact of the findings of these educational Social Science studies on educational policy: How were these findings perceived by education policy? Which roles did educational Social Sciences play in educational reforms? To what extent were concrete reform projects legitimised with educational sociological findings? And vice versa: To what extent did reform projects affect educational Social Sciences research?

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### **Policy and Social Science Research in Sweden alongside the Comprehensive School Reform**

Joakim Landahl (Stockholm University), Anna Larsson (Umeå University)

Sweden achieved an international reputation during the 1960s not only for its comprehensive school reform, but also for the way in educational research had been involved in its development. The main link between policy and research was the establishment of a series of state commissions from the 1940s onwards that investigated the preconditions for educational reform. The comprehensive school

reform in Sweden was a gradual process that spanned decades. The beginnings are usually traced to the School Commission of 1946, which proposed that a common nine-year school should be established, replacing older parallel forms of secondary education such as grammar schools, girls' schools, and vocational schools. In the 1950s, a pilot project with comprehensive schools started, and in 1962 the first curriculum for the comprehensive school, *grundskolan*, was released. This curriculum allowed for pupils to choose different educational tracks in the final school year, Year 9. The tracking system was, however, abolished in 1969, when the second curriculum for elementary schools was introduced.

In this presentation we will discuss what kind of knowledge was used for understanding the comprehensive school reform. We are especially interested in exploring the role of social science in planning and subsequently discussing and evaluating the outcomes of the comprehensive school reform. In order to do this we will discuss research conducted before as well as after the comprehensive school reform. In doing so we will especially investigate whether a shift can be detected from psychological research towards other social scientific disciplines, such as sociology and economics, and what implications it had for education and educational research. Furthermore, we will apply a transnational perspective in the sense that we will explore both whether Swedish research was influenced by other foreign examples, and how Swedish actors tried to market their vision of a relation between policy and research.

### **Social Sciences and Equal Opportunities, the Dutch Case**

Hilda T.A. Amsing (University of Groningen)

In 1958 the Dutch educationalist Idenburg emphasized the importance of education as a means of social mobility in his famous essay "*De sleutelmacht der school*" [the key power of education]. He was just one example of educationalists who showed a growing awareness of the role of social class as a factor of educational success and who expressed high hopes for the sociology of education to understand the mechanisms involved. But the topic was of course highly political. In this paper the relationship between Dutch politics and educational sciences regarding the issue of educational opportunities is explored.

At the time, the tracked Dutch school system with early selection stemming from the second half of the nineteenth century was reconsidered, merely because of economic needs, but also using arguments of social justice. Actually, the system was disputed already from about 1900 onwards, but in the after-war period, the urge to change became pressing. Now the government saw it as its duty to stimulate educational reform for the benefit of society, while before it was rather reluctant to interfere.

But to fulfil their educational ambitions politicians needed scientific expertise. This fitted a more general trust in the power of science as a means to improve society. In 1958 two studies of the sociologist Matthijssen were published that both concluded that social class influenced school careers and that not all talents among the population were used. Both studies underlined the importance of restructuring the education system. In the so-called "*Talentenproject*" [Talent Project], led by Van Heek, sociologists and educationalists in the 1960s looked for factors that could influence the school choice, other than talent. Although the results suggested no waste of talent, the discussion became far from closed. Educationalists and sociologists continued their studies to try to reveal the explanations for the limited school success of children of working classes. In doing so, the character of

the studies gradually changed from empirical sociological studies to studies focusing on education and equal opportunities.

The new insights reached politics. In 1968 a new school system was introduced, with more safeguards for a proper fit between the level of education and the talents of students. But the system was still highly tracked and the gap between vocational education and “Bildung” stayed unaltered. Based on foreign experiences with comprehensive education and results from sociological studies within and outside the Netherlands, Dutch educationalists as Leon van Gelder pled for the introduction of comprehensive education to improve equal opportunities. Van Gelder has no track record in empirical research but nevertheless was very influential because of his bonds with politics and unions. He used the political arena to spread his ideas and politicians approached him for support for their ideas. When he retired in 1981 a period of strong political engagement and entanglement between the science of education and politics came to an end. His successor, Creemers, became known for his work on school effectiveness, fitting the empirical research tradition. Comprehensive education in the Netherlands never surpassed the experimental stage.

### **Sociology of Education on Educational Inequalities after 1945 in Switzerland**

Philipp Eigenmann (University of Zurich)

During the late 1960s, hardly anyone questioned the fact that unequal educational opportunities were one of the central challenges of educational policy in Switzerland. In those years there were controversial debates as to whether the introduction of comprehensive education or a selection at a later stage would lead to more equal opportunities in education. Unlike 20 years earlier, the findings on educational discrimination in the education system no longer required explicit explanation.

How social science produced data on educational inequalities changed fundamentally between 1945 and 1970. Even in the 1940s, university statistics primarily provided data on the social structure of students and informed about the low proportion of working class children at universities. In the 1950s, student associations, particularly in French-speaking Switzerland, began to conduct their own surveys to address the problem of unequal access to universities. In the same decade, Swiss universities expanded the social sciences and with that established departments of sociology. The newly appointed professors of sociology soon began to focus on education-related issues. Initially, they did not surveyed educational inequalities, but rather referred to existing statistics. The junior researchers in these departments were responsible for the increase in educational sociology publications in both French-speaking and German-speaking Switzerland in the 1960s. They widened sociology of education in two ways: Their research involved surveys on educational levels other than university and grammar school. And they advanced methodological development. Educational inequalities were no longer merely to be presented, but also explained. Their expertise in sociology of education was consulted in school reform projects, such as attempts to introduce comprehensive education. However, with few exceptions comprehensive education could not be established in Switzerland – not due to lacking sociological expertise, but rather due to political and financial reasons.

This contribution traces the rise of empirically oriented sociology of education at Swiss universities after 1945. It focuses on the one hand on the question of the entanglement between sociological educational research and educational policy. In both areas, educational inequality simultaneously became one of the central issues – and always with reference to the other area. On the other hand, the paper examines how differently the sociology of education developed in German-speaking and French-speaking Switzerland. This points to a transnational dimension, since the actors oriented

themselves both in terms of subject and methodology to the traditions and developments of social sciences in the respective language areas and, independently of each other, in the English-speaking world.

### 03-SES 14: PREMODERN HISTORY OF EDUCATION: REFORMATION, CHARITY AND EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTIONS

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Jeroen J.H. Dekker (University of Groningen)

#### **Household(s) in Nordic Catechisms - Variations Upon a Theme by Luther**

Urban, Clas Claesson (Uppsala University)

How was the household taught in early modern Denmark and Sweden? Luther's comments on the fourth and sixth commandments in his Small Catechism along with the table of duties reveal how the household was formulated for general education. This paper, presenting research funded by the Swedish Research Foundation "Riksbankens jubileumsfond", focus upon differences in various expositions of the catechism published in Dioceses in Denmark and Sweden during the 17th century. In contrast to other spiritual books that were often translated from German, these explanations were mainly written by Nordic bishops a way of coping with the challenges they faced in their dioceses. How was the household presented in different expositions in order to legitimize authority, limits of responsibility, duties and sets of emotions? The preliminary results of my research show interesting variations between textbooks within the Nordic Realm concerning how to keep a household together.

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## **Disciplining the "Widerspenstige Leute"? Ambiguities of Popular Involvement in the Early Reformation**

Luana Salvarani (Università di Parma)

From the first decades of its diffusion, the Protestant Reformation shaped a new discourse on education, displacing its focus on the issues of popular schooling and changing the educational landscape of Europe forever. The passionate interest for widespread literacy expressed by the founding fathers of the Reformation is widely documented and initiated the process leading to education as a social right instead of a class privilege.

Nevertheless, the complexity of the social fabric requires further analysis to understand this phenomenon, and the unique features of early modern culture should be read with appropriate lenses in order not to superimpose contemporary sensibilities to the historical reality, with the risk of misunderstandings and one-sided interpretations.

Therefore, while it is certain that the revolution of the Reformation included strong potentialities for education as emancipation, we should always acknowledge that, among its aims, social control (Sozialdisziplinierung) and the construction of a new system of religiously legitimated power had a central role. This process involved a contact with the most marginal and potentially rebellious strata

of society - the widerspenstige Leute whose culture has been thoroughly studied by Norbert Schindler in his 1992 essay – in order to promote a moderate social ascent and their inclusion in the disciplined, hard-working class of the “common citizen”, the Bürger so often recalled by Luther’s works on education.

While the newly-converted, middle-class citizens were generally eager to contribute to the process, the lower and marginalized groups, including prostitutes and vagrants, were involved to the Reformation cause with the reappraisal of several forms of popular culture. In the German-speaking countries, they included the Carnival plays, feasts and pageants, the circulation of anti-papal one-page prints and the cultivation of collective singing, heavily drawing on sexual and faecal jokes, while recurring to German traditions such as satirical nicknames. The transformation of this grassroots Volkskultur in a form of adult education, introducing the most clear-cut contents of the new religion in languages suitable to express popular identity while shaping and controlling it, can be considered as a peculiar form of populism, not devoid of side effects (such as the Bauernkrieg and its tragic suppression). Consequently, the emancipatory potentialities of popular involvement in the educational project of the Reformation cannot be fully understood without considering the complexity of the “culture of persuasion” (as Andrew Pettegree titled his 2005 essay) in which they developed, where the instruments of populism and a strong drive for social order and control could converge with the revolution of mass literacy in a vibrant and stratified phase of European cultural history.

In this paper, we will try to trace the main educational issues of popular involvement in the early Reformation in German-speaking countries, focusing on a selection of primary sources: treatises by Luther and his circle, popular plays and school theatre, visual sources, and, if available, accounts on city life. Sources will document both the new centrality of the lower classes and how the leaders kept popular requests at bay and shaped consensus.

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### **Educational Revolution Guided by the Marginal Men of the Imperial Examinations in Fifteenth-Century China**

Zhen Zhang (Institute of Curriculum and Instruction, East China Normal University)

The imperial examination system had been a social education system on selecting officials for more than 1300 years in China. It played an important role in the flow of social classes. However, lots of educational limitations of the system emerged in fifteenth-century China, and educational revolution followed. It's worth noting that the revolution were actually led by some marginal men under the imperial examination system. Some of them gave up the imperial examinations, and some repeatedly fell off the exams, but their understanding of education struck a deep chord with the scholars and shocked mainstream education. However, little research has been done on their educational activities, even in China.

This study focuses on the educational activities of Wu Yubi (1391-1469), Chen Xianzhang (1428-1500), and Wang Shouren (1472-1529), based on their legacy of works, quotes, and archives of educational events and local chronicles of Ming Dynasty. Trying to show how these scholars, as the marginal men of the imperial examination system, led and strengthened a profound educational revolution, through the academic approach of the new cultural history, especially the microhistory method Carlo Ginzberg proposed.

Wu Yubi was Chen Xianzhang's tutor. The latter was the tutor of Wang Shouren's best friend Zhan Ruoshui (1466-1560). Wu Yubi was born in an official family, he could have successfully passed the social exam and became an official. But at the age of 19, he burnt the admission ticket and decided to abandon the imperial examination to concentrate on learning what is truly beneficial to mind and body after reading Yi Luo Yuan Yuan Lu, a book about the words and deeds of ancient saints. So he stayed away from people, and spent two years studying Confucian classics in a small building alone, finally became famous for his wisdom and morality. Chen Xianzhang participated in the exam twice at the age of 21 and 24, and failed twice. Later he learned from Wu Yubi, and then returned home secluded himself in Chun Yang house for 10 years, finally created a mindful way to cultivate one's virtue, and started teaching students in 1465. Wang Shouren's father was the champion of imperial examination in 1481, but Wang Shouren failed twice in his early twenties. Although, the philosophy of heart he created made a huge impact on mainstream education and even destabilized the feudal autocracy. His ideology even affected Japan, Korea and other Asian countries

These three educators in fifteenth-century China were significantly different from the mainstream education circles of the same period in terms of educational ideas and practices. By reflecting on the trend of educational revolution led by these marginal men of imperial examination system, we can be enlightened on how to break through the educational limitations that social examinations can cause, and how should we, as individuals, take care of ourselves between sociality and morality in educational field.

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### **04-SES 14: PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION AND NEW EDUCATION**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Christian Lundahl (Örebro university)

### **Poverty and Social Exclusion in Greek Reformist Thought (1910-1944)**

Eleftheria Papastefanaki (University of Crete)

The movement of New Education in Greece found its theoretical and practical expression in the work of intellectuals and educators that established in 1910 the Education Association to promote a linguistic-educational reform. The Greek reformist educators systematically documented the ineffectiveness of the education system of the time and, in this context, sought to identify and address the issue of excluded and “lagging behind” students of non-privileged background. Despite the fact that poverty and social exclusion were not their main concern or received separate treatment, these themes run through their theoretical contributions as the reformists acknowledged linguistic heterogeneity, the existence of national minorities and extensive social deprivation and sought to remedy them by restructuring not only the curriculum and teaching methods but the education system as a whole.

On the other hand, the New Education movement highlighted the pedagogical value of children’s lived experience and incorporated it in the teaching materials and overall organization of schooling. The recognition of children’s social reality, as filtered through each educator’s broader political and social worldview, became a key characteristic of reformist thought. The selective recognition of children’s reality which is marked by poverty and social exclusion is reflected in the readers produced by Greek reformist educators that abound with references to social deprivation that constituted children’s everyday life.

The Greek reformist educators didn’t constitute a unified whole with seamless political convictions or views regarding “modern Greek reality”. The split of Educational Association in 1927 led to the emergence of Left reformist thinkers who distanced themselves from the liberal reformists over the real stakes at hand. The supersession of the nation as a key explanatory concept and the acknowledgement of the class nature of Greek society drove the split between Left reformist educators and their liberal counterparts which was concomitantly highlighted in the nodal points of their respective “narratives” and degree of acknowledgement of poverty and social exclusion as an issue. This presentation focuses on identifying and documenting the references and representations of poverty and social exclusion in the texts of Greek reformist thought during the first half of the 20th century and, in particular, on the categories suppressed as is the case of the national minorities in Greece at that time.

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### **The right of children to an Outdoor Education in the pages of the Journal "La Coltura Popolare" (1911 – 1930)**

Gabriella Seveso (Università degli Studi di Milano), Luca Andrea Alessandro Comerio (Università degli Studi di Milano)

In the early 20th century in Italy and in Europe there was a very lively debate about the need for an outdoor education for boys and girls. This concern was linked to the more general sensitivity to the issue of the protection of children's rights: many associations, movements, thinkers underlined, in fact, how boys and girls should have enjoyed the right to health, education, healthy and dignified growth. This was also the context in which the personalities, organisations and movements present in the dynamic reality of Milan at the beginning of the century moved. Among these, the Società Umanitaria (Humanitarian Society) stood out, referring to ideals of equity and social justice and aiming, among other things, to promote various initiatives for children and adolescents: in fact, it took an active part in the debate on teacher training and the reform of children's institutions; it played a fundamental role in the propagation of the Montessori method in Milan and at national level; it set up shelters and promoted training courses for disadvantaged children, and much more.

The Società Umanitaria also disseminated original and lively reflections on the right to outdoor education, both because this theme was a fundamental part of the Montessori proposal supported by the aforementioned Società, and because more generally it responded to the ideals promoted by this organisation and based on attention to a healthy life, on education in nature, and on the recovery of juvenile discomfort through contact with the natural environment. For this reason, the Società Umanitaria initiated important innovative experiences centred on outdoor education and contact with the natural environment, and participated intensively in the debate on education to and in nature.

This contribution, therefore, aims to investigate the role played by the Società Umanitaria in the diffusion of a culture of the right to outdoor and natural education, analysing the issues of the magazine "La Coltura Popolare" - currently conserved in the Historical Archive of the Società Umanitaria, in Milan - through which it is possible to reconstruct both the initiatives carried out and the reflections promoted in this field. This is a still unexplored research path, which brings to the attention of scholars a magazine that offered important listening spaces - at Italian and European level - for the most innovative pedagogical experiments and the most stimulating and significant reflections of the time.

Historico-pedagogical research has long since revealed the potential of the study of popular or specialist journals for the reconstruction of educational practices and/or pedagogical theories and models in the perspective of a social history of education; these sources help scholars to highlight the propagation of ideals, the dissemination of practices, the interconnection between practices within educational institutions and social and cultural phenomena, the reconstruction of the comparison between different pedagogical ideas and their repercussions at a popular level.

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### **“How Pupils should be Educated”:the Development of Democratic Education and the New Decree Movement in the May Fourth Era**

Ying Zhou (University of Groningen)

The 1912-1913 Decree on education (renzi-guichou xuezhi) proved to be problematic at practical level in China. Therefore, many people, especially grassroots educators and intellectuals, appealed to reform the educational system. This urge for reform started in 1915 and culminated in 1919-1922. As a result, the 1922 Decree (renxu xuezhi) was promulgated. It is commonly accepted that the 1922 Decree is child-centred and more democratic than other decrees in Chinese history and that the making of the decree was bottom-up, in which “the nongovernmental” played the most important role. The New Decree Movement, taking place between the promulgation of a draft decree in 1921 and the enacting of the 1922 Decree, refers to several tidal waves of discussing and commenting in the press and educational organizations for improving the draft decree. Encouraging “the nongovernmental” to participate in educational reform, the movement is considered a crucial contribution to the 1922 Decree.

The educational reform in the May Fourth Era, especially the 1922 Decree, has attracted much scholarly attention; however, seldom did scholars explore the New Decree Movement in-depth. A closer investigation of the movement will not only contribute to understand the pursuit and practice of democratic education in modern China, but also be inspirational for educational development at present. Focusing on child-centeredness, this study investigates the New Decree Movement and discusses the development of democratic education in the May Fourth Era by analysing discourses in the press and the practice of democratic decision-making in educational organizations. To this end, historical sources in the press (e.g. jiaoyu zazhi, shibao) and historical records of educational organizations (e.g. jiangsusheng jiaoyuhui) are selected and analysed.

Firstly, this study depicts how child-centred education became a focal point of the educational reform in the May Fourth Era and highlights the New Decree Movement was an integral part in the making of the 1922 Decree. It then analyses discourses in the press and clarifies different groups' opinions on the draft decree. Finally, taking Jiangsu Educational Association as an example, it explores the practice of democratic decision-making in educational organizations by investigating how participants were selected and organized for commenting on the draft decree and to what extent their voices were heard and manifested in decision-making.

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### **Hungarian Experimental Schools for Social and Cultural Inequality**

Judit Kocsis Bognárné (University of Pannonia)

In 1945 a regulation was made, which engaged to set up a common, for everyone compulsory eight-year elementary school in Hungary. In 1948 schools were nationalised and almost all faith schools were liquidated. That means, that only a few confessional school could exist, reformpedagogical school could not, at most educational experiments were permitted.

At the time, there were only two remarkable major existing experimental school. One is linked to the name of László Gáspár, which is the school experiment in Szentlőrinc (1969), the second one is the Linguistic-Literary- Communication Programme (1971), and the of this outgrown Value Transmitting and Ability Development Programme by József Zsolnai.

László Gáspár was a marxist pedagogue, who wanted to establish a „socialist activity school” in Hungary. His aim was to make the individual capable to exploit his talents, capacities in favour of himself and the society.

László Gáspár’s educational program utilised the results of the thirties’ reform pedagogy and Carl Marx’s principles as well, he mixed the principles of the socialist activity school and the community education of Makarenko. In his pedagogical work he considered it important to develop children, who come from a societal and cultural disadvantaged family.

József Zsolnai himself raised up in an underdeveloped rural farmland in Hungary. In 1976 and 1977 he examined the upgradeability of disadvantaged Gypsy pupils within the framework of a mother tongue-teaching experiment in a small village. In 1985 the Value Transmitting and Ability Development Programme started at Törökbálint, in an experimental school. He professed to make disadvantaged children acquire the extended (more than the then existing curricular requirements) curricula he used. One of the most important feature of the programme is educating to create. In his pedagogical programme he wanted to upgrade talented students and disadvantaged too, with the principle of



differentiation. This enables the possibility of development in the own tempo of the students, in order to find out their individual talent in different areas.

The aim of this research is to present the pedagogy of József Zsolnai and László Gáspár focusing on disadvantaged situations and equal opportunities. The questions are the followings:

- What are the similarities and the differences in the conception of Gáspár and Zsolnai, examining the surmounting of societal differences and disadvantaged situations?
- How would the two pedagogical programme like to enable the social promotion and the raising of life chances for disadvantaged (and not disadvantaged) societal groups?
- How can the succesfulness of the two programme be judged?

To answer the above questions, I mainly used primary sources and secondary work of references, however I had support from my previous research results, as well. The research method was the content analysis and synthesing analysis of primary and secondary sources.

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**02-SES 15: EDUCATION, MUSIC, TV AND FILM**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): José Luis Hernández Huerta (University of Valladolid)

**Municipal Bands Faces the Negligence of the Government by the Musical Education: First Third of the XX Century in Spain**

Francisco Martín Zúñiga (Universidad de Málaga), María del Carmen Aragón Cruz (Universidad de Málaga)

At the beginning of the 20th century, music education within the educational system was practically non-existent. In the Law of Public Instruction of 1857, which was the one that regulated national education at that time, there was no allusion to music, so its practice in the classrooms was left to the discretion of the teacher's musical knowledge (Valle Moya Martínez, López García, Madrid Vivar 2016). This absence of regulated musical education in schools shows the cultural backwardness of the country. It is of no use that at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th the bourgeoisie began to be interested in music, as evidence of this is the emergence of musical societies, professional music conservatories ...

Faced with this ineffectiveness, it was the music bands that became a dynamic element in the dissemination of musical art in the towns and cities of the country. They represented a transmitting focus of culture and, in many cases, the only means of access for the popular classes to musical education.

As a matter of fact, the objective of this study is to analyze the role played by municipal bands in the popularization of musical education in Spain, not only for their dissemination work through concerts but, fundamentally, for the training contribution of the «Academies de Educandos », educational institutions that emerged under the protection of the aforementioned bands that were, on many occasions, the only way to obtain and enjoy a musical culture or to acquire the necessary training to practice the profession of musician.

We structured the work by providing, first of all, a brief study on the origin and development of municipal bands, paying special attention to their advancement in the first third of the 20th century, and we continue to offer an inquiry about the teaching organization and teachings given in the aforementioned «Academies of Learners», as well as the role they played in social promotion. The sources handled are, for the most part, of a primary nature (regulations, minutes of the municipal plenary sessions, press ...).

**Las Bandas Municipales Frente a la Desidia Del Estado por la Formación Musical: Primer Tercio Del s. XX en España**

A principios del siglo XX la educación musical, dentro del sistema educativo, era prácticamente inexistente. En la ley de Instrucción Pública de 1857, que era la que regulaba la educación nacional en aquellos momentos, no existía ninguna alusión a la música, por lo que su práctica en las aulas quedó al arbitrio de los conocimientos musicales del maestro (Valle Moya Martínez, López García, Madrid Vivar 2016). Esta ausencia de la enseñanza musical reglada en la escuela muestra el retraso cultural del país. De nada sirve que a finales del S. XIX y principios del XX la burguesía comience a interesarse

por la música, siendo prueba de ello el surgimiento de sociedades musicales, conservatorios profesionales de música...

Frente a esa inoperancia, fueron las bandas de música las que se convirtieron en un elemento dinamizador en la difusión del arte musical por los pueblos y ciudades del país. Representaron un foco transmisor de la cultura y, en muchos casos, el único medio de acceso de las clases populares a la educación musical.

Precisamente, el objetivo de este estudio es el de analizar el papel que desempeñaron las bandas municipales en la popularización de la educación musical en España, no sólo por su labor difusora a través de conciertos sino, fundamentalmente, por la aportación formativa de las «Academias de Educandos», instituciones educativas surgidas al amparo de las citadas bandas que fueron, en muchas ocasiones, el único modo de obtener y disfrutar de una cultura musical o de adquirir la formación necesaria para ejercer la profesión de músico.

Estructuramos el trabajo aportando, en un primer momento, un breve estudio sobre el origen y desarrollo de las bandas municipales, prestando especial atención a su avance en el primer tercio del siglo XX, y continuamos ofreciendo una indagación sobre la organización docente y enseñanzas impartidas en las mencionadas «Academias de Educandos», así como el papel que desempeñaron en la promoción social. Las fuentes manejadas son, en su mayoría, de carácter primario (reglamentos, actas de los plenos municipales, prensa...)

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### **The Visual Record of Peronist Childhood Policies. The Case of the Short Documentary "Vacaciones útiles" ("Useful Holidays") (1948)**

Eduardo Lautaro Galak (CONICET/UNLP), María Silvia Serra (UNR)

This research analyses the short documentary film “Vacaciones útiles” (“Useful Vacations”, circa 1948), made by Cine Escuela Argentino state policy, a program dependent on the National Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction. It is a 5:47 duration documentary that presents the activity that schools offer for children as public policy for useful vacations. The aim is to use the period without going to school to learn how to swim in the river, to kite, to play traditional games, to watch theatre puppet and singing shows and to learn folk dances. All this within the framework of government agencies aimed at caring for children from popular sectors at vacation time.

The short film is a material that can be thought as characteristically Peronist filmic propaganda. Insofar as it mentions certain concepts that are constants in the rhetoric of the Perón governments between 1946 and 1955: the narrator mention “people”, the “descamisados”, and the regular uses of the phrase “the only privileged ones are the children” are terms that appear in the film document in an audio-visual way.

It begins by pointing out the danger that the street represents for children when they don’t have to go to school, and how the useful holidays program offers the opportunity to get to know the city, go to the river, play with other children, participate in events and parties. The program presents itself as “the summer vacation of the shirtless children of the nation, for which many games and diversions were in the past an unattainable desire”. In other words, a recurrent idea in Peronism appears as rhetoric: public policy and the role of the State as central in the daily routine of life.

Throughout the short-film is shown how school buildings are used in summer times for these activities. It also offers images of a party for infants with authorities, where fruit packages sent by the Eva Perón Foundation are distributed, and where children dance folk dances, as part of the “new national didactic”.

It is possible to observe a series of elements, both aesthetic and political, present in the way in which Peronism configured childhood. On the one hand, the role of the State as a central regulator not only of institutions aimed at children, such as school, but also of the use of “free time”: holidays, the street, and so on. On the other hand, the emphasis on childhood as a privileged subject typical of the Peronist project (as was pointed out by Adriana Puiggrós). At the same time, the type of discursive construction that is sustained on this particular age segment about their happiness as effect of everyone putting “love in this crusade for children”. And, finally, the audio-visual record as a device to reach a good portion of the population based on a mechanical reproducibility that enables political reproduction, and thereby develop a documentary film near to a totalitarian non-fascist propaganda, but with a democratic rhetoric.

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### **Facing Social Disadvantage at School: the TV Series «Diario di un Maestro» (1973) and Its Representation of an Italian Model**

Anna Debè (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

In 1973, RAI – Radiotelevisione Italiana broadcast the four-part television drama *Diario di un maestro* (Diary of an elementary school teacher), made by the famous Sicilian film director Vittorio De Seta and adapted from Albino Bernardini's autobiographical novel *Un anno a Pietralata* (A year in Pietralata – Pietralata was a poor outer suburb of Rome). The protagonists are the teacher Bruno D'Angelo and his primary school students, who live in conditions of social disadvantage. In a context of cultural and material poverty, D'Angelo's efforts are directed in the first instance at filling his half-deserted classroom with the children who up to now have preferred the street to school, either because they have no interest in learning, or because they were already working. Many of them actually contributed to supporting their families, finding employment as errand or delivery boys, vendors of garlic or scrap metal collectors. Bernardini's book took on a different function in the production of the TV series to that originally intended by De Seta: from an experience to be reproduced on screen, it became an outline to be freely consulted, more in relation to the educational style adopted in it than in terms of a precise order of events. Indeed, the twenty or so child-actors do not recite a part, but they spontaneously respond to the input of the teacher-actor.

*Diario di un maestro* portrayed an innovative way of providing schooling that was distant from traditional models focused on academic contents rather than on students' overall educational development. It was a school sensitive to the needs of students in difficult circumstances, and far from mechanisms driven by achievement, official curricular guidelines, and ministerial bureaucracy. At the same time, the TV drama documented a particular moment in the history of the Italian school system, then under pressure from several quarters to revisit its function and educational approach. Thus, the film version reproduce a specific and successful example of new tendencies within education. It is possible to create an effective school system: this was the message of De Seta's series.

The paper analyses *Diario di un maestro* as a historical source that has contributed to the representation and construction of the collective mentality of the period. The film was investigated by comparing it to Bernardini's book, in relation to the educational features of each. A further focus of study was the interrelationships between the TV serial and the broader social and educational context

in which it was produced. Analysis of the TV drama and book was supplemented by a review of the relevant literature and filmic materials, as well as by an interview with the researcher Francesco Tonucci, who was educational advisor for the series.

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### **Filmstrips at Buenos Aires educational system: (unexplored) history of its antecedents, its contents and the Directorate of Educational Technology (1961-1976)**

Ramiro de Pedro (CONICET/UNLP), Eduardo Lautaro Galak (CONICET/UNLP)

The visual technology known as filmstrip or filmfix was created in 1920 by the French company Pathé, which at the time was dedicated to manufacturing equipment for the new film industry. This technology was seen as a commercial outlet for the remains of film reels that were discarded blank (Vignaux, 2014). It consisted of a 35mm film strip with a different image in each frame, which were reproduced with the help of a projector in a sequenced and individual way. What distinguishes filmstrips is that the images are printed on a roll, so their order was not changeable once the copy was produced. By the early 1930s, it had already entered schools in different countries, such as the United States and France, replacing other didactic resources more fragile or expensive, as well as more difficult to store.

This device was used as a didactic resource for teaching specific pedagogical content or as entertainment within the classroom. Generally, was accompanied by a teacher's guide as scripts that indicated what should be highlighted.

Regarding Argentina, we have found filmstrips produced by the Buenos Aires Province between 1961 and 1976. Although we consider that there should be more editions, we have found 27 issues, and observed a significant dispersion of topics and levels to which they were addressed. Topics such as oral hygiene, environmental cycles, human anatomy and optics, treated for preschool levels, first upper school group, middle grades, higher grades and differentiated education can be rescued.

Filmstrips into the educational system accompanies a growth of the conductism psychological and functionalist sociological, which also inspired in education the emergence of the educational technology field and technocratic pedagogy (Southwell, 1997; Suasnabar, 2004). They conceived teaching as a technological process, structuring itself around the idea of progress to improve its efficiency, through the control of processes according to systems theory. Educational technologies such as filmstrips, which were designed centrally by specialists, and then distributed in schools with

precise instructions for their application. These discourses, which thought of the educational field as a necessary part integrated in a larger process for the planning of economic growth and development, were taken up by Latin American countries (within the context of successive transitions between democratic and dictatorial governments in the region). Various authors and records speak of events organized by ECLAC, UNESCO and OAS in Latin America (Chadwick, 1982; De Luca, 2013; Maggio, 2016; Legarralde, 2017; Vuksinic, 2019) promoting an education view with an efficient and economic approach. In Argentina there were also courses on educational technology organized jointly by the national Ministry of Education and the OAS.

The use of filmstrips as an educational policy in Buenos Aires Province responds to the work on the design of content and production was carried out in a specialized direction of the Ministry of Education of Buenos Aires Province (Direction of Educational Radio Television, then Direction of Educational Technology), and we have found some "teacher's guide" delivered in schools, contained didactic indications and scripts for each frame of the sequence.

### **Los Filmstrips en el Sistema Educativo Bonaerense: Historia (inexplorada) de Sus Antecedentes, Contenidos y la Dirección de Tecnología Educativa (1961-1976)**

La tecnología visual conocida como filmstrip o filmfix fue creada en 1920 por la empresa francesa Pathé, que en ese momento se dedicaba a fabricar equipamiento para la nueva industria cinematográfica. Esta tecnología fue vista como una salida comercial para los restos de rollos de película que hasta ese momento se desechaban en blanco (Vignaux, 2014), consistiendo en una tira de película de 35mm con una imagen distinta en cada cuadro, que se reproducían con ayuda de un proyector de manera secuenciada e individual. Lo que distingue a los filmstrips es que todas las imágenes están impresas en un rollo, y entonces el orden de las mismas no es alterable. Para fines de la década del 20 y principios del 30 la misma ya había ingresado en las escuelas de países como EEUU y Francia, reemplazando otras tecnologías más frágiles, costosas y que ocupan mayor espacio de almacenamiento.

Una cuestión común de este dispositivo era su uso como recurso didáctico para la enseñanza de un contenido pedagógico puntual o como entretenimiento dentro del aula, generalmente acompañado de guías para el docente, que eran guiones de acuerdo a lo que mostraba cada imagen de la secuencia que indicaban qué debía remarcarse e incluso qué decir.

En lo que refiere a Argentina, hemos encontrado ejemplares de filmstrips producidos por la Provincia de Buenos Aires entre los años 1961 y 1976. Hemos relevado 27 ejemplares con una significativa dispersión de temas y niveles a los cuales estaban dirigidos. Aparecen temas como higiene bucal, ciclos ambientales, anatomía humana y óptica, tratados para los niveles preescolar, primer grupo escolar superior, grados medios, grados superiores y enseñanza diferenciada.

El ingreso de los filmstrip en el sistema educativo acompaña un crecimiento de las corrientes sociológicas funcionalistas y psicológicas conductistas en EEUU, que a su vez inspiraron en educación al surgimiento del campo de la tecnología educativa y la pedagogía tecnocrática (Southwell, 1997; Suasnábar, 2004). Estos discursos, que pensaban al ámbito educativo como parte necesaria integrada en un proceso mayor para la planificación de crecimiento y desarrollo económico, fueron retomados por países de Latinoamérica (en el marco de sucesivas transiciones entre gobiernos democráticos y dictatoriales en la región). Diversos autores y registros hablan de eventos organizados por la CEPAL, UNESCO y OEA en América Latina (Chadwick, 1982; De Luca, 2013; Maggio, 2016; Legarralde, 2017; Vuksinic, 2019) promoviendo una educación con enfoque eficientista y economicista. En Argentina también se dictaron cursos sobre tecnología educativa organizados conjuntamente entre el Ministerio de Educación nacional y la OEA.

La aplicación de los filmstrips, en tanto política educativa en la Provincia de Buenos Aires, responde a estos lineamientos: el trabajo sobre el diseño de contenido y producción de los mismos era realizado en una dirección especializada del Ministerio de Educación de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (Dirección de Radio Televisión Educativa, luego Dirección de Tecnología Educativa), y hemos encontrado “guías para el docente” que eran entregadas en las escuelas, con indicaciones didácticas y guiones para cada fotograma, producidos por estas Direcciones.

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## **03-SES 15: THE BATTLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Clémence Cardon-Quint (Bordeaux University)



## **The Legal Battle for Schools: Oklahoma Territory and its Role in the Fight for Educational Access**

Sara Caitlin Doolittle (University of Oklahoma)

This paper explores previously unstudied and undiscovered court challenges brought by black settlers in the territorial period of Oklahoma (1889-1907) in the United States. These black pioneers challenged new legislation that segregated previously integrated territorial schools. African Americans in Oklahoma Territory had equal rights to land under the Homestead Act and the territory's Organic Act. They had historic access to integrated education in other states, Indian Territory, and on military posts. Yet in the legal era that increasingly determined that segregation was equality, black settlers began to see the narrowing of their rights. These families sought the protective wing of the nascent courts whose judges were federal appointees. Territorial courts heard more challenges to segregating schools than in any state. This was a time of unique confluence of law, public education, and defining African American citizenship. Would schools be the gateway to full civic and economic participation? Or would schools be a gatekeeper, denying access to some in order to maintain dominance for others? Territorial courts tackled these questions. Historians have argued that the failure to provide African Americans with civil rights was a result of not redistributing land and/or the premature end to federal oversight in the South after 1876. Oklahoma Territory removes these variables. Black settlers had land, federal oversight, and they could vote. Nevertheless they watched their civil rights diminish as the popular will established segregated education. The loss of access to education was key in re-inscription of second-class citizenship for African Americans.

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### **Reception of Paulo Freire's Critical Literacy in Designing Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee's Education Curriculum in Bangladesh from 1973 to 1981**

Mohammad Abul Fateh (Queen's University)

This paper examines historically the characteristics of the reception of Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire's (1921-1997) critical literacy by a non-government organization Building Resources Across Communities in Bangladesh (BRAC) from 1973 to 1981. Freirean philosophy was explicit in BRAC's teaching and learning strategy (Rafi, 2003) and its curriculum was designed to give the adult learners an idea of deprivation, power relations and how they can challenge certain power groups to get their rights established (Abed & Khanna, 2014). BRAC integrated Freire's "conscientization" in its curriculum in 1974 (BRAC, 1980) which then became fundamental in BRAC's organizing principles and the basis of BRAC's strategy to address poverty through education (Smillie, 2009).

While existing historiography predominantly recognizes BRAC's founder Abed for integrating Freirean philosophy in its education programs and how adult literacy helped the rural poor to fight poverty, my findings suggest that although Abed was inspired by Freire's radical pedagogical tenets in planning and enactment of BRAC's education initiatives to help the rural poor, he depoliticized and de-radicalized Freirean concepts in designing its curriculum and practice. Therefore, a major gap identified in the

current literature is how Abed read Freire within the context of his political intentionality and what he perceived were BRAC's needs.

Thus, the reading of the literature about BRAC led me to an awareness of the lack of a critical approach to BRAC's reception of Freire's ideas and praxis from a historical perspective. I argue that Abed's struggle for the poor was largely limited to the material gain in a capitalistic structure and support the production system of the rural people that lacked the broader Freirean view of freedom and humanizing process of education.

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### **Social Justice Through An Unlikely Door: How The General Education Board Found Support For Secondary Education Through Local Identity**

Deanna Michael (University of South Florida), Barbara Shircliffe (University of South Florida)

Contemporary debates about the role of philanthropy in education reform focus on to what extent private foundations are transforming the role of public education in democratic society. This role is both political and social in that critics see philanthropic driven reforms--characterized as "venture philanthropy"--as undermining both the goals and the democratic governance of public education. Saltman (2010) specifically contrasts the "venture philanthropy" of the twenty-first century with the "scientific philanthropy" nearly a century ago that he argues was driven by a "liberal democratic ethos" with a strong sense of "public obligation" (2). Debates about the shifting role of philanthropy in public education would benefit from historical analysis of the role of private foundations in stimulating the local expansion of public education.

Resistance to the expansion of tax supported schooling to the secondary level was not unique to the southern United States. However, the General Education Board (GEB) focused much of their energy and funding on the southern states because of the poverty and white resistance to developing high schools for even their own children. Many local leaders saw high schools as outside or foreign interventions into their communities that challenged the status quo of white supremacy and an agricultural economy. The GEB, while rightly criticized for their focus on vocational education for African American children and support of the social and economic status quo, encouraged the

development of local support for secondary education through campaigns that engaged local leaders and brought secondary education into the forefront of the educational debate in southern legislatures.

This paper is part of a larger study that targets the correspondence and reports contained in the GEB archives of three major funded positions in the public arena: the professors of secondary education at each state university; the state agents for both white and black education, and the rural school supervisors. These individuals were responsible for overseeing what Fleming (1996) notes as the GEB's three major programs: promoting the development of high schools, the improvement of rural schools, and the creation and implementation of state surveys. The records documenting the activities of these individuals include correspondence between GEB leaders such as Wallace Buttirck, university presidents, state superintendents, state agents and supervisor along with the field reports and surveys.

In this paper we will look how the GEB leadership deliberately used localism to gain support for their political and social goals of expanding secondary education in the Southern United States, in particular Kentucky and Georgia, where the professors of secondary education at the University of Georgia and the University of Kentucky used their southern roots to gain the trust of local leaders and state politicians to alter laws prohibiting state funding of secondary education (Georgia) and to expand access to public high schools for white students (Kentucky). We will also look at how the leadership of the GEB resisted pressure to fund only white schools and private educational ventures and kept their focus on expanding public secondary education.

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### **Free And Compulsory Education Of The Depressed Classes: An Analysis Of The Debates In Early Twentieth Century India**

Chandra Lekha Singh (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Depressed classes were the Outcastes (outside the four-fold caste system of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra). Their touch (in many regions of the country their sight as well) was (in no small

extent this practice is alive in the present century as well) considered to be polluting. Hence, they were designated as Untouchables. J.A. Richey, the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, defined the depressed classes in the following terms:

From the point of view of the educationist a child may be said to belong to a depressed class if his or her presence in the common school is resented by respectable parents. It is in fact this prejudice, even more than their own disinclination for schooling, which has kept the depressed classes educationally backward (Richey 1923: 206)

This definition by Richey aptly describes the reasons behind the low educational status of the untouchables. The lowest position accorded to them within the Hindu Social system due to the vice of untouchability tremendously affected their social, economic, political and educational status in the society. The colonial rule reinforced this inequality through its policy of Downward filtration, according to which the state chose to provide modern education to the upper caste and landed elites and assumed that these educated elites, in turn, would spread knowledge among the masses. This dissemination of knowledge, however, did not happen. In 1911, Gopal Krishna Gokhale introduced the Elementary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. This Bill provisioned for four years of compulsory education to all the children between 6 and 10 years of age. The underprivileged, marginalised, and derogatory status of depressed castes accorded them the unique position within the compulsory education debate. The extension of compulsory education to the depressed castes was not only fiercely opposed but was also one of the significant social factors behind the failure of Gokhale's Bill. The historiography of Indian history of education reveals that the debates on free and compulsory education of depressed castes have hitherto remained unexplored. The social reason for the failure of Gokhale's Bill is entirely missing from the existing literature. The historical studies on depressed classes (Basu 2011; Viswanath 2016; Pandian 2016) have dealt with the education of these classes as a part of their more extensive study, but no exclusive study has been undertaken to address the debates pertaining to education in general and compulsory education in particular, of these classes. Paik's (2014) study highlights the role of Dalit leaders in their struggle for compulsory education but a detailed analysis of the social factors behind the failure of Gokhale's Bill is wanting. This paper, therefore, aims to bring to the fore hitherto unexplored social factors for the denial of the right to free and compulsory education to these underprivileged marginalised sections of the society. This exercise has been carried out by employing Historical method involving an analysis of the primary data from archival documents, periodicals and newspapers of the time.

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#### 04-SES 15: HIGHER EDUCATION, EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Daniel Lövheim (Stockholm university)

##### **Between Tradition and Experiment: The Idea of a New University and First-generation University Students**

Maria Simonsen (Aalborg University, Denmark) *Between tradition and experiment: The idea of a new university and first-generation university students*

From the mid-1960s and a decade onwards, three new universities were established in Denmark: Odense (1966), Roskilde (1972) and Aalborg (1974), until then only two universities had existed, Copenhagen (1479) and Aarhus (1928). Located on the outskirts of the major cities, the new institutions played an important part in reforming and transforming higher education in Denmark.

The universities in Roskilde and Aalborg were not established as universities in name, but as university centers and they were seen as more experimental institutions both in terms of research and pedagogical approaches compared to the traditional universities.

From a perspective of the history of knowledge, this paper investigates the discussions and expectations concerning the establishment of the university centers in the period 1970-75 and its intention on recruiting students with non-academic backgrounds. Based on the contemporaneous debates in the parliament and national and regional papers, this study seeks to analyze the underlying knowledge ideas and ideals which characterized the discussion, through the four questions. Firstly, what was the projected purpose of the new universities? What knowledge ideals were expressed in the debate? Secondly, what ideas were prevalent concerning the future students? And were there any particular thoughts concerning students from non-academic backgrounds?

Research on the history of the younger Danish universities is limited and biographically oriented, this study is contributing to fill an important gap, not least since it offers a novel approach, by studying what knowledge ideals have characterized and influenced the identity of the university centers and the new student populations.



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## **Rethinking Higher Education in the United States: State Colleges, Students, and Educational Opportunity, 1945-1970**

Marc VanOverbeke (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Based on archival research, this presentation explores the development of state colleges in the United States between 1945 and 1970. By considering the development of these institutions, this presentation also addresses the students who attended them and expands our understanding of education as key to social reform and social justice.

Some historians have labeled the post-World War II years a "golden age" in higher education in the United States, since more students went to college than before.[i] However, this story usually has

focused on elite higher education—the Ivy League universities (Harvard and Yale) and the public research universities (University of Wisconsin or University of California).[ii] Historical research has not captured the complex role that state colleges played in expanding opportunities in postwar America. These state colleges were public institutions, supported by public funds. They more open in their admissions processes and did not recruit from the top ranks of American society, as was likely with elite institutions. They also were not focused heavily on research or graduate education, as was the case among the public research universities. Many had started as teachers colleges and then expanded into full-fledged comprehensive institutions in the mid-twentieth century, while others were new institutions.

These institutions grew dramatically in the postwar decades in response to growing demand from students. Since a college education increasingly provided a valuable credential and access to a middle class profession, students sought out these institutions as a route to a prosperous and economically secure lifestyle. By the 1970s, state colleges awarded one-third of the nation's bachelor's and master's degrees by the 1970s. As such, they proved to be integral to the economic aspirations of Americans and to the greater economic equality that marked these decades.[iii]

By exploring the history of these institutions, this presentation also uncovers the history of the students who attended these colleges. The students who attended state colleges in this period were usually the first in their families to attend college. Their parents often were from lower-income backgrounds than students who attended more elite universities and colleges. In other ways, the students who attended state colleges were similar to students from elite universities. For example, by the 1960s they were increasingly active and vocal in protests on their campuses against the Vietnam War, as were students at more elite institutions. They also focused their protests on ensuring that more young people who had not traditionally enrolled in college—especially African American and Hispanic students—had access to a college education.

Consequently, these institutions represent an important—but often overlooked—element in social justice movements that shaped the United States in the postwar decades. By looking at these institutions and the students who attended these institutions, this presentation considers the social history of a group of students often overlooked in the shadows of elite institutions.

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## **Experiences of Social Extension in the Spanish Universities in the 20th and 21st Centuries.**

Jon Igelmo Zaldívar (Complutense University of Madrid), Patricia Quiroga Uceda (Complutense University of Madrid)

In this work we analyze the different conceptualizations of social extension developed in Spanish universities in the 20th and 21st centuries. We begin this historical study with an approach to the notions of social extension within the settlement movement. In its origin this was a reformist social movement that began in late 19th in England and reached its splendor in the first two decades of the 20th century, gaining a prominent presence in the United States. The movement began in 1884 with the founding of the Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, London. Since its foundation, university students actively participated by offering educational, economic, artistic and sports programs to people in situations of poverty and in need of basic services. In 1889 the settlement movement reached the United States. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr founded the Hull House.

In Spain the ideas of the settlement movement had an early reception. The case of the experience carried out at the University of Oviedo in the 1901/02 academic year is of great interest in this regard, where the so-called "popular classes" [clases populares] for workers were established. This model of social extension, which differed from the model of Popular Universities that opened in the main Spanish cities between 1903 and 1936 and the Pedagogical Missions (Misiones Pedagógicas) from 1931 to 1937, was directly inspired by the settlement movement and had the figure of Leopoldo Palacios Morini as its main reference. The "popular classes" were in operation in ten consecutive courses at the University of Oviedo.

During the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) a new model of university social extension was put into practice. This model had a clear Catholic inspiration. In these initiatives, the figure of Father José María de Llanos stood out, who led some of the most notable experiences of university social extension in Madrid, such as the Residential College Santa María del Campo, founded in 1952, and the Residential College Antonio Rivera, which began in 1953, from which innovative social service programs for university students were put into practice. In parallel, between 1952 and 1968, the University Labor Service [Servicio Universitario del Trabajo] remained open, which included the so-called "Popular Education Campaigns" [Campañas de Educación Popular] in which 2,800 university students participated in 11 provinces of Spain developing mainly literacy campaigns.

With the approval of the democratic Constitution of 1978 and the successive university reforms, social extension programs in Spain enter a different historical phase. In the last decades it is possible to observe the proliferation of Service-Learning programs. These programs contain a clear discursive transition in terms of the conceptualization of learners in Spanish universities. In this sense, the 1980s represent a time of change and rupture that opened the way towards a new idea of education in which the learner submits to a process of constant innovation that aims to cultivate in subjects the ability to adapt to an ever-changing context.

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### **Three Waves against Women Higher Education in America (1870-1920)**

Yujie Jiang (Beijing Normal University)

Starting from three main waves that were opposed to women higher education, the paper attempts to examine the arguments and institutional dilemmas faced by women higher education in the late 19th and early 20th America, so as to provide us with a new perspective and interpretation for

understanding the complexity of women higher education. In view of feminist standpoint theory, it has been discovered that there were three main waves of opposition to women higher education during 1870s-1920s. The first wave of objection denied the necessity of women's higher education, believed that women's unique physiology limited their education capacity and to expose them to the rigorous intellectual exercise of higher education would threaten their future reproductive capacity. The second wave of objection criticized the low fertility rate of the women college graduates of first generation, and even denounced them for "race suicide" of the white race. By the end of the 19th century, the enrollment rate of women was getting higher and higher especially in coeducation universities and colleges, which caused a scare of "feminization of university" among some groups like university leaders or some famous psychologists. It was called the third wave of opposition. Also, there were other arguments against women higher education such as believing that college women cannot be good housewives and mothers simultaneously. All of above lead to a step backward for women's higher education in institutional level. Gender segregation both in academic and social aspect became the principle of educational organizations once again. It can be seen from four aspects: the quota system for girls; the return to coordination colleges; the establishment of separate classes for college men and women; the establishment of separate scholarship program only for boys. In conclusion, it can be said that most of the oppositions had little to do with whether higher education was good for women. On the contrary, more had a greater relationship with whether educated women were accepted for men. In essence, these arguments and institutional dilemmas reflect the patriarchal society's excessive attention to female reproductive functions, the devaluation of women's values, and the restrictions of women's social roles.

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## 05-SES 15: SCHOOL MEMORIES IN THE POSTWAR ERA

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Victor Johansson (Stockholm University)

### **Rethinking the Social Memory of School in Portugal in a Sociodynamic Perspective**

Rooney Figueiredo Pinto (University of Coimbra)

Estado Novo [Portuguese for New State] comprises a dictatorship period in Portugal (1933-1974) mainly featured by Salazar. Memories of former teachers from that time, constitute an exceptional source for understanding the dynamics aspects of school, families and social contexts. Taking as starting point the thesis that the memory is sociodynamic and the teachers' narratives reflects the reading of the biographical events lived individually or collectively comparing the past and the present, this article proposes reflections about how the political and social context of students, families and teachers during "Estado Novo" is remembered and how does the comparison between the past and the present reveal the sociodynamics perspective of memory in the narrative. Our theoretical argument is based on the works of Moles (1971), Halbwachs (1994), Namer (1987), Ricoeur (2004), Connerton (1993), Bergson (2012), Le Goff (2000), Fentress & Wickham (2013), Popper (2018), amongst others. For the empirical study, due to the research object, the qualitative approach is chosen, which path mainly includes content analysis for data treatment of the semistructured interviews applied in 2017 and 2019 to students and teachers who gave classes during Estado Novo.

Through the teachers' narratives, it was possible to verify that the school memories privileged the difficulties encountered in the exercise of the teaching profession and how the regime revealed itself in the classroom, materials, conception of authority, punishment and relation between students and teachers. The economic and social contexts of students and teachers are remembered in a paradoxically nostalgic way, often using a romantic narrative about the authority, prestige and respect that the teachers had then. In many times, this narrative compares positively the time lived with an unwanted reality in the present context. That remembrances highlight the creativity of the teachers to overcome the difficulties faced by the economic and social limitations of students and schools, but also the memory of school time during Estado Novo evokes positive memories that overlap with the negative ones; often placing the political and social problematic just as background, these teachers evidenced a resilient reading of the difficult contexts of the teaching practice as a conquest or victory over the difficulties that today no longer exist. Almost claiming that the past is better than the present, the memories evoked by the interviewed teachers show that recollection requires an interpretation under the socialdynamic perspective between the past lived and the present observed. The narrator uses current contexts to give positive and negative meanings to the past, to identify with it and to be recognized, revealing through the narrative the sociodynamic perception of the biographical event, while contributing to a better understanding of the social memory of the school in Portugal.

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### **Building an Equal Society: the Struggle of the Italian Popular Schools During the Second Postwar Through Some Teachers' Narratives**

Evelina Scaglia (University of Bergamo)

An interesting field to rethink the Social in the History of Education can be identified in the microhistory of some popular schools opened in Italy during the second postwar, according to the Decree 12/04/47 of the Minister of Education Guido Gonella (Sani, 2018). Those new schools were invested of two important functions: to struggle against the cultural and moral illiteracy and to educate Italians to a democratic way of life, after two decades under the Fascist regime. The social dimension of education was reinterpreted in a new manner, in order to recognize the centrality of the educational needs of each human person and the leading role of the educational relation with students, brotherly driven to become real protagonists of their life's choices (Chizzolini, 1950; Damiano, 2019). Most students were marginal teenagers, orphan girls, manual workers, injured men, widows, disabled or elderly people. For each of them, popular schools offered a new chance of life, because they gave them the possibility to experience an educational context characterized by solidarity, equity, inclusion and reciprocal cooperation, through the valorization of mutual and spontaneous teaching-learning processes (Chizzolini, 1949; Scaglia, 2016).

This first draft could take advantage of two heuristic historiographical perspectives: the first one is represented by the study of the Individual School Memories (Meda, Viñao, 2017); the second one by the analysis of the Educationalization of Social Problems (Smeyers, Depaepe, 2008). It aims to investigate some meaningful popular schools' narratives made known by the Catholic teacher magazine «Scuola Italiana Moderna» in the year 1948-49, after a contest between the readers promoted by the editor-in-chief Vittorino Chizzolini, which was involved in the concurrent Italian school system reform (Sani, 1997; Scaglia, 2020). The best narratives were awarded the publication in a special insert of the magazine, entitled *Scoperta d'anime alla scuola popolare*. They could be considered as examples of Individual School Memories, "made" by the real words of some teachers, which offered an original portrait of their students and the practice of schooling as means of popular education and social growth, built from below.

The narratives show how those popular schools represented a sort of laboratories to experiment a new social theory of education, connected to the lower classes' educational needs (Ferrer, 2011) and aimed at encouraging each person to start self-education processes, to learn from real-life activities and to recognize manual work as a source of education and social building (Lund, Carr, 2008; Bertagna, 2020). They were characterized, indeed, by the emphasis on the democratic dimension of schooling, the promotion of active school method and a new approach to teacher education, more attentive to struggle for equal rights (Bertoni Jovine, 1954; Santoni Rugiu, 1979; Sani, 2018). Consequently, their study could contribute to rethink the Social in the History of Education, because it will highlight the role of popular education in building a new democratic society, based on the social justice, the respect of personal rights, the acknowledgment of popular culture (Braster, 2011), against the risk of the past Fascist populism.

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### **“Then we were ready to be radicals!” – Memories of School Student Activism In Post-war Finland**

Essi Jouhki (University of Jyväskylä)

The previous years have marked the rise of a new kind of a youth generation, that has taken an active stand against global issues, such as climate change. Friday's for Future school strikes and mass demonstrations by school students have a strong resemblance to events that took place some 50 years ago around the Western countries. Much like today, the flow of the '60s swept over young people of different ages. But what differs, unlike 50 years ago, this time the forefront of the movement is dominated by school-aged children. Historically, the history of youth radicalism, as well as the cultural story of the year '68, has been dominated by university students. Previous research has widely neglected the fact, that the student movement also mobilized younger and often more eager students from the secondary school levels. (Marwick 1998; Vinen 2018; Jorgenssen 2008.) History of the school students' activism has so far been in the margins (see Graham 2005; Cunningham & Lavalette 2014; Ides 2014).

In my paper, I aim to demonstrate that school-aged children have a long and transnational history of dissidence and joining together to oppose strong authorities and conservative values in educational institutions and society at large. This paper is based on my PhD study on the history of the school student movement in Finnish upper secondary schools in the 1950s to 1970s. In my PhD study, I demonstrated that the post-war Finnish upper secondary school students constituted a school student movement, that aimed to change the Finnish school system and society at large. By advocating for changes within the institutions, they also aimed to change the prospects of an entire generation.

Based on oral history and life interviews collected as a part of my PhD study, I will discuss themes of youthful activism and memories of school and youth. I will use the Finnish school students as an example to demonstrate, how school students have activated in protests against national and international issues at different times. My overarching research questions are 1) what kind of forms school student activism took and how it evolved, 2) what were the motives behind the activism? Moreover, by addressing these questions, I aim to provide new perspectives on the history of school

student activism and help to understand the mechanisms of youth movements. The results can, for example, help to better understand the agency and participation of young people in the ever so topical climate movement.

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### **The “American Milk” and the collective memory of the Spaniards**

Francisca Comas-Rubí (University of the Balearic Islands), Avelina Miquel-Lara (University of the Balearic Islands)

In 1950s Francoist Spain, the negotiations and conversations began that would lead to the signing of the Pact of Madrid in 1953. Thanks to this pact, Spain gained access to what was known as American Social Aid (ASA), which was split between donations, interest-bearing loans, access to agricultural surpluses from the US and food donations, all in exchange for Spain agreeing to allow the installation of US military bases in the country and to gradually abandon its policy of economic autarky.

The donation of food from surplus agricultural production came to be worth 129.4 million dollars and was managed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. This food was distributed at social, family and school level. The Ministry of National Education created the Servicio Escolar de Alimentación y Nutrición (School Food and Nutrition Service: SEAN) in 1954, which would be in charge of distributing the ASA to schools. At social and family level, food aid was managed by Caritas Spain.

This episode in Spanish school and social history is part of the collective memory of several generations of Spaniards who recall, with greater or lesser enthusiasm, how they would drink powdered milk at school every day. The history of the origins, development and consequences of American Social Aid has been studied by different authors, who have provided their analyses from a perspective of social, political and even media history. Nonetheless, these narratives do not include the recollections of those who lived through this period first-hand.

The aim of this paper is to look at this recollection and supplement knowledge 'from below' regarding what the ASA was and represented for Spanish children through contributions, opinions and representations from those who experienced it directly.

To do this, we will use the so-called digital public history approach, making use of the internet to furnish the analysis of this topic from a more democratising perspective. We will locate and analyse those areas on the web (blogs, sites, etc.) where those who lived it first-hand share their recollections, photographs or objects linked to those years, when they were made to drink the so-dubbed 'American milk'. Our aim will be to analyse how the protagonists themselves represent and interpret this period from the past (describing their sensations, joking about the topic, praising it, criticising it or simply remembering it) and how they make their voices heard beyond the grand narratives about a topic that is part of the social history of education in Spain and the collective memory of all Spaniards. [EDU2017-82485-P. Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (AEI/ERDF, EU)]

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**01-SES 16: THE SOCIAL IN THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION: REVISITING CATEGORIES IN A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

Symposium, Part 1 and Part 2 (English, Spanish, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Luís Grosso Correia (University of Porto), Antonio Mauro Romano Granito (Universidad de la República/Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación)

**The Social in the Historical Study of Secondary Education: Revisiting Categories in a Transnational Perspective (1)**

The processes of schooling expansion undertaken from the postwar period onwards led to the revision of the ways to approach the mission and organization of the secondary education level. The relationship with this education level and the processes of social stratification became a relevant issue since the 1960s. Focused on the cases of France, England and Germany, a set of fertile categories were produced within the framework to think the relationship between secondary school configuration and expansion and social differentiation processes (Albisetti, 1983; Ringer, 1979; Archer, 1979; Mueller, Ringer and Simon, 1992; Steedman, 1992).

Two key concepts emerged at that time: systematization and segmentation. The first of these processes, systematization, refers to the articulation of educational institutions through certifications, exams, and curricula. The second, segmentation, refers to the diversification of secondary education and the way in which it took place: the creation of educational levels and modalities (Mueller, 1992). According to Ringer (1979), the segmentation consisted of the development of educational routes according to the place to be occupied in the labor market. Educational research findings have demonstrated that these places were marked by a tight connection with the original social positions of students.

The countries of early educational modernization tended to follow this dynamic during the configuration of their educational systems. In the expansion phase, there were several ways of extension of the secondary school. Some countries adopted a continuous unitary structure (the Nordic countries for example), others avoided early educational segmentation through the creation of comprehensive schools (the Saxon countries and, partially, France) while some maintained an early vertical differentiation structure (Germany, Austria). Among these forms, there are variants, hybrids, combinations, as reflected by Latin American countries for example.

The symposium has two objectives. On one hand, to show a panorama of experiences of the expansion of the secondary school. On the other hand, to review the categories where these processes were analyzed, categories sometimes shaped in reference to the particular experience of some Western European countries.

In order to discuss the mentioned categories, this symposium intends to present six national experiences of early modernization education systems in Europe (Portugal and Spain) and Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Uruguay). The national studies will seek to address the issue of the configuration and expansion of the secondary school in relation to the dynamics of systematization and segmentation (namely, contexts of creation and expansion, structural forms, tracks, and modalities...). The discussion about the scope and limits of the mentioned categories will be drawn upon the particular combinations carried out by the different national education systems.

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### **How to use English in the History of Secondary Education... and not die in the attempt. Towards an International Terminology**

Antonio Fco. Canales (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

English has been accepted as the international “lingua franca” of scientific communication, including that of historians of education. In history, this adoption of English poses the problem of how to give general and common meaning to terms that have originated from the concrete English experience and how to avoid introducing notable biases or distortions in their application to other cases. This general difficulty is especially serious in education, since the history of English education, as well as North American education, has notable peculiarities in comparison with continental Europe and Latin America. Thus, a paradoxical situation is created, as the terms created from an exceptional case are used to express cases that are taken to be the common norm. This makes it difficult to understand the history of education on an international level, and especially the history of secondary education. Therefore, it is necessary to work towards the establishment of an international standard terminology that is more conceptual than descriptive, one which, at the same time, limits the exact meaning of the terms and makes them broadly inclusive. This is a key task for international historiography.

This paper aims to contribute to the discussion on this common terminology from the Spanish perspective. To this end, the main characteristics of the historical evolution of secondary education in Spain will be presented, from its origins in the early nineteenth century to the comprehensive reform of 1970. Secondly, the Spanish terms used in each historical period will be presented. Subsequently, we will compare these historical terms with those used today and with their possible English translations, in order to better evaluate the challenges that these updates and translations entail.

Finally, we will offer a brief comparison of the Italian, French and German cases in terms of historical evolution and terminology, thus undertaking a general discussion about the most appropriate conceptual terminology in English. The presentation aims to serve as a basis for a practical discussion among the symposium attendees.

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### **Secondary Education Reforms in Brazil: From World War II to the UNESCO Recommendation on Education for International Understanding and Peace**

Halford Carlos Ribeiro Júnior (Federal University of Fronteira Sul)

The transformations in the education system and curriculum, in which the themes and problems of teaching are placed in a historical formation, presuppose the existence of relations between power and knowledge, in such a way that historical conditions, institutional practices and epistemologies win the researcher's gaze; Reform includes the reorganization of the education system, the creation of new bureaucratic bodies and regulations, new curriculum, denoting a dynamic relationship between society and school (Popkewitz 1997). Anchored in this sociocultural perspective of educational reform and curriculum, this paper aims to present an overview of Brazilian secondary education, between 1942 and 1971, from the Gustavo Capanema Reform to the 1971 Education Guidelines and Bases Act, in which structure of secondary education, from an 8-year education divided between junior high and high school, for only one cycle of studies, the high school, 3 years, with the possibility of entering a vocational education. In this scenario, we will discuss the objectives prescribed by the state, the main characteristics and the expansion of the education system. From this information, we will problematize the relationship between secondary education and society, with a view to producing reflections on the following question: how did the reorganization of the education system respond to the demands of its time, especially the dynamics of Brazilian politics and society and international conjuncture? The 1942 reform was engendered in a period of great conflict, in Brazil under the tutelage of an authoritarian government, the Estado Novo (1937-1945) and internationally, the dynamics of World War II; In the Brazilian democratic period (1945-1964), there was the reorganization of the education system, the curriculum reform of 1951 and the Law of Guidelines and Bases of Education of 1961, at the international level is marked by the post-war, in which there is of UNESCO for the construction of an international agenda for the valorization of a culture of peace; and, finally, the 1971 LDB developments in which it altered secondary education within a Cold War censorship national security policy under the military regime (1964-1985) from 1964. To answer these questions, we rely on the bibliography on



the history of education, the school legislation produced in the period, the statistical data produced by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the work and the publications produced by UNESCO.

### **Reformas do Ensino Secundário no Brasil: da II Guerra à Recomendação sobre Educação para a Compreensão e Paz Internacionais (UNESCO)**

As transformações no sistema de ensino e no currículo, nos quais os temas e os problemas do ensino são colocados em uma formação histórica, pressupõe a existência de relações entre poder e conhecimento, de tal maneira que as condições históricas, as práticas institucionais e as epistemologias ganham a mirada do pesquisador; a reforma inclui a reorganização do sistema de ensino, a criação de novos órgãos burocráticos e regulamentações, novos currículos, denotando uma dinâmica de relações entre a sociedade e a escola (Popkewitz, 1997). Ancorado nesta perspectiva sociocultural da reforma educacional e do currículo, a presente comunicação tem como objetivo apresentar um panorama do ensino secundário brasileiro, entre 1942 e 1971, da Reforma Gustavo Capanema até a Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação de 1971, em que alterou a estrutura da educação secundária, de um ensino composto por 8 anos subdividido entre ginásial e colegial, para apenas um ciclo de estudos, o segundo grau, de 3 anos, com a possibilidade de ingresso em uma educação profissionalizante. Nesse panorama, discutiremos os objetivos prescritos pelo Estado, as características principais e a ampliação do sistema de ensino. A partir dessas informações, problematizaremos a relação entre o ensino secundário e a sociedade, com vista a produzir reflexões sobre a seguinte indagação: de que maneira a reorganização do sistema de ensino respondia as demandas de seu tempo, especialmente as dinâmicas da política brasileira e da conjuntura internacional? A reforma de 1942 foi engendrada em um período de grandes conflitos, no Brasil sob a tutela de um governo autoritário, o Estado Novo (1937-1945) e no plano internacional, a dinâmica da Segunda Guerra Mundial; no período democrático brasileiro (1945-1964), ocorreu a reorganização do sistema de ensino, a reforma curricular de 1951 e a Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação de 1961, no plano internacional é marcado pelo pós-guerra, em que há a atuação da UNESCO para a construção de uma agenda internacional para a valorização de uma cultura de paz; e, por fim, os desdobramentos da LDB de 1971, em que alterou o ensino secundário, no interior de uma política de segurança nacional, de censura, da Guerra Fria, sob o regime militar (1964-1985) proveniente do Golpe Civil Militar de 1964. Para responder tais indagações, nos apoiamos na bibliografia sobre história da educação, na legislação escolar produzida no período, nos dados estatísticos produzidos pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), no trabalho e nas publicações produzidas pela UNESCO.

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### **The Social in the Historical Study of Secondary Education: Revisiting Categories in a Transnational Perspective (2)**

The processes of schooling expansion undertook from the postwar period onwards led to the revision of the ways to approach the mission and organization of the secondary education level. The relationship with this education level and the processes of social stratification became a relevant issue since the 1960s. Focused on the cases of France, England and Germany, a set of fertile categories were produced within the framework to think the relationship between secondary school configuration and expansion and social differentiation processes (Albisetti, 1983; Ringer, 1979; Archer, 1979; Mueller,

Ringer and Simon, 1992; Steedman, 1992). Two key concepts emerged at that time: systematization and segmentation. The first of these processes, systematization, refers to the articulation of educational institutions through certifications, exams, and curricula. The second, segmentation, refers to the diversification of secondary education and the way in which it took place: the creation of educational levels and modalities (Mueller, 1992). According to Ringer (1979), the segmentation consisted of the development of educational routes according to the place to be occupied in the labor market. Educational research findings have demonstrated that these places were marked by a tight connection with the original social positions of students. The countries of early educational modernization tended to follow this dynamic during the configuration of their educational systems. In the expansion phase, there were several ways of extension of the secondary school. Some countries adopted a continuous unitary structure (the Nordic countries for example), others avoided early educational segmentation through the creation of comprehensive schools (the Saxon countries and, partially, France) while some maintained an early vertical differentiation structure (Germany, Austria). Among these forms, there are variants, hybrids, combinations, as reflected by Latin American countries for example. The symposium has two objectives. On one hand, to show a panorama of experiences of the expansion of the secondary school. On the other hand, to review the categories where these processes were analyzed, categories sometimes shaped in reference to the particular experience of some Western European countries. In order to discuss the mentioned categories, this symposium intends to present six national experiences of early modernization education systems in Europe (Portugal and Spain) and Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Uruguay). The national studies will seek to address the issue of the configuration and expansion of the secondary school in relation to the dynamics of systematization and segmentation (namely, contexts of creation and expansion, structural forms, tracks, and modalities...). The discussion about the scope and limits of the mentioned categories will be drawn upon the particular combinations carried out by the different national education systems.

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### **The State's Modelling Systematisation and Segmentation in the Origin and Expansion of the Secondary School in Argentina**

Felicitas Acosta (General Sarmiento University)

This paper examines the hypothesis that in Argentina the secondary school expansion was based on a simultaneously occurring incorporation-expulsion dynamics where the institutional model focused on the “national high schools” seems to have taken a key role. Indeed, in Argentina, the creation of free and compulsory elementary education was followed by the development of secondary education through the creation of the Colegio Nacional (national schools). These schools, created in 1863, oriented to the university, were the institutions responsible for the formation of the ruling classes. (Acosta, 2012). The selectivity of these institutions and the humanistic content of their curricula increased their homogeneity.

Since the late nineteenth century, the expansion of the institutional offer for secondary education came from the national State. To ensure a process of creating institutional offer homogeneous, the federal State exercised control power through two tools: bureaucratic centralization and curriculum control. However, the provinces reacted to attempts at concentration and control by the national State.

This paper specifically analyses the process of the State’s modelling systematisation which might have allowed the national school model to operate as a defining institution in the development of other secondary school forms. The article then explores the effects of the abovementioned systematisation and discusses the form adopted by the segmentation during the secondary school expansion.

The paper is based on studies on the place of the State in shaping educational systems (Archer, 1979; Green, 1990; Mueller, 1992; Savoie, Brutter & Frijhoff, 2004). In particular, on the concept of state systematization (Acosta, 2019) while the central State's ability to ensure the coordination of schools in a territory from a logic of educational concentration. Both primary sources, i.e. official decrees and regulations, and secondary sources on this subject are quoted.

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### **The Portuguese Secondary Education in the Mirror of International Agencies in the 1960s**

Luís Grosso Correia (University of Porto)

During Portugal's authoritarian regime (1933-1974), known as the Estado Novo, political and social representatives generally agreed on the mission of the dual tracked system of secondary education (the lyceums with a traditional, liberal syllabus as opposed to technical-vocational schools) within Portuguese post-primary studies. The fact that that secondary schooling was not compulsory, involved admission exams and enrolment and attendance fees, made this education level more selective. The mission, principles, goals and organizational methods that characterized each track were shaped to satisfy different social needs (and classes): the lyceum schooling for the high and middle-ranked officers of public administration and the vocational schools for the low or specialized jobs related to industry and service sectors.

Having the Portuguese secondary education as main focus, this paper intends to discuss the recurrent debates on the mission of secondary education in Portugal (Correia, 2011, 2016a, 2016b), on one hand, and on comparative education field in the 1960s, on the other, by revisiting the results provided by studies carried out by UNESCO, OECD and IBE (International Bureau of Education) in the same period.

This paper proposes to intersect two concomitants views and it is therefore structured into two key dimensions. On the one hand, it intends to outline the influence of intergovernmental agencies in the international education arena, capable of influencing the policy agendas of their member countries (see UNESCO, 1955-1972; IBE, 1963 and 1964; OECD, 1965, 1966, 1967 and 1968) and also the theoretical trends that shaped the field of comparative education in the 1960s (see Kerr, 1960; CESE, 1963; Bereday, 1964; Postlethwaite, 1967; Schultze, 1968; Nóvoa, 1995 and 2003; Paulston, 1999; Teodoro, 2001 and 2019). On the other hand, it aims to analyze the impact of the international studies in the Portuguese education policies addressed to secondary education (extension of compulsory schooling, gender co-education, launch of ICT and pedagogical experiments, widening of the state-schools network, more flexibility in teacher training programs, etc.), which were implemented within a strict and traditional curriculum framework in the 1960s.

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### **Symposium Open Discussion**

Antonio Fco. Canales (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Carlos Jilmar Díaz-Soler (Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, Bogotá), Halferd Carlos Ribeiro Júnior (Federal University of Fronteira Sul)

### **02-SES 16: SCALE AND DIVERSITY AS CHALLENGES IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES FROM COLOMBIA, SWEDEN, AND THE U.S.**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Björn Norlin (Umeå University), Urban, Clas Claesson (Uppsala Universitet), Madeleine Michaëlsson (Dalarna University)

### **Scale and Diversity as Challenges in the History of Education: Historical Perspectives from Colombia, Sweden, and the U.S.**

This preformed panel explores implications of scale and diversity in the history of education by looking at experiences from Colombia, Sweden, and the U.S. Its point of departure is the tension between reform efforts for higher standards in public education and reality when introducing them. In order to explain institutional and alternative arrangement to promote test-scores or prevent dropouts, this panel present historical perspectives from above, below, and in-between based on data from three countries.

Our first panelist, Maria Deldén, explores the background and development of autonomous initiatives for education by teachers in Colombia. Her paper outlines the teachers' perspectives on the conflict between the official educational system, with a school-for-all, and the impact of routine violence and inequality. This paper highlights teachers' responses to policies that speak of social inclusion, but acts as a force for conserving social exclusion. Our second panelist, A.J. Angulo, investigates high-stakes accountability in the U.S. based on three key themes: starting points, dominant theories of change, and patterns of support and resistance. This paper concludes with a discussion of recurring gaps

between the real and ideal in education accountability history. The panel's third contribution turns from institutional policy perspectives to the pupils' point of view, or "looking from below." Our final panelist, Madeleine Michaëlsson, explores the situation for children, who became dropouts from elementary school due to their industrial work in Sweden, 1870–1910. She draws on a wide range of source materials, including pupils' memories, school district minutes, and teacher's memories. This paper questions earlier interpretations that suggest that children and their families made a conscious and free choice when the children were put to work instead of being sent to elementary school.

Collectively, these papers respond to the ISCHE 42 invitation for scholars to rethink the social in history of education by re-addressing cultural, economic, and political issues. The Colombian, U.S., and Swedish contexts examined will also allow participants to consider comparative perspectives on how social development intersect with education policies.

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### **Project Pedagogy: A case study of Colombian network for teacher formation**

Maria Deldén (Dalarna University)

In 1996 a network for transformation of teacher formation was founded in Latin America, la Red Latinoamericana para la Transformación de la Formación de Docentes en Lenguaje, with representatives from Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Shortly after a national network in Colombia was affiliated to the Latin American network, la Red Colombiana para la Transformación de la Formación Docente en Lenguaje. The network was founded as an answer to a need for teacher autonomy to respond to needs in education, and to seek new paths for students' knowledge improvement (Jurado, 2018). This paper describes the educational situation and background in Colombia for such an initiative to transform teacher formation.

As in other countries, education in Colombia during the twentieth century was subject to political interests, as visualized in education policy documents. Two political competing lines were in the foreground: school as a place to promote national patriotism and Catholicism versus school as means

to improve economic modernization (González, 2014; Herrera, Pinilla & Suaza, 2007). Starting in the 1970s and during the 1980s, a shift is seen and “educational politics is oriented towards an education about rights, peace, and democratic principles as the foundation of a new kind of citizen” (González, 2014). In the 1990s, both ethnic pluralism with a multicultural character and human rights as well as a development of critical abilities were formulated in the Political Constitution of 1991 and in the General Law for Education of 1994 (ibid).

In this shifting Colombian educational landscape, teachers developed what they described as legitimate grounds for transforming teaching and learning (Jurado, 2018). An initiative to implement a pedagogy based on the ideas of John Dewey was advanced by the network Red Colombiana para la Transformación de la Formación Docente en Lenguaje. The driving force was a need for a more profound change than what institutional changes could offer, and the main question was to formulate a pedagogical innovation, that was in line with the needs and the expectations of teachers themselves (Red Latinoamericana, 2017). The tool was a project-based pedagogy where the teachers as well as the students were considered subjects in their own learning process (Jurado, 2019).

Despite a clearly regulated “school-for-all” in Colombian legislation, there were and there still are major differences in students' education opportunities in Colombia. The country has suffered from armed conflict between the guerilla, the state, and paramilitary groups. More recently, Colombia entered a post-conflict situation after a peace agreement in 2016 (Vargas Velásquez, 2018). The presence of violence and inequality during Colombia's history has had and still has an impact on children and young peoples' educational opportunities. Students' socio-economic and geographic background play an important role in school results and in the number of dropouts (OECD, 2018). This paper highlights teachers' responses to an education system that speaks social inclusion but perpetuates social exclusion.

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### **High-Stakes Accountability in the U.S.: An Exploratory Social History of Education Policy**

A.J. Angulo (University of Massachusetts Lowell)

During the 1990s, school officials reported seeing a miracle in the state of Texas. Since the start of the decade, test scores had skyrocketed, dropout rates had plummeted, and achievement gaps had begun to narrow. Pundits called it the “Texas Miracle.” By the end of the decade, the state’s governor, George W. Bush, promised to share the recipe for success with the rest of the country during his campaign for president. In 2002, after less than a year in the White House, he delivered on his promise by signing the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) into law. Easily among the most ambitious and controversial pieces of education legislation in U.S. history, NCLB required all states to try the Texas recipe: high stakes accountability.

The ideas and infrastructure central to No Child Left Behind were hardly new. Attempts to hold students, teachers, and schools accountable for their performance are as old as the nation’s first public schools. This paper traces a history of high-stakes accountability and select social development that intersect with this education policy. It begins with the first attempt in the United States to institute testing accountability in Boston schools of the 1840s. And it ends with the passage of the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) of 2015. A long history of this kind offers an opportunity to highlight continuities (e.g., school, community, and policymaker special interests) and discontinuities (e.g., the abrupt rise of an industrialized testing industry) that have occurred over time within one nation-state. While focused on the U.S., the presentation has implications for rethinking approaches to the historical study of accountability abroad.

Three key themes stand at the center of this paper: starting points, dominant theories of change, and patterns of support and resistance. High-stakes accountability in the U.S. got its start in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts, received a significant boost with the expansion of mental testing in the early twentieth century, and became an established feature of policymaking discussions from the mid-twentieth century onward. With each phase of development, dominant theories of change (i.e., testing and meritocracy) helped fuel the perpetuation of high-stakes accountability efforts. Popularized views about mental testing or human capital formation, as interpreted by policymakers, divided educational communities. Familiar patterns of support for and resistance to policy implementation appeared across the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. As testing mandates and federal requirements escalated, tensions between school communities and policymakers intensified until the passage of ESSA. The 2015 act continued to mandate accountability, but it removed the most controversial high-stakes school sanctions. This paper concludes with a discussion of recurring gaps between the real and ideal in education accountability history.

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## **Families, Factories and Elementary Schooling in Sweden, 1870–1910**

Madeleine Michaëlsson (Dalarna University)

In the late nineteenth century, the requirements for children's schooling sometimes conflicted with the need for labour, as children's contributions were valuable in agricultural as well as industrial settings. Interventions to curb absence and dropouts from school due to child labour were introduced, but some families still relied on the children's contributions in a way that the children's work in factories affected their attendance to school.

This paper explores children's experiences, family strategies, and educational state policies related to industrial child labour in Sweden, 1870–1910. Using a wide range of source materials, including pupils' memories, school district minutes, corporate accounts, and teacher's memories, the aim for this study is to shed light on the causes of industrial child labor and the consequences for schooling. The families' attitude to this kind of work is much debated. Influential interpretations suggest that both working children and their parents made a conscious and free choice when children were used in the industries. Although this interpretation has been vigorously questioned, it is still influential in economic history.

During this presentation there will be a focus on the tension between the children's, families' and teachers' testimonies, on the one hand, and how economic theories acknowledge the free choice

paradigm, on the other hand. This article will also point to the significant role of economy and wealth in social institutions of family and village, and how it could affect elementary schooling.

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## **03-SES 16: PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: NETWORKS, MEMORIES, TRADITIONS**

Panel Session (English, French)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Clémence Cardon-Quint (Bordeaux University)

### **Progressive Teachers Teaching Traditional History**

Johan Samuelsson (Karlstad university)

Problem and background

In my paper, I will, with help of a form of "prosopography method" (Cunningham 2001), study how a group of progressively oriented secondary school teachers handled a traditionally conservative historical canon in their history teaching.

The period analyzed is 1930-1946. In Sweden (as in other parts of the world) a process had begun where the interest of the individual and the active student was the norm. This included, among other things, societal expectations of a more progressively oriented teaching. At the same time, the subject of history was still a conservative subject whose main task was to transfer a traditional canon and nurture the students to be loyal and godly citizens of the nation-state (Englund, 1986). Teachers in history who wanted a progressive education, therefore, were set for a challenge - how would a modern-oriented teaching handle a traditionally conservative subject?

The main material in my paper is based on a material that was collected during the work on a state school investigation, The School Commission of 1946. A total of 850 accounts written by teachers were

submitted to the commission. The material consists of written accounts by elementary school teachers and secondary school teachers. Altogether, there are over 260 stories submitted in the category secondary school teachers. Of these, 83 are from teachers in history. The stories cover between one page to 100 pages and often include lesson plans, tests and student responses. There are descriptions of their own teaching – often in a historical perspective – and also descriptions of colleagues' work.

The general approach of this paper is based on the education research tradition in which the voices and experiences of the members of the profession serve as a basis for generating new knowledge of specific professional issues (Ball & Goodson, 1985). Some scholars have addressed this perspective as a way to reach the 'The Black Box of Schooling'.

I will link this perspective to the prosopography method. I will try the method on a selection of teachers to make smaller biographies and then, based on these, compile this into a form of collective biography. Through this we can also see if the group of progressive secondary teacher constituted a homogeneous or heterogeneous social group.

Various forms of individualised instruction or group work were recurring features in the teachers' accounts, for instance, involving a group project on a specific person or epoch. According to the teachers, the pupils worked independently in the classroom or somewhere else in the school.

But all teaching was based on the canon and a conservative view of the subject? There is nothing in the material to suggest that subjects were adapted to local circumstances or students' interests. The basis was always a predetermined canon with a strong focus on the national aspects of history and literature. Whether the group of progressive secondary teachers is a homogeneous or heterogeneous social group will be discussed more in the presentation at the conference.

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### **Uncovering the Dynamics of Progressivism through Social Network Analysis**

Lauri Luoto (University of Turku)

Thirteen years ago, a special issue of *Paedagogica Historica* sought to address the question of how network theories could be applied to research on the history of education. The approach, demonstrated by the authors, was expected to draw attention to agents who tend to be neglected, cover spaces beyond the nation states and profit from network methods of other disciplines. While there has been growing interest on the approach since then, these expectations, particularly the last one, are only partially fulfilled.

Social network analysis as a formal network method has gained popularity in the studies of both modern and contemporary history. It enables the processing of larger data sets more than prosopography or other merely descriptive methods. Relational data needed for the analysis have been extracted even from less structured historical sources, such as archives, which are fostered by the increasing availability of digitised sources. Archival data are often longitudinal in nature, thus allowing the study of network dynamics and evolution.

Within the study of educational progressivism and the New Education Movement is a tradition concerning human intercourse and activity in the promotion of educational reform. Concentration on the networks and structures through which the innovators and their supporters operated may foster an understanding of the underlying dynamics of the movement, which has been described as a combination of competing and even contradictory interests. The use of social network analysis further strengthens this tradition.

In the present study, formal social network analysis methods were applied to study the interactional pattern of the members of the British New Education Movement in 1870-1939. Using a two-mode network method, key reformists derived from the most widely cited reference books and their involvement in various associations and initiatives are represented as an adjacency matrix.

In addition to the reference books, material was sought from biographies, histories and the Dictionary of National Biography (DNB) until no new connections were found. Two-mode networks represent opportunities for social relationships and transmission of ideals. They enable a wider use of network analysis in historical studies, where direct relationships between actors cannot always be observed due to the availability of source material. The data were analysed using the UCINET software package in terms of the prominence of reformists and organisations as well as the subgrouping and dynamics of the entire network.

The results illustrate what kind of social dynamics enabled the creation and development of a movement mostly bound together by opposition to the existing schooling system and curriculum. The findings are interpreted in relation to the conventional scholarship on the subject. Finally, the possibilities and limitations of using social network analysis in the field of history of education are discussed. Along with other research approaches, structuralist methods may help to explain the dynamics and evolution of educational reforms in a complex and transnational world.

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### **What the Teachers' Memories Tell us About the Social in Portugal**

Rooney Figueiredo Pinto (University of Coimbra)

Comprehended between 1933 and 1974, Estado Novo [Portuguese for New State] comprises a dictatorship period in Portugal, mainly featured by Salazar, like it also happened with Franco during Franquismo in Spain. This time is heavily marked by symbols and lessons, which served as core expressions of the regime. Memories of that time, expressed in the narratives, reflect individual and collective memories and narratives of teachers constitute a social-historical material and exceptional sources for understanding the context of school during the totalitarian regime in Portugal. The importance of these narratives relies on the fact that collective memory is the point of social and historical identity of the community members, as Halbwachs pointed out, and the need of those narratives to establish an individual memory according to the collective memory, as highlighted by Ricoeur. Through the exercise of memory, biographical events and social imaginary emerge in dialogue with the school culture and the identity of the teachers. As part of an ongoing investigation, this paper aims to present some reflections on: what the teachers' memories tell us about the social in Portugal during Estado Novo what memoirs emerge when we evoke the memories from school time during Estado Novo in Portugal and how narratives reflect the social perspectives in the individual and collective memories. Choosing a qualitative approach, content analysis is used to treat the data collected from interviews taken since 2019 with teachers from Estado Novo (the case of one former teacher and one former student will be presented as example for this analysis for this paper), which permitted to establish a social historical scenario of students and teachers, emphasizing on challenges and difficulties of the school of this time, especially over the influence of political context of authoritarian regime over the behavior of teachers, students and families, as much of what is remembered consists on authority, economic difficulties, classroom iconography, textbooks and school routine. These narratives richly express the memories of teaching practice routines, students' routines, relationship between school, families and community, fragmented in different perspectives (educational, economic, political and social), but also expose a reconstruction of memory according to one's current perceptions, allowing the observation of the school memory in a sociodynamic perspective.

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### **Miss Cromwell and the Little Refugees of the First World War in France**

Fabienne Serina-Karsky (ISP-FE Institut Catholique de Paris)

This paper aims to highlight the contribution of actors at a particular time in the history of education, namely during the First World War, and based on the career of the charismatic Miss Cromwell, whose philanthropic work helped to establish Montessori pedagogy in France.

From the archives and the press of the time, we will first discover how Miss Cromwell committed herself to French charities and participated in setting up Montessori classes for the children of refugees in the Franco-Belgian refuges which opened in Paris and its region. In addition to the training of Montessori educators that she takes charge of, she sets up a manufacturing workshop in which collections of furniture and equipment are made by war-disabled men for schools in France and Belgium, but also in Thessaloniki for small Serbian refugees.

We will then see how Maria Montessori herself, who gave her consent for the manufacture of the furniture and equipment, draws on this experience to try to set up the Croce Bianca. The curative character of the Montessori method with young children affected by war, who find peace and a taste for life again thanks to the atmosphere created in the Children's Houses and the materials made available to them, allows the Dottoressa to design an organisation for children in wartime, acting as a counterpart to the Red Cross for soldiers.

Finally, we will follow Miss Cromwell in her commitment to the French pre-school in the immediate post-war period. Presented as the "apostle" of Montessorism in France, she equipped the Normal schools and a large number of kindergartens in Paris and the provinces with Montessori collections (equipment and books). Its action, also relayed in theosophical circles and in the international

movement of New Education, came to an abrupt end in 1923. From then on, the Montessorian trained with her during the war would take up the relay.

### **Miss Cromwell et les Petits Réfugiés de la Première Guerre Mondiale en France**

Cette communication souhaite participer à mettre au jour l'apport d'acteurs méconnus à l'histoire de l'éducation, dans un moment particulier qui est celui de la première guerre mondiale et à partir du parcours de la charismatique Miss Cromwell, dont l'œuvre philanthropique participera à implanter la pédagogie Montessori en France.

A partir de fonds d'archives et de la presse de l'époque, nous découvrirons dans un premier temps comment Miss Cromwell s'engage auprès d'œuvres françaises et participe à instaurer des classes Montessori pour les enfants des réfugiés dans les refuges franco-belges qui ouvrent à Paris et sa région. Outre la formation d'éducatrices montessoriennes qu'elle prend en charge, elle met en place un atelier de fabrication au sein duquel les collections de meubles et de matériel sont fabriquées par des mutilés de guerre, à destination d'écoles en France, en Belgique, mais aussi à Salonique pour les petits réfugiés serbes.

Nous verrons ensuite comment Maria Montessori, qui a donné son accord pour la fabrication du mobilier et du matériel, s'inspire de cette expérience pour tenter de mettre en place la Croce Bianca. Le caractère curatif de la méthode Montessori auprès de jeunes enfants touchés par la guerre, qui retrouvent la paix et le goût de vivre grâce à l'ambiance mise en place dans les Maisons des enfants et le matériel mis à leur disposition, permet en effet à la Dottoressa de concevoir une organisation pensée pour les enfants en temps de guerre, faisant office de pendant à la Croix rouge pour les soldats.

Enfin, nous suivrons Miss Cromwell dans son engagement auprès de l'école maternelle française de l'immédiat après-guerre. Présentée comme « l'apôtre » du montessorisme en France, elle équipe de collections Montessori (matériel et ouvrages) les Ecoles normales ainsi qu'un grand nombre de maternelles de Paris et province. Son action, relayée également dans les cercles théosophiques et dans le mouvement international de l'éducation nouvelle, prendra fin brusquement en 1923. Dès lors, les montessoriennes formées auprès d'elles pendant la guerre prendront le relais.

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### **04-SES 16: FEMALE TEACHERS, MOTHERHOOD AND ANDROCENTRISM**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Marianne Helfenberger (FernUni Schweiz)

### **Carmen de Burgos (1867 – 1932), a Spanish Teacher and Women's Rights Advocate**

Victoria Figueredo-Canosa (University of Almeria), Luis Miguel Sáez-Castro (University of Almeria),  
María del Mar García-Vita (University of Almeria)

Born in Almeria in 1867 and deceased in 1932, Carmen de Burgos is a woman known for breaking the moulds of the female stereotypes of her time. Multifaceted, she dedicated herself to various trades and tasks. She was a writer, journalist, war correspondent, feminist, lecturer, and defender of Republican ideas, among other activities.

This paper aims to contribute to the field of women's educational history studies by revisiting the figure of Carmen de Burgos, a woman who has been invisible for years and who needs to be recovered [1]. This character has the characteristic of combining in the same person someone who promotes and reflects on the role and rights of women, at the same time as she teaches and writes about education.

Married at the age of 16, she studied to become a teacher in her native town, sitting the exams for unofficial pupils [2]. From 1896 she was a teacher and headmistress of a public school for poor girls in the same town. Her work was rewarded and recognised by the local town council by increasing the subsidies [3]. In 1898 she qualified as a teacher of higher education and began a journey through different higher schools and teacher training colleges [4]. She published articles in newspapers and wrote books but did not abandon her teaching activity although she did not feel comfortable with the existing model of education for women and fought to reform it. Educational activity allowed her to spread her progressive ideas in her classes. Although she did not agree to classify herself as a feminist, she fought for the defence of women's rights on a constant basis. Through her publications (the daily column "Lecturas para la mujer" in El Diario Universal), she promoted women's education centred on the refinement of their customs, as well as more far-reaching ideas in relation to women's equality in other countries, women's health and working conditions, the existence of women's professional institutes, the survey on divorce law, women's suffrage, etc. [3]. In 1920 she founded and presided over the Spanish Women's Crusade [5] which was a great project aimed at fighting for women's equality in which, among other aspects, special attention was paid to the improvement of women's moral and civic instruction centres.

She was a woman who lived in a society with 19th century values but with a 21st century mentality [2]. She always focussed on the living conditions of women, and at times, the defence of their rights, in a subtle but permeating way in all facets of life in which she worked.

### **Carmen de Burgos (1867 - 1932), Maestra Española y Defensora de los Derechos de las Mujeres**

Nacida en Almería en 1867 y fallecida en 1932, Carmen de Burgos es una mujer conocida por romper los moldes de los estereotipos femeninos de su época. Polifacética, se dedicó a diversos oficios y labores. Fue escritora, periodista, corresponsal de guerra, feminista, conferenciante y defensora de las ideas republicanas, entre otras actividades.

Este trabajo pretende aportar al campo de los estudios de la historia de educación de las mujeres una revisión de la figura de Carmen de Burgos, mujer invisibilizada durante años y que requiere ser recuperada [1]. Este personaje presenta la característica de aunar en una misma persona alguien que promueve y reflexiona sobre el rol y los derechos de la mujer, a la par que ejerce la docencia y escribe sobre la educación.

Casada con 16 años, cursó los estudios de magisterio desde su localidad natal presentándose a los exámenes para alumnos no oficiales [2]. Desde 1896 estuvo como maestra y directora de un colegio privado de niñas pobres en la misma ciudad. Su labor fue premiada y reconocida por el Ayuntamiento de la localidad aumentando las subvenciones [3]. En 1898 obtiene el título como Maestra de enseñanza



superior iniciando un periplo por diferentes escuelas superiores y normales [4]. Participó en periódicos y escribió libros, pero no abandonó su actividad docente aunque no se sentía cómoda con el modelo de educación existente para la mujer y luchó por reformarlo. La actividad educativa le permitía difundir sus ideas progresistas en sus clases. A pesar de no estar de acuerdo en catalogarse como feminista, luchó por la defensa de los derechos de las mujeres de forma constante. A través de sus publicaciones (la columna diaria “Lecturas para la mujer” en El Diario Universal), promueve una educación de la mujer centrada en el refinamiento de sus costumbres, así como, ideas de mayor calado en relación a la igualdad de la mujer en otros países, las condiciones de salud y laborales de las mujeres, la existencia de institutos profesionales de mujeres, la encuesta sobre la ley del divorcio, el sufragio femenino, etc [3]. En 1920 funda y preside la Cruzada de Mujeres Españolas [5] que supone un gran proyecto dirigido a luchar por la igualdad de la mujer en el que, entre otros aspectos, se presta especial atención a la mejora de los centros de instrucción moral y cívica de mujeres.

Fue una mujer que vivió en una sociedad con los valores del siglo XIX pero con una mentalidad del siglo XXI [2]. Tuvo constantes referencias y reflexiones en torno a la vida de las mujeres, y en ocasiones, la defensa de sus derechos, de una manera sutil pero que permea todas las facetas de la vida en las cuales se desempeñó.

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### **The “Free Institute of Education” during the Second Spanish Republic: The Role of Female Teachers as Agents of Pedagogical Renewal**

Rosario Isabel Herrada (University of Almería), Juan Miguel Fernández-Campoy (University of Almería), María del Mar García-Vita (University of Almería)

One of the most important pedagogical initiatives in Spain in the first third of the 20th century, and whose echoes continue to the present day, was undoubtedly the “Free Institute of Education” (in Spanish, Institución Libre de Enseñanza, ILE). In its origins, the ILE was linked to the so called Second University Question (1875) and especially to Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who, after being removed from his professorship, promoted this pedagogical institution with the collaboration of other teachers. Giner de los Ríos’ line of thought and, by extension, of the ILE itself, was influenced by some ideas, such as those of the German philosopher Krause, who attributed to education the main role in the emergence of cultured, free and participative people, capable of undertaking national regeneration. Furthermore, other important influence comes from the British education, including the ideas related to the self-reliance and self-effort, the self-made person and the self-government of the school [1]. As for its perception of women, from the Institutional point of view, they were considered essential to

achieve the ideal of humanity [2], and this is reflected in the ILE's principle of coeducation [3]. In fact, these ideas were implemented in the ILE's summer camps and schools in order to promote coexistence and achieve comprehensive education and respect between men and women [2]. The ILE also defended the university education of women and their role as teachers. This training did not always lead to professional practice, being linked to the intellectual spheres of the time [6]. The ILE experienced its period of splendour during the progressive Republican period (1931-1933) [4]. Among its main achievements were the establishment of the principles of rationalist teaching and the aforementioned coeducation, the creation of a specific teacher training plan, the incorporation of female teachers, the adoption of innovative pedagogical trends from abroad into teaching and, in particular, the creation of the Pedagogical Missions which managed to take education and culture to the remotest parts of the country [5]. This paper analyses the role of women in the history of education and their relevance. This purpose contributes to the construction of a feminine sense of identity, the complementarity in the generation of knowledge about a socio-historical reality and the resignification of the roles of each human group in the past [7]. In particular, it focuses on the review of works linked to the ILE, women in this pedagogical movement, the role of women in the first third of the 20th century, and particularly, the role of women teachers during the Second Spanish Republic period. Among most of the documents analysed in the study, although more typologies were found, the monographic studies on notable female figures of the ILE in the historical period analysed, such as Emilia Pardo Bazán, María de Maeztu, Concepción Arenal, Victoria Kent, María Zambrano and María Goyri, stand out.

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### **Female and Motherhood Representations in *La Razón de mi Vida* (1951), a School Reading Book**

Maria Belen Trejo (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Investigaciones en Ciencias de la Educación)

In 1952, Argentinian Congress approved law N.º 14.126 which stated the compulsory reading of *La razón de mi vida* (1951) in all educative institution. This law and the asociated regulation indicated the book's treatment in every level of scholarship: from a global approaching to an exhaustive reading. Published under the authorship of Eva Duarte de Perón, wife of Juan Domingo Perón, and first lady at that time, *La razón de mi vida* had a large initial print run and sold out a significant number of editions in a short period of time. With an autobiographical perspective, the book refers to Duarte's family history, her childhood, youth and political carreer: as first lady, leading the Partido Peronista Femenino, the Fundación Eva Perón. The compulsory reading of this book aroused controversy, among other issues because it was a book not specifically written for a pedagogical use. It was part of a process of increasing mystification of Eva Duarte de Perón's image (Colotta, Cuccuzza y Somoza, 2004), shortly before her decease and was considered as an instrument of propaganda of the peronist discourse.

This work focuses on the construction and agrumentation of gender roles in *La razón de mi vida*, as well as feminity representation and it's connection with motherhood. Regarding these topics, an exploration through the discursive field related to this piece is proposed: partial or global subscription, accession, acceptance to some positions and rejection, disapproval or denial of others. This paper analyses melodramatic features (Karush, 2013) and the specific resources of Duarte de Perón's writting.

Several reasons –the relevance of the presumed author, its mandatory reading character, the publication's effect and subsequent prohibition– allow us to consider this book as a relevant document in general terms and specifically related to feminity and motherhood's representations. Anchoring in a certain historical moment *La razón de mi vida* introduces new topics, resources and plot strategies that are novel for the time. This book exposed oppression towards women and proposed alternatives and rearrangement of gender roles.

Finally, I reflect on how *La razón de mi vida* permeated in scholar context, particularly in elementary education: among politics, laws, regulation produced in important institutions and bargaining, transactions and agency of educative actors, how can the reception of this book be thought? At the end, this display approaches hints from middle century that may sustain the hypothesis of partial reception of *La razón de mi vida* starting on teachers' discourse, padagogical references and school texts approved in this period.

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### **Is There Androcentrism In The School Discourse Of Textbooks Of The Spanish Democracy?**

Ana María De la Torre Sierra (Universidad de Sevilla), Virginia Guichot Reina (Universidad de Sevilla)

Textbooks are one of the central tools of the education system in the teaching-learning process, especially in subjects such as Language and Social Studies. Teachers rely on this material to achieve, throughout the teaching-learning process, the academic objectives set by the educational administration for each stage of education in society at a certain historical moment. One of the main goals of the Spanish education system since the enactment of the General Education Law in 1970 to the present day has been to promote equal opportunities between women and men in order to guarantee a quality public school. To this end, the Spanish education system during its democratic period has tried to promote the overcoming of all kinds of discriminatory stereotypes against women. However, the school curriculum, both explicit and hidden, is presented as one of the school structures that maintains gender inequalities (Ghajarieh & Salami, 2016; Lee, 2014; López-Navajas, 2014). Textbooks configure a potential channel of cultural transmission and communication. Through this educational resource, students shape a worldview of reality and, therefore, an image of the ideal masculinity and femininity accepted by a given community. Generally, the knowledge contained in textbooks is assumed such as absolute and neutral truths. Nevertheless, school discourses support dominant ideologies, biases, beliefs and norms. These schemes can have a great impact on the construction of students' identities (Guichot-Reina & De la Torre-Sierra, 2020). Previous studies on sexism in school textbooks have unveiled the fact that school textbooks, even today, continue to be elaborated from a male perspective. In this way, a school curriculum could be described as androcentric. This paper presents a study of androcentrism in the discourse of textbooks used in Spain during its democratic period. We present the first results of a comparative analysis of school textbooks belonging to two very significant historical periods for the history of women in Spain: the so-called Transition (1975-1982) and the last decade of the 21st century. The methodology applied is framed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1989; Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2002; Van Dijk, 2016; Wodak, 2001). Discourses can only be understood in relation to their context. Thus, the historical, social, cultural and political conditions that contributed to the formation of a more egalitarian curriculum in Spanish schools after the end of Franco's dictatorship in 1975 are included in order to observe whether such educational improvements promoted a more egalitarian representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996). The findings reveal the presence of discursive strategies of power and domination of the masculine over the feminine, where women's contributions to the progress of humanity are systematically devalued and silenced.

### **¿Existe Androcentrismo En El Discurso Escolar De La Manualística Española De La España Democrática?**

Los manuales escolares son una de las herramientas centrales utilizadas por profesorado y alumnado en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, más aún en disciplinas como Lengua y Ciencias Sociales. El personal docente se apoya en este material para conseguir, a lo largo del proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, los objetivos académicos que la Administración educativa marca para cada etapa escolar en una sociedad y momento histórico determinado. Una de las grandes metas del sistema educativo español desde la promulgación de la Ley General de Educación en 1970 hasta nuestros días es favorecer la igualdad de oportunidades entre mujeres y hombres a fin de garantizar una escuela pública de calidad. Para ello, el sistema educativo español, durante su etapa democrática, ha tratado de promover la superación de todo tipo de estereotipos discriminatorios hacia las mujeres. Sin embargo, el currículo escolar, tanto explícito como oculto, se presenta como una de las estructuras escolares que mantiene desigualdades entre géneros (Ghajarieh y Salami, 2016; Lee, 2014; López-Navajas, 2014). Los manuales escolares actúan como un potencial y globalizador canal de transmisión y comunicación cultural. A través de este recurso educativo, el alumnado configura una cosmovisión de la realidad y, por ende, una imagen de lo masculino y lo femenino aceptada por una determinada comunidad. Generalmente, los saberes contenidos en los libros de texto son asimilados como verdades absolutas y neutrales. Se pasa por alto que los discursos escolares refuerzan ideologías, sesgos, creencias y normas dominantes, que pueden tener un gran calado en la construcción de identidades del estudiantado (Guichot-Reina y De la Torre-Sierra, 2020). Estudios previos sobre sexismo en manualística escolar han revelado que los manuales escolares, incluso a día de hoy, continúan siendo elaborados desde la mirada y protagonismo masculino. De este modo, se presenta un currículo escolar que podríamos calificar como androcéntrico. En este trabajo, se presenta un estudio del androcentrismo en el discurso de los libros de texto utilizados en España durante su etapa democrática. Se ofrecen los primeros resultados de un análisis comparativo de manuales escolares pertenecientes a dos épocas históricas muy significativas para la historia de las mujeres en España: la Transición (1975-1982) y la última década del siglo XXI. La metodología empleada se enmarca en el marco del Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD) (Fairclough, 1989; Litosseliti y Sunderland, 2002; Van Dijk, 2016; Wodak, 2001). Los discursos solo pueden entenderse en relación a su contexto. Por ello, se abarcan las condiciones históricas, sociales, culturales y políticas que contribuyeron a la formación de un currículo más igualitario en las escuelas españolas tras el fin de la dictadura franquista en 1975, con el fin de observar si dichas mejoras educativas promovieron una representación más igualitaria de los actores sociales (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Los hallazgos revelan la presencia de estrategias discursivas de poder y dominación de lo masculino sobre lo femenino, donde se desvaloriza y silencia sistemáticamente las aportaciones de las mujeres al progreso de la Humanidad.

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## 05-SES 16: PHOTOGRAPHS AND VISUAL METHODOLOGY

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Sara Backman Prytz (Stockholm University)

### **Visualizing the Children of U.S. Colonialism: Photographs during Twentieth-Century Occupations of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico**

Alexa Rodriguez (Teachers College)

My paper analyzes two strikingly similar photographs portraying children dressed in eighteenth-century colonial dress in two distinct contexts. One is of children in the Dominican Republic during the U.S. military occupation of the country between 1916-1924. The other is of children in Puerto Rico in 1927, two decades after the start of U.S. control. In both photographs, students stare straight at the camera wearing matching colonial-era attire. Standing in pairs, the male students are dressed in white-powdered wigs, long coats and white button-down shirts complete with ruffles. The females are wearing white ankle-length dresses adorned with a bow or a tassel at the neck. Studied together, these curious photographs provoke numerous questions for further interrogation including: why were children in these Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries wearing British colonial-era inspired costumes for the photos? Who commissioned them? What were the intended purposes and narratives the photographs were expecting to convey? Were they related to the education initiatives instituted by the U.S. governed education system in each countries? Finally, what insights can these photos provide about the experiences of children in the U.S.-dominated Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico during these moments? Scholars of art history and of material culture have carefully studied how nostalgia for a U.S. colonial past as well as a desire for generating patriotism and national unity incited colonial revivalist movements in the United States during the early twentieth century. Yet, scholars have not considered the examples of the colonial revivalist movement within the context of U.S. empire or its transfer to countries with a different colonial legacy. It is quite puzzling for two former colonies of Spain to be imbedded in such a movement, particularly since the early twentieth century marked the emergence of hispanismo in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, or the privileging of Spanish heritage while simultaneously erasing blackness and African lineage. Many in the elite classes of the Dominican

Republic and Puerto Rico sought to use the notion of hispanismo to redefine their national history and unify their fellow citizens behind a carefully crafted past, emphasizing historical links to modernity and western civilization. Yet, unlike these Caribbean elites, U.S. forces considered the Spanish Empire backward and archaic, thus perceiving Dominicans and Puerto Ricans to be ill-equipped to take on the responsibilities of modernizing their own nation. Consequently, U.S. officials utilized the occupation of both countries as tutelage projects and relied on schools to indoctrinate values of American democracy and capitalism within the occupied country's citizenry. That is, with one key difference in mind: the children in Puerto Rico were eventually to become U.S. citizens, though on the margins, while the Dominicans were to learn to self-govern. My paper seeks to decipher the two images of the students in British colonial dress by studying the key contextual differences between the photographs taken in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico and by analyzing the photos within these two competing (re)visions of the nation.

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### **The Visual Remake as Research Methodology for Visual Analyses: Naptime in Preschools as an Example**

Sofia Grunditz (Stockholms universitet Barn- och ungdomsvetenskapliga institutionen)

The presentation will focus on visual methodology and the everyday practice naptime in preschool. In previous historical studies on preschools, the main sources are texts; photos are used merely as illustrations. Inspired by the idea to use visual materials to study the look of the past by examining historical films of preschools, this presentation will shed light on the historic preschool institution, on the materiality of naptime practices and conduct visual comparative analyses between visual data from the period 1914-1966.

The concept or methodology, the visual remake, will be presented as a tool for visual and material approaches to social in the History of Education. Visual remakes are images and a tool for visualisation of results that visualises observable findings and conceptualises a reflection process through images, and not exclusively via the written word.

The presentation aims to expand knowledge in visual methodology, how visual materials can serve as sources that open up space for new research questions and the everyday lives of children and adults in historic Swedish preschools. The analyses bring forth mutual characteristics of preschool naptime and that there are recurrent patterns in the social interaction at naptime, as well as similarities in the design of the preschool environment for sleep that are stable over time and typical for the preschool institution.

### **Image and representation of revolutionary education: CNT Photo Collection**



Francisca Comas-Rubí (University of the Balearic Islands)

The Spanish anarchist movement continued at the beginning of the 20th century in the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), created in Barcelona in 1910 as a confederal union of independent syndicates with an anarcho-syndicalism ideology. When in 1936, due to the military rebellion, the Spanish Civil War began, the anarcho-syndicalists together with the left-wing parties were able to take control of Barcelona, defeating the rebels. This context allowed them to initiate the social, political, economic and educational revolution they had always wanted. They initially opted for a policy of collaboration with non-revolutionary republican forces, forming part of the republican government until May 1937, when anarcho-syndicalists and revolutionary Marxists confronted the other political parties that were part of the government.

At the end of the war, the CNT was forced to leave Spain and live in clandestinity. Its archives, consisting of thousands of posters, photos, magazines, letters, etc., were taken out of Spain in January 1939, with Paris as its first destination. From there they were moved to England, and after the end of the Second World War they were brought to Amsterdam, to the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (IHS), one of the most extended archives in the world concerning the workers' movement. In 1981 an agreement was signed recognizing the ownership of all this documentation to the CNT. Today the CNT archive can be consulted both by the Anselmo Lorenzo Foundation (Madrid) and the IHS (Amsterdam). However, the original photographs and negatives are conserved at the IHS.

Inside this CNT archive is the so-called CNT photo collection containing 2288 photographs and 5358 negatives of this Social Revolution that took place between July 1936 and May 1937, during the Spanish Civil War.

The collection shows images of collectivizations, barricades, soldiers, celebrations, meetings, funerals, etc. It also contains images of events and visits by anarchist politicians such as Segundo Blanco or Joan Puig i Elías, secretary and sub-secretary of Public Instruction and Health respectively. Puig i Elías was also president of the CENU (Consell d'Escola Nova Unificada), a clearly anti-fascist institution that was created to coordinate the educational services of the Spanish state, Barcelona City Council and the Generalitat of Catalonia, with the aim of transforming the educational system and establishing a unique, free, secular, and coeducational school model in the Catalan language, inspired by the rationalist principles of the libertarian movement that had Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia as its pedagogical reference.

Our intention is to present this photographic collection, and especially those photographs and negatives related to the pedagogical renovation carried out by anarcho-syndicalists during the Civil War. These images may be a good example of how photography was used to observe and publicize a sometimes idyllic image of libertarian educational reform. [EDU2017-82485-P. Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (AEI/ERDF, EU)]

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## 06-SES 16: STATISTICS, VISUALIZATION AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PROBLEMS

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lukas Boser (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

### **The Enquête, An Educational Method For Building Social And Political Workers' Organizations In Late Franco And Early Democracy Spain**

Carlos Martínez Valle (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The study of social movements is part of the Sozialgeschichte (Kocka, 1989, 2-3). This proposal deals with the educational means used for socializing, mobilizing and creating common identities among workers that were instrumental in the creation of social movements and organizations in late Franco and early democracy Spain. The lack of effective educational instruments could be the reason for the disappearance of the 15 M, movement that emerged in the 2008 crisis. This contrasts with the permanence and efficacy of a series of different movements that took place in Spain during the Franco dictatorship and the Transition to democracy. Some of the associations and movements that had central roles in the achievement of democracy, the urbanization, modernization and secularization of Spanish society shared, paradoxically, one educational instrument developed and spread by the Catholic Church. Coops as Mondragón, one of the largest industrial corporations in Spain; labor unions as USO or urban social movements as those of Madrid in the 70s, studied by Castells (1986), shared an "active education method," the life's review or enquête. Developed by Joseph Cardijn and Paul Garcet in the 1920s and 1930s and developed later by other authors in different national contexts (as Guillermo Roviroso in Spain) it was conceived as instrument of the social pastoral of the Church for missionizing the workers. Designed for stopping the "apostasy of the masses," it had to accept the agency of the laics and many conceptions of the progressive education. In particular, it shows similarities to the Deweyan process of critical inquiry. In Spain, it was introduced by the conservative Acción Católica and became statutory in the early sixties in its branches, the Juventudes Obreras Cristianas (JOC, Working Christian Youth) and the Hermandades Obreras de Acción Cristiana (HOAC, Workers Brotherhoods of Catholic Action). From these organizations it leaked in a variety of associations and organizations (Cueva and Montero, 2012). Montero (2005) has pointed out that the main ideological effect of the method was that it was a way for the introduction of Marxism and Socialism to their participants. However, it is my contend that the new educational practices, rather than the ideologies, were the key transforming element as the method provided for self-reflection, a variety of different ideological positions and mutual support and common agency. Therefore, the method opened new ways for creating and coordinating grassroots knowledge and agency. Educated by the life's review, many workers of catholic-traditionalist background abandoned in the period the traditional obedience to the Church for exploring more reflexive and class-related interpretations of their faith or used their faith to interpret their conditions in a class related frame. They got involved in labor unions, neighbor associations and political parties that changed Spain. The presentation considers the adoption and transformation of the method in Spain; try to analyze its practices (Bourdieu, 1972) and the ways people perceived and assessed it and its socio-political effects.

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## **The Woman Question, State Statistics, and Girls' Schools: Making up the Middleclass Woman as in Need of Specialized Education.**

Sophie Winkler (University of Vienna)

In the 19th century, the inevitable rise of industrialization in Western and Central Europe brought a variety of social challenges, often summarized as the "social question." One of these emerging issues was the "woman question," including the status of middleclass women in the workforce in Prussia and Austria. Due to economic and demographic shifts as well as to the fact that suitable bourgeois bachelors married later in life in favor of post-higher education opportunities, young middleclass women were no longer able to embark on the normal life path of becoming wives and homemakers as a matter of course. Thus, there emerged the need of work befitting their social status and subsequently the need of qualifying education. Both issues were to be solved by specialized institutions for girls' education – with women teaching girls, often for becoming instructors themselves.

Another defining matter of 19th century Western and Central Europe was the rising importance of state formation, fueled by momentous wars. The strengthening and reconstruction of the State was to be promoted and supported particularly through knowledge gathered by centralized statistics. A defeated Prussia (1805), inspired by French *statistique morale* and English political arithmetic, thus founded the royal statistical bureau. War-weakened Austria hesitantly followed suit and created its direction of administrative statistics (1829). Over the following century these bureaus published a myriad of statistical findings and prognoses about land and people – such as middleclass women – for the declared purpose of serving as governmental tools to benefit the State body.

Following Ian Hacking's concept of making up kinds of people through statistical categories, this paper understands the statistical categorization of people not as mere descriptions but rather as performances of reality, implicitly imposing a certain normality, even "thinkability." Combined with the tendency of modern states to educationalize any perceived social problem – such as the

(mathematically predicted) divergence from normality –, the statistical performance of reality is reinforced through schools as institutions of intervention. These schools are legitimized by a moralizing rhetoric that suggests covering the specific needs of those beyond the line of normality.

Hence, this paper is determined to show the making up of the middleclass woman as in need of a special form of education by means of statistical (ab)normalization as well as by educational debate, legislation, and reform concerning girls' schools in the two war-weakened 19th century states Prussia and Austria. Employed will be statistical data as well as legislative education texts from both states. The case presented is ultimately an attempt to link the four aspects of (1) the strategic importance of official statistics for state formation with (2) the implied social stigmatization of made up kinds of people and (3) the educationalization of the resulting reputed problems (4) against the background of a distinct comparative ambition. Thus, this case presents itself as part of the larger story of the hidden internal structuring of social life and of the very idea of the modern State through statistics and schooling.

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## **Illiteracy as a Social Problem. The “Campaign Against Illiteracy” in Mexico, 1921-1924 I**

Marino Miranda Noriega (Centro de Investigación y de Estudios Avanzados del Instituto Politécnico Nacional)

In this presentation I examine the construction of illiteracy (analfabetismo) as a social problem in the so-called “Campaign against Illiteracy” (Campaña contra el analfabetismo) in Mexico carried out by José Vasconcelos, Secretary of Public Education in 1921-1924, to reduce the rate of illiteracy in the country. This took place in the context of a process of state-building and attempts at massive social inclusion that followed the end of the violent revolution of 1910-1920. The campaign encouraged any person who could read and write to participate in sharing these abilities outside the school system -a system which excluded an important part of the population.

My paper is framed against a recent move in social history that pays attention at the ways in which the social categories we use to describe reality are actually historically constructed. Following sociologist Herbert Blumer, my starting point is that social problems are “products of a process of collective definition instead of existing independently as a set of objective social arrangements with an intrinsic makeup” (Blumer, 1971, p. 293).

In my paper I will first clarify what defines a “social problem” and show how the consolidation of the notion of a “social space” in post-revolutionary Mexico affected the ways in which literacy was defined. Then I will describe the historical process through which illiteracy was produced as a social problem since the late nineteenth century until the first two decades of the twentieth century. I do this by observing how illiteracy was discussed in public forums like the printed press, scientific circles (specially the Mexican Society of Statistics) and in educational policy debates. Finally, I will discuss the implication of launching a campaign, as an extraordinary measure to deal with illiteracy. This policy had much to do with the way in which literacy was enunciated in the political discourse of José Vasconcelos.

Throughout the paper I will argue that the construction of illiteracy as a social problem was the result of a conceptualization of written language as a moralizing and civilizing force in its one right, and as a fundamental tool in the making of a unified national polity. This implied a separation of literacy from other knowledges and practices of schooling, in order to turn it into a way of measuring the people’s inclusion in a national culture.

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## **07-SES 16: YOUTH HISTORIES: CRIMINALITY, STUDENT MOBILITY AND YOUTH ENGAGEMENT**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University)

### **The Invention of the Emancipated Spectator by the Catholic School Youth or a Curriculum for a Non-Formal Education**

Ana Luísa Paz (UIDEF, Instituto de Educação, Universidade de Lisboa)

This presentation aims at discussing the spectator's biopolitics, based on the controversies arising from the recognition of the educational and intervention potential of cinema in the first half of the 20th century. If States already had an advertising policy that framed Seventh Art as yet another biopolitical technology, capable of effectively transmitting key ideas and ideological contents, but also truly ways of thinking, of being and experiencing (Ó, 1999; Ferro, 1950 ), the recognition of cinema as an educational tool capable of intervening in society had a great effect. Indeed, at the initiative of the papacy of Pius XI, and having the encyclical *Vigilantis Cura* of 1936 as a vehicle, Catholic movements were urged to act directly in society on cinema, assumed as an instrument of enormous “power” and potential that was in danger, according to this argument, to be misused. It was up to Catholic action, in all countries, to watch over “the end that the motion picture be no longer a school of corruption but that it be transformed into an effectual instrument for the education and the elevation of mankind”(Pius XI, 1936).

This global movement will be analyzed from the repercussion on the idea of the spectator who moved from this universe of Catholic activism to the creation of a movement of film criticism in the 1960s, taking as a case study the concrete reality of the Juventude Escolar Católica, JEC [Catholic School Youth] in Portugal. In Portugal, as in other countries of Catholic influence, the creation of Catholic Action corresponded to a sectoral vision in several youths, the JEC being the one who took the reins of this civilizational struggle through the Cinema Moralization Campaign, carried out either in concrete actions and through the *Flama* journal. According to a previous exploration, *Flama* laid the foundation for a Cinema Moralization Campaign (Silva, 1937) that actually went against the State film propaganda (Torgal, 2000) and asked for deeper introspection on the use of the critical sense of the spectators, thus coining the principle of the emancipated spectator (Author, in print).

From a theoretical perspective that considers film material as a source capable of coping with a repertoire of ideas and practices and that “appears less as a stable repository of pictures than as a space of fragility susceptible to continuous rediscoveries” (Dussel & Priem, 2017, p. 646) at the intersection with the discussion that Rancière (2009) puts on the (im) possibilities of an emancipated spectator, this research aims at identifying, analyzing and discussing the following issues:

- 1) the case of JEC within the framework of the main lines of action of Catholic Action with respect to cinema;
- 2) JEC’s proposals of a non-formal device of a curriculum setting a moral education curriculum through art, namely based on the proposals and analyzes of films launched by JEC and collected from *Flama*;
- 3) the figure of the spectator, within the framework of a biopolitics in which both the State and the Catholic Church trace apparently disparate paths.

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### **The Citizen of Tomorrow: Promoting International Youth Engagement in the 1920s and 30s**

Joel Alexander Löw (Linköpings University)

In December 2015, during the ongoing battle against the terrorist organization ISIS, the UN Security Council adopted a unique resolution declaring that young people play an important role in maintaining and promoting international peace and security. An important part of the resolution's purpose is to counter extremism and radicalization of young people, which often take place through propaganda on the internet. The UN resolution has been described as groundbreaking (UN, 2015).

But the proclamation of young people's importance for democracy, peace and international cooperation is nothing new. After the First World War, children's and young people's views of the world were considered important in counteracting harsh nationalism and avoiding future wars. International cooperation and exchanges became an ingredient for peace and democracy aspirations (Löw, 2020). The school became particularly important in this respect, which was signaled by the League of Nations efforts to change domestic history education. The aim was to reform pedagogy to avoid nationalist glorification and instead create a form of international mentality (e.g. Osbourne, 2016; Åström Elmersjö, 2015).

In this study, I examine the Swedish Journal of childcare and youth protection (Tidskrift för barnavård och ungdomsskydd) to explore the promotion of international youth activities and contacts, and its importance for democracy aspirations in Sweden during the 1920s and 30s. The preliminary results shows that the vision of young people's international involvement was intertwined with reform pedagogical ideas and ideals of upbringing, not only to promote a peaceful and democratic world, but also to create the citizen of tomorrow.

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### **Students as Leaders in Sex Education: A Historical Case Study from New York City**

Lisa M.F. Andersen (The Juilliard School)

What role should young people play in their own education? Should that role vary, depending upon the topic being studied? In 1970s New York City, students formed the Student Committee for Rational

Sex Education (SCRSE), declaring that schools failed to share meaningful knowledge about sexual health and well-being, and that this was particularly injurious to young women. As a matter of justice, members of the SCRSE therefore sought to make students the primary educators and administrators for sex education, arguing that only students could be experts regarding what other teens wanted and needed to know; sex education curriculum was fundamentally a generational matter, and students therefore had a right to shape it. These students proposed an endeavor, the Peer Education Project, that would transform New York City's sex education curriculum from the bottom up, and would provide timely information about contraception, dating, and gender roles.

The voices of Student Committee for Rational Sex Education members are preserved in an intriguing source: the Ford Foundation's copious grant files. Their file's contents include SCRSE's project proposal, the transcribed dialogue of young people at meetings (and occasional angry phone messages), and the sketches and words of students who crafted newsletters and correspondence. Struck by SCRSE's ingenuity, the Ford Foundation eventually provided \$280,000 (\$1.6 million in today's dollars) in support of the Peer Education Project, bringing New York City's Department of Education on board in the process. Twelve schools would run pilot programs in 1973.

When school administrators welcomed peer education pedagogy in sex education, they did so because the presence of young people in resource rooms lured other students into the space. From that point, a knowledgeable faculty advisor could offer counseling. For the SCRSE, however, these resource rooms were a poor imitation of their original vision for peer education. SCRSE members had hoped to not only provide counseling, but also manage and organize the program district-wide, overseeing everything from space reservations to hiring. Voting with their feet, SCRSE members stopped volunteering, refused summons to meetings, and re-started their own programs to write handbooks and health clinic referral guides. By 1975, their involvement in the now-stumbling Peer Education Project was virtually nil. The same year, the Ford Foundation withdrew funding, and the entire endeavor collapsed. Noted one Department of Education coordinator in a memorable memo, "Sex Ed is dead."

Against a nearly-blank backdrop of American sex education, SCRSE left an outsized imprint. This paper's conclusion examines the Peer Education Project's legacy, placing it in the context of peer-led sex education programs that developed in the 1980s and 1990s, and draws comparisons between such programs in the United States and other nations.

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### **The Social Movements Of Students Through The Lens Of Daily Press In The Sixties. Theoretical And Methodological Reflections**

José Luis Hernández Huerta (University of Valladolid)

Education has been one of the wefts of human life that, for various reasons, has become part of the catalog of issues that can be addressed in the plot of the public sphere occupied by the daily press. Thus, it is configured as a type of source that offers good opportunities for the history of education and it is frequent used as complementary material to those of archives, oral, patrimonial or of another kind. But they are still rich and fresh materials, poorly analyzed, with considerable explanatory and interpretive potential.

The objective of this work is to offer some theoretical reflections and methodological considerations on the daily press that can open other paths of analysis on the construction of the social imaginary of education. For this reason, first, three metaphors are proposed - that of Alicia (Carroll, 2010), that of the White Lady (Tolkien, 1978) and that of the "horizon of self-replicating events" - associated with the following concepts and keys of thought: "public sphere" (Arendt, 1993), "collective memory" (Halbwachs, 2004; Ricoeur, 2010), "social imaginary" (Taylor, 2006), "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1993), "strata of time" and "prognosis" (Koselleck, 2001, 2003), "public speeches", "hidden speeches" and "public representations of power" (Scott, 2000).

Secondly, with this background, the case of student mobilizations developed in Brazil during the long 68 is presented as an example; in this study, based on the national and state-run daily press, a critical and ideological analysis of the discourse is also carried out (Van Dijk, 1996, 1999, 2007), emphasizing the totalitarian dimension of language (Klemperer, 2001; Orwell, 2003; Rosúa, 2001).

Two main implications of this analysis perspective are considered. On the one hand, what becomes important is not so much the truth, but the intent of this, one that, without being one, it seemed, and as such, became part of the social architecture of thought; reference is made here to the most elementary and widespread notions of truth among ordinary citizens, linked to the sense and sense of reality, truthfulness and credibility of it. On the other hand, it allows to escape from the pedagogical imaginary, circumscribed to scientific and technical environments and to self-referential discourses, and to direct the focus of attention towards the social imaginary of education. And, as Taylor suggests, the interesting thing about this "is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not society as a whole".

### **Los Movimientos Sociales Estudiantiles A Través De Las Lentes De La Prensa Diaria Durante Los 60. Reflexiones Teóricas Y Metodológicas**

La educación ha sido una de las tramas de la vida humana que, por razones diversas, ha pasado a formar parte del catálogo de cuestiones susceptibles de ser tratadas en la parcela de la esfera pública ocupada por la prensa diaria. De tal modo, esta se configura como un tipo de fuente que ofrece buenas oportunidades para la historia de la educación. Y es frecuente que se utilice como material complementario a los de archivo, orales, patrimoniales o de otro género. Pero aún siguen siendo materiales ricos y frescos, escasamente analizados, con considerable potencial explicativo e interpretativo.

El objetivo de este trabajo es ofrecer algunas reflexiones teóricas y consideraciones metodológicas sobre la prensa diaria que pueden abrir otras vías de análisis sobre la construcción de los imaginarios sociales de la educación. Para esto, en primer lugar, se proponen tres metáforas –la de Alicia (Carroll, 2010), la de la Dama Blanca (Tolkien, 1978) y la del “horizonte de sucesos auto-replicantes”– asociadas a los siguientes conceptos y claves de pensamiento: “esfera pública” (Arendt, 1993), “memoria colectiva” (Halbwachs, 2004; Ricoeur, 2010), “imaginario social” (Taylor, 2006), “comunidades imaginadas” (Anderson, 1993), “estratos del tiempo” y “prognosis” (Koselleck, 2001, 2003), “discursos públicos”, “discursos ocultos” y “representaciones públicas del poder” (Scott, 2000). En segundo término, con este trasfondo, se presenta, a modo de ejemplo, el caso de las movilizaciones estudiantiles desarrolladas en Brasil durante el largo 68; en este estudio, sustentado en la prensa diaria de difusión nacional y estatal, además, se realiza un análisis crítico e ideológico del discurso (Van Dijk, 1996, 1999, 2007), enfatizando la dimensión totalitaria del lenguaje (Klemperer, 2001; Orwell, 2003; Rosúa, 2001).

Se considera que son dos las principales implicaciones de esta perspectiva de análisis. Por un lado, lo que adquiere importancia no es tanto la verdad, sino la intención de esta, aquella que, sin serlo, lo pareció y, como tal, pasó a formar parte de la arquitectura social del pensamiento; aquí se hace referencia a las nociones de verdad más elementales y extendidas entre los ciudadanos corrientes, vinculadas al sentido y la sensación de realidad, de veracidad y verosimilitud de esta. Por otro lado, permite escapar de los imaginarios pedagógicos, circunscritos a entornos científicos y técnicos y a discursos autorreferenciales, y dirigir el foco de atención hacia los imaginarios sociales de la educación. Y, tal como sugiere Taylor, lo interesante de esto “es que lo comparten amplios grupos de personas, si no la sociedad en su conjunto”.

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#### **THURSDAY June 17                      6:00 - 7:30**

##### **ECR SPECIAL EVENT 02: ECR MEETING WITH THE EC**

ECR Special Event (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Inês Félix (Umeå university)

##### **ECR Meeting with the EC**

This initiative is an opportunity for students and recent doctoral graduates to get to know the members of the ISCHE Executive Committee, both to learn more about ISCHE initiatives for early career researchers (ECRs) and to provide input and feedback in an interactive space. For questions regarding the event contact [er-ische42@ische.org](mailto:er-ische42@ische.org)

#### **FRIDAY June 18                      9:00 - 10:30**

##### **01-SES 17: OF 'SICKNESS' AND 'HEALTH', OF 'NORMALITY' AND 'ABNORMALITY'. CONSTRUCTING AND FIXING THE SOCIAL**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lilli Riettiens (University of Cologne), Frederik Herman (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland), Michèle Hofmann (University of Zurich)

##### **Of 'Sickness' And 'Health', Of 'Normality' And 'Abnormality'. Constructing And Fixing The Social**

While living together, the actors involved construct (non-)belongings and thus re-produce an "intersubjectively shared social reality" (Cremers 1989, 30). Along a dynamic process, however, these (non-)belongings may well oscillate and be modified, revealing the production and constitution of social reality as a negotiation process. Within this logic, the actors are thus at the same time producers and products of a social reality that materializes not only in the respective "presence of practice" (Nassehi 2008), but also in written form. Of central importance in this context are both constructions of the self and of the other, along which people produce and fix knowledge about themselves and others. As it is reflected in the three contributions proposed here, 'sickness' and 'health' as well as 'normality' and 'abnormality' are significant elements within this process.

Knowledge production and fixation – be it in the form of (observation) protocols, (travel or expert) reports, photographs, diaries, etc. – are usually pervaded by power relations, along which it is

structured who talks or can talk about whom and who constructs which social reality(/ies) and (non-)belongings in which way. The historical examination of social reality is always an examination of re-presented social realities that are themselves products of negotiation processes on the one hand, and products of practices of observation, writing down, omitting and editing by (re-)producers on the other. Thus, at the moment of the analysis, the level of the described social reality intertwines with the level of the “ways of writing” (Haasis/Rieske 2015, 31).

This is where the proposed preformed panel sets in, by focusing on these re-presented social realities, which can be reconstructed from diverse source material. In this respect, the panel is not intended to deal exclusively with these re-presented social realities from the perspective of the history of education. However, a turn to other scientific disciplines proves to be particularly fruitful, which is reflected in the three contributions proposed:

1. Scientific Knowledge, Administrative Actions and Feeble-minded Children. Expert Reports as an Epistemic Genre (Berlin 1880–1900)
2. Who’s Educable and Who’s Not? Constructing and Fixing ‘(Ab)normal’ Children in the Context of Education and Science around 1900
3. ‘Sick’ and ‘Healthy’ Bodies during Atlantic Crossings. Travelogues as Means to Fix Social Reality (1839–1910)

Regarding the contributions number 1 and 3, the cross-fertilization of historical educational research, literary studies and historical praxeology is revealed, with the latter providing fruitful methodical and methodological approaches, particularly with regard to the ‘ways and means of writing’ and the production of knowledge through and with text. Presentation number 2 combines disability history and history of education (or history of childhood) in order to analyze the construction of children’s ‘(ab)normality’ in the past.

This proposed panel thus brings together different viewpoints on the construction and fixation of (re-presented) social reality, collectively building a critical conversation around the historical categories ‘sick’/‘healthy’ and ‘normal’/‘abnormal’.

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### **Scientific Knowledge, Administrative Actions And Feeble-minded Children. Expert Reports As An Epistemic Genre (Berlin 1880–1900)**

Jona Tomke Garz (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)

Expert reports have become a ubiquitous feature of politics, lawsuits or medical treatments: Insurance companies hire experts in order to determine whether the insured person caused the accident out of negligence and thus lost eligibility, scientists reports are at the heart of climate change policies, and

judges rule on involuntary hospitalization based on a psychiatrists expertise. Rarely are they historicized and questioned as an epistemic genre, which what this proposed paper intends to do.

Expert reports are usually the result of a whole bundle of activities, among them filing, examination of a patient, technical or psychopathological methods, note taking, etc. – all carried out in order to produce a written report. The distinct feature that turns minutes or other written records into expert reports is the connection they provide between science and other areas of social life- Most importantly, they contain what Geisthövel and Hess have coined “acting knowledge” (Geisthövel/Hess 2017, 27). An expert report has fulfilled its purpose only if providing the knowledge and thus allowing for a well-grounded decision making for those responsible for the decision (ibid.).

The proposed presentation will analyze expert reports that were part of the administrative process of admitting a child into the Berlin Dalldorf Asylum for Feeble-minded Children. For the time in question 24 patient files containing said report are at the State’s Archive in Berlin. The reports, served the Board of Trustees of the Asylum as a basis for deciding whether or not to commit a child.

Drawing on the premises of historical epistemology (e.g. Rheinberger 2017) and historical praxeology (Füssel 2015; Reh 2014) I will ask what kind of knowledge (anatomical, psychiatric, pedagogical, etc.) was gained in which ways (observation, interview, measuring, etc.)? And how was this knowledge adapted in order to serve its cause – to facilitate decision making in administrative processes? I will draw upon the notion of “literary technologies” (Schaffer 1998) as well as the “Poetology of Knowledge” (Poetologie des Wissens, Schäfer 2013; Vogl 1997). Both have been developed as interdisciplinary methodologies between literary studies and History of Science to examine the ways in which certain genres like minutes (Niehaus/Schmidt-Hanissa 2005), observation forms (Ledebur 2011) or as in my case expert reports, prefigure the way knowledge emerges.

Overall this presentation intends to showcase experts reports as one example of how social worlds are produced through and with text while highlighting the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary research methodologies.

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### **Constructing and Fixing the Social – a Short Introduction**

Michèle Hofmann (University Of Zurich)

The recent history of childhood that follows along the lines of the so-called new sociology of childhood is "concerned with the experiences of the young in the past" (Heywood 2018, 6). However, writing such a history turns out to be challenging: Historians of childhood agree that it is difficult to find children's voices in archival materials (see, e.g., Alexander 2012; Frijhoff 2012, 11–12; Fass 2013, 7–8; Heywood 2018, 6–9). One group of children whose voices are especially hard, or rather impossible, to find, are intellectually 'abnormal' children. Debates about these children and their (in)educability started to emerge in Europe – and elsewhere in the world – around 1800. In the course of the 19th and early 20th century, asylums and educational facilities were established to take care of "abnormal" children (see, e.g., Van Drenth/Myers 2011; Ellis 2017; Hofmann 2019; Yoshii 2019). The growing interest in 'cretinic', 'idiotic', 'imbecile' or 'moronic' children produced a lot of paperwork. There are, for instance, notes about children attending special (educational) institutions and children who were designated to attend special classes; medical treatises; statistical data gathered from surveys or publications by people and associations that wanted to establish care and educational measures for intellectually 'abnormal' children.

Using the example of Switzerland and focusing on the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the proposed paper is interested in source material that emerged surrounding the debates about intellectually 'abnormal' children. Following along the lines of the so-called new disability history (see Longmore/Umansky 2001), the paper addresses the question of how children's intellectual '(ab)normality' – as part of social reality – was constructed around 1900. It analyzes what kind of knowledge about intellectually 'abnormal' children was produced, how this knowledge was set out in writing, and by whom.

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### **'Sick' And 'Healthy' Bodies During Atlantic Crossings. Travelogues As Means To Fix Social Reality (1839–1910)**

Lilli Riettiens (University Of Cologne)

During the partly week-long Atlantic crossing with the steam ship from Latin America to Europe in the 19th and early 20th century, a 'new' social order (had to be) developed on board. In the "floating city" (sp. »flotante ciudad«; de la Barra 1878, 53) the sea travellers began to construct (non-)belongings along the – always interwoven – categories of (supra-)nationality or national identity, class, language, gender, etc. Within this process of constructing social order, the construction of 'healthy' and 'sick' bodies also proved to be an important element. Both when the sea surface was smooth and when the ocean was turbulent, "many ladies and gentlemen [...] began to get seasick" (sp. »empezaban á [!] marearse muchas damas y caballeros«; Balaija 1897, 12), and the travellers dwelled on detailed descriptions of the 'sick' bodies of their fellow travellers within their travelogues. While male as well as female travellers reported their own 'sickness', the male travellers in particular emphasised their own 'non-affection' or reported either that almost exclusively women on board were '(sea)sick' or that female travellers suffered more from seasickness than male travellers. This revealed 'sickness' and 'health' as powerful elements in the constitution process of social reality on the one hand, and as elements of (gendered) subjectivation on the other. Along the construction of 'healthy' and 'sick' bodies the travellers judged who was 'allowed' to show themselves where and how on the ship or who should remain 'invisible' due to their 'sickness' (e.g. by staying in the cabin).

These positionings of the self and of others were additionally 'materially authenticated' by being written down (cf. Freist 2015, 26). In light of the assumption that "knowing is based on seeing, *sa-voir on voir*" (Ette 2001, 123; emphasis in original), the fact that the travellers affirmed that they had 'really observed' these 'sick' bodies functioned as a sort of legitimization of the narratives. Along this logic, the travelogues fixed a powerful social reality by referring to an extratextual reality "without fictional parts" (Fischer 2004, 35). Thus, the travelogues obtained "the status of testimonials" producing knowledge about the described – mainly 'sick' – people (ibid.).

Using the method of historical praxeology the proposed paper is focusing on the processes of the production of social order and social reality along the notion of 'sick' and 'healthy' bodies during the transatlantic travel, whereby social phenomena become understandable "in their processual production, which is consistently repeated" (Schmidt 2012, 32). Highlighting the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary research, this paper also examines the relationship between narrative forms and the dynamic processes of knowledge-production, assuming that the literary genre of travel literature had and has an enormous influence on the production of knowledge.

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## **02-SES 17: MUSEUMS AND MEMORIALIZATION**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Daniel Lövheim (Stockholm university)

### **History Of Education Seen From The Grassroots: Places Of Memory, School Heritage And Local Education Dynamics**

Ana Madeira (Instituto de Educação - Universidade de Lisboa), Helena Cabeleira (Instituto de Educação - Universidade de Lisboa)

This paper aims to discuss the research agenda and preliminary results of Project MRIR – "Rescued Memories, (Re)Constructed Identities: Schooling experiences, heritage and local educational dynamics" (PTDC/CED-EDG/29091/2017). Since October 2018, we have been building a Memory of Education and Schooling in the Portuguese rural area of Pinhal Interior Sul (PIS), by gathering oral and written testimonies, and by identifying the (im)material heritage of local education. These documental sources will later be mobilized for the production of a local history curriculum and teacher training programs involving the local and institutional partners.



Epistemologically, Project MRIR places itself in the historiographical realm of the “temps présent” (Bédarida, 2001; Nora, 1978), which is defined by a series of research topics that address a contemporary “regime of historicity” (Hartog, 2013) inseparable from those who inhabit (Frank, 2001; Hobsbawm, 1993), as it establishes a social bond and commitment with the unique sources and archives that constitute individual and collective dynamics of “memory” and “forgiveness” (Halbwachs, 1997; Le Goff, 2000; Cook, 1998; Ricoeur, 2007). It is thus a living history, a history of “futures past” (Koselleck, 2006) that sees the rural beyond the agricultural world and the dynamics of past history beyond the statics of traditional folklore. Because history is the narrative we weave when we trigger our memory (White, 1973), history is bound to the “places of memory” (lieux de mémoire), such as the rural paths taken from home to school (and back), the school buildings, the recreation courts, the classroom, the didactic manuals, etc. (Nora, 1992, 2001).

Empirically, since April 2019, the team has been focused on ‘fieldwork’ carried out through an active involvement with local Senior Universities. Oral structured interviews (35) and written testimonies (32) have already been collected. Also, a number of documentary and iconographic sources related to school memories and heritage (school diaries, textbooks, photographs, autobiographies, local press, statistics) have been inventoried and digitalized in order to build an Audiovisual Archive of rural education. This work is particularly relevant since, according to the Eurostat: “in the central, inland Portuguese region of Pinhal Interior Sul, elderly persons accounted for over one third (33.9 %) of the total population — the highest share of elderly persons across the EU” (Kotzeva, 2013: 43).

Project MRIR also aims to contribute: 1) to critically examine local and regional narratives about education and schooling; 2) to grant elder rural communities a privileged place in educational historical research, thus underlining their voices, experiences and representations in the writing of their own histories of education; 3) to further the interdisciplinary dialogue between historiographical approaches on educational research (from anthropology, to sociology, ethnography and ethnomethodology) in the production of knowledge on the relationship between the rural populations and their educational past, present and future; 4) to promote the articulation of historical research with community development, by means of the local cooperation between different institutional partners (teachers, educational bodies, development associations, local administration, museums, private and public educational institutions) in the building, preservation and re-invention of their cultural traditions and educational heritage.

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### **The Andalusian Museum of Education at the Time of the COVID-19 Pandemic**

María Dolores Molina Poveda (University of Málaga), Carmen Sanchidrián-Blanco (University of Málaga)

COVID-19 has imposed new ways of approaching learning processes and has had enormous consequences in museums (NEMO, 2020). In-person activities have been changed by virtual ones and games, lectures, interactive activities have left their place to screens and the Internet.

Museums, like every educational institution, are learning spaces because they house history, art, culture, etc., Nevertheless, they have had to adapt, and they are showing their collections and carrying out activities online. Museums are not anymore just places of recreation and contemplation. As they are educational spaces (Kirchberg and Tröndle, 2012) education is one of their functions. Museums have enthusiastically launched themselves into it not only strengthening their connections with schools but also proposing didactic activities for everyone; not to do it would be a great loss and then they have to reinvent themselves permanently (Downay, 2020; Kahn, 2020). The pedagogical museums, which bring us closer to different pedagogies, school objects, their evolution, their use and the memory of education (Álvarez, 2016; Ruiz Berrio, 2010) are not an exception. During this pandemic, museums have developed a huge effort to be in contact with the society.

The activities carried out by the Andalusian Museum of Education, MAE, (Sanchidrián, Mañas and López, 2020), since it had to close until today, will be briefly described in this paper. As the MAE is a small scale museum, newly created, the development of these activities, their projection on social networks and the constant efforts to update its website have a special value (<https://www.museoandaluzdelaeducacion.es/>). The activities are:

- a) Online visits, 360º project
- b) Object of the month

- c) School buildings
- d) Didactic activities for children
- e) Friends of MAE (videos)
- f) The MAE on the move (lectures)
- g) Presence on television
- h) Presence on journals and newspapers
- i) Concerted visits
- j) Pedagogical reformers, and
- k) Partner in the Organization of the IX Conference of the Society for the Study of Educational Historical Heritage, SEPHE, scheduled September 2021.

The didactic vocation of the MAE, affirmed before its opening (Asensi, 2016), has been now reinforced. Within its possibilities, the MAE has developed initiatives to promote learning both in children and in adults, in experts and in anyone interested in approaching it. The characteristics of its collections have made possible, even during the pandemic closure, to be open to the world. Probably, it will be months, if not years, before children and teachers may visit this museum. Nevertheless, the current situation should lead us to think in new possibilities to work with schools not only during this time but also beyond the pandemic. The main goal keeps being the promotion of activities able to have a positive effect on visitors' empathy and understanding of education.

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## **Memories In The Making – The Year 1989 And Its Memorialisation**

Sabine Krause (University of Innsbruck)

History is, as common knowledge suggests, always the history of the winning party. This means that means and ends of memory and remembrance are shaped by those voices who are in power and therefore entitled to interpret the past and tell the “right” stories of the past. Those powerful narratives are challenged by the turn to marginalised voices, by postcolonial approaches, or by insights in entangled histories. Looking at 1989, we can observe the struggle for the past in recent German history. This paper explores narratives of the “Berlin Wall coming down” with an emphasis on methodological considerations. The question to answer is, how or to what extent the methodological framework of ethnography helps or hinders to investigate practices, affects and materialisations of memory. My research took off with photographs and the question what is narrated in them, it took a second step in looking at the practices of making memories with photographs and “how it helps to shape notions of community, subjectivity, political engagement and empathy by bringing to the surface a range of emotions and reactions that reflect the sentiments, fears, hopes and aspirations of the time.” (Evans 2019, 2) The third step was/is the turn to oral history to complement en- and decodings of pictures and public narratives. In conducting research, I somehow found myself in the role of an ethnographer, too. In understanding research as ethnography, I seek to uncover the role of research, my own work, in the process of “memories in the making.” Taking up discussions on ethnography as research paradigm or methodological approach, I will shine some light on my practices as research persona. But ethnography is also another way to approach the people’s knowledges about 1989. With ethnography, the experiences of time and space take a different stance in research and in making memories and history: It “include[s] the delving into another life-world, an archaeological sensibility of ‘digging into’ the past and piecing together fragments of experience, and ‘following clues’” (Macdonald 2013, 56) The paper is part of a research project on the year 1989 and its memorialisation. It takes place in Berlin, and aims at a multi-voice micro-history of one specific neighbourhood. Against the backdrop of the “official” public remembrance of the events of 1989 in 2019, the question is, which other narratives are to be found in the assemblage (Macdonald) of memorialisations and how those are made up in practices, affects and materialisations of archival material, in private “archives,” in oral history sessions, or in an ethnography of the place. I seek to tell family stories and the negotiations of memories that are communicative part of the search for family history or family identity and collective local history. It is about an entangled local and public history, narrated in relational constituent practices that are at the centre of education processes.

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### 03-SES 17: POLICY, SCHOOL REFORM AND DEBATE

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Hilda T.A. Amsing (University of Groningen)

## **Popular School Debates – Unseen 'Realities'**

Bernhard Hemetsberger (University of Vienna)

Throughout the history of Western mass-schooling, reform movements appeared, claiming that social problems could be delegated to schools in order to be solved there (see Hemetsberger 2018, forthcoming). Especially in times of threatening social conditions this narratives won massive publicity. It will be shown that schooling as a remedy is as old as compulsory schooling in the Western world and recurrently served as ad-hoc promise for the public to allay various threatening social problems (Labaree 2008; Smeyers/Depaepe 2008). In these periods 'school realities' faced idealist demands or populist accusations (Biesta/Säfström 2011) but failed to accomplish being a social redemption as most of these goals were out of school's reach (see Habermas 1976). In consequence they met reform plans to be better equipped the next time. The reforms changed inner-school conditions, stressed new teaching methods, revised schoolbooks, introduced examination practices or rearranged administrative work within schools, mostly not turning specific location-based inner-school problems to the better but enforcing schools to adapt these reforms to their situation (e.g. Cuban 1992). Consequently, reform movements faced resistance from headmasters, teachers, parents and pupils not amused by programs of little use to their 'realities'. It is striking that throughout the history of 'top-down-reforms', which were heavily affected by time-specific popular school debates or the educationalization of social problems, inner-school resistance to these reforms rose (see teacher union pamphlets, parental letters, ...). The dichotomy of social debates and unseen inner-school 'realities' are to be considered in future reform plans and the way of doing research in the history of education.

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## **Conceptualisations of Student Learning in Norwegian Curricula Across Time (1987-2020)**

Bernadette Hörmann (University of Oslo), Berit Karseth (University of Oslo)

The Nordic countries in general and Norway in particular have a long tradition for child-centred didactics and pedagogical approaches that are oriented towards the local society. Out of its pietistic historical-cultural mindset, Norwegian education focuses on the individual's development towards its future participation in the mostly local professional work and social life (Tröhler 2011; Midtsundstad & Hopmann, 2010). In line with the four features of the Norwegian "School for All" stated by Imsen and Volckmar (2014), one can characterize the Norwegian school model as an intensive endeavour to maintain the ambivalence between universal and individualistic dimensions in education. The students' life-world and needs play an important role in their qualification and the classroom is regarded as a common place where students learn and live together (Midtsundstad & Hopmann 2010).

Recent reforms such as the Knowledge Promotion Reform 2006 and the Curriculum Renewal Reform 2020 were developed in line with a global framework of competence and performance oriented teaching. By setting the focus on student performance and progression (Mølsted & Karseth 2016), and putting the students' learning progress on the forefront, the reforms challenge the idea of learning as a collaborative endeavour directed towards the students' participation within a local community. From a didactical perspective, a focus on student performance disregards the dynamics within the classroom, where a common process of learning and exploring the world becomes a resource for social inclusion and common experience (Hörmann 2015, Hopmann 2007). The contribution sets out to investigate this dilemma by examining how the global idea of competence based education has been recontextualised, i.e. processed and reconciled with traditional traits in three Norwegian curricula.

Curricula as policy documents in which the constitutive, active generation of a society declares what knowledge should be passed on to the younger generation often entail a description of general values and approaches to education in the nation-state at hand. In case of Norway, the "General Part" expresses an officially endorsed framework on what a nation regards as important and relevant in the institutional education of its children (Sivesind & Karseth, 2019). It is a programmatic, value-based statement presenting ideas and directions for the didactical work at school. By applying a semantical analysis of three different general parts of Norwegian curricula (M87 in 1987, L97 in 1997, and L20 in 2020) and comparing them with each other, the contribution investigates how the official rhetoric on student learning has changed over time. How has the traditional notion of education that is oriented towards the students' common learning related to the demand for individual learning progress, or in other words, how do recent curricula reconcile the two dimensions? What role does the student play in the different conceptualisations of learning, and how does this role connect to the local society in which the student is embedded?

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**FRIDAY June 18**

**11:00 - 12:30**

**01-SES 18: PROPAGANDA THROUGH EDUCATION AND EDUCATION THROUGH PROPAGANDA IN THE HUNGARIAN AND SPANISH DICTATORSHIPS. MATERIAL AND VISUAL PERSPECTIVES**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Carmen Sanchidrián-Blanco (University of Málaga), Lajos Somogyvári (University of Pannonia)

**Propaganda through Education and Education through Propaganda in the Hungarian and Spanish Dictatorships. Material and Visual Perspectives.**

Within the context of comparative histories, and internationalization of History of Education, this panel analyzes the relationship between Propaganda, Dictatorship and Education under different types of dictatorship during the 20th century. They all were old-school authoritarians who relied on traditional forms of censorship and ideologically-oriented propaganda to maintain control over their populations. Dictatorships do not tolerate political pluralism or independent media. They need to control the education and the welfare system and to tell a single story about it all.

Two papers focus on Hungary and the third one in Spain and they all use different sources: Press, textbooks and news release are visual sources that may be analysed from the cultural perspective to reveal implicit and explicit meanings and values. These three sources could show the relationship between dictatorship and both formal and informal education as one of the main characteristics of dictatorships is their interest to control all aspects of daily life. Altogether, three cases with common elements (contemporary dictatorships, although of different sign, visual and material sources), are studied with different historical sources that reveal the potential of these sources, the possibilities of cultural history and the importance of use all possible means to spread propaganda favourable to government ideology.

The first paper shows how the Hungarian press – including educational papers – after World War II became a 'prisoner' of the totalitarian Rákosi system, which captured the narratives of reality and abolished the alternative ones. The main function of press propaganda was to transmit the dogmas of the new 'religion' and to mobilize society, building a new identity. It also kept people busy not to have time and possibility to think over what happens around them. In its logic, the system made a global education through press, that formed the whole society. Hungarian educational journals are the primary source to discover the metaphors used to highlight the foundations of the new system and its connections with the teaching profession.

The second paper analyzes texts and pictures of Russian language textbooks not only on the ground of topics but also on their semiotic revealing that the disciplinary and pedagogical functions of information were subordinated to ideological/political education. After the communist takeover in 1949, the government made the Russian language compulsory at all level of education. The Russian



language was a transmitter in the unification of the socialist camp (between the Soviet Union and its friendly socialist countries). Based on the “political science” model (Stein): the text and visual performance of the schoolbooks of the totalitarian era directly served ‘politicum’. Since a long period is studied, several stages can be described being obvious that in the Kádár era), the political education decreased in the teaching materials.

The third paper focuses on how Propaganda and Welfare were acting together as useful tools for social control in Spain. NO-DO was a state-controlled series of cinema newsreels produced from 1942 to 1981. The new political regime needed to maintain social control and to justify itself to the Spaniards and abroad. Auxilio Social, established in May 1937 was based on the earliest fascist organization, Auxilio de Invierno (Winter Aid); this institution aimed to meet the needs of children and women; children’s homes, hogares infantiles, were the most emblematic institution: War orphans, abandoned children and prisoners’ offspring were institutionalised in the hogares. We have analyzed twelve pieces of information, where the idealized image of the hogares offered in NODO can be seen.

Comparative history runs risks, but it has the potential to operate as a “bridge-builder,” and in this sense, we would like to encourage innovative ways of approaching the history of education.

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### **Press Propaganda as a Tool for Reeducating a Society, 1945-1956**

Gabriela Baska (Gabriela Baska Eötvös Loránd University)

By the cultural theory of communication, media - so press as a part of it - does not report information, but transmits ideology and world view. In the age of mass media, our beliefs and knowledge do not come from our direct experience, but by media-information, so the content of it is valuable for any political systems. In our case, the Hungarian press - including educational papers - after World War II. became a 'prisoner' of the totalitarian Rákosi system, which captured the narratives of reality and abolished the alternative ones. In our case like in other totalitarian regimes, the main function of press propaganda was to transmit the dogmas of the new 'religion' and to mobilize society, with which it could found a new identity. It also kept people busy not to have time and possibility to think over what happens around them. In its logic, the system made a global education through press, a global education that formed the whole society.

In my research, using Hungarian educational journals of the time as a primary source, I aimed to discover the main metaphors, that were used to highlight the basis of the new system and to identify how it was connected to teaching profession. The radically militant vocabulary of the time could anticipate that just like in political press it will be 'war' that triumphs all the other easily understood metaphors like life, death, love or hunting in educational papers too. Teachers, who were mostly called educators in the papers, were also involved in the newly created system in many ways, and the educational press was a very effective tool to teach them how to be involved. Their education in connection with war and peace-war had many faces. Underlying teachers' enthusiastic participation in peace-war in most of the writings had at least three functions: (1) to educate them how to interpret political issues, (2) positioning them or themselves among other participants of the society, (3) express unity with the working class, the leading social class of the regime. With the third point, we arrive at one of the well known political myths: unity. In my presentation, I would like to highlight the logic of propaganda texts in Hungarian educational papers focusing on two questions: peace-war and teachers.

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### **Political dimensions of education. Analyse of Russian Language Schoolbooks in the Dictatorship in Hungary (1949-1989)**

Beatrix Vincze (Eötvös Loránd University)

The paper aims to present the influence of political ideology in the communistic regime in Hungary. The analysis of the Russian language schoolbooks will answer: How the illustrative apparatus could serve the content in the schoolbooks, what political and ideological objectives they were subordinated to (Pilarczyk, Mietzner, 2005).

After the communist takeover in 1949, the government made the Russian language compulsory at all level of education. The Russian language teaching focused obviously on the political education of citizens. The goal of Russian language teachers was to cultivate the new type of people: They had to build a Soviet political system that represents the future of all humankind, and the new and true human morality (1950). According to the educational policy guidelines of Rákosi regime, it was necessary to enforce the Marxist and Leninist worldview in the curriculum and the work of educators... to get over the reactionary and idealistic attitudes and to fight against nationalism and cosmopolitanism (Nagy, Horváth 1967).

The Russian language was transmitter in the unification of the socialist camp (between the Soviet Union and its friendly socialist countries). Based on the “political science” model (Stein): the text and visual performance of the schoolbooks of the totalitarian era directly served ‘politicum’. The information intended to strengthen political socialization, and the pedagogical (didactic and methodological) aspects received a subordinate role to the education of new generation and the evolving of internationalism. Typical topics were Stalin, Lenin, Rákosi’s life and their historical importance, public holidays such as 7 November, 1 Mai, 9 May, pioneering and woman movement etc. Pedagogy (in content and methodology) appeared as a “pure” and “objective” science, which considered Soviet pedagogy as its role model. In the practice, the Russian (and other) schoolbooks adopted the Soviet works. The translated books were used until the late ‘60s. The majority of books were black and white-coloured, based on the grammatical translating method and the propaganda dominated in the illustrations (pictures, schematic drawings of party leaders, pioneers). We can analyze the pictures not only on the ground of topics but also on their semiotic. The disciplinary and pedagogical functions of information was subordinated to ideological/political education. The communist ideology as political religion characterized the Russian teaching. In 1950 began the Russian teacher training but it had not enough native teacher. The Russian teaching transformed and had higher level since the 1970s. Due to development of teacher training, the schoolbooks content and performances changed and tended to the communicative method. In the soft dictatorship (Kádár era), political education decreased in the teaching materials. However, the practical benefits of Russian language were limited. The multi-perspectival analysis of schoolbooks with other examinations can add pedagogical research and give a holistic view about the different historical periods. In this case,

the reminiscences of language teachers and learners with their 'hidden stories' shows subjective perspectives of history.

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### **The Francoist Welfare Provided by Auxilio Social (Social Aid) Shown by NO-DO (1939-1975)**

Carmen Sanchidrián-Blanco (University of Málaga), María Dolores Molina-Poveda (University of Málaga)

After the long, hard and ruthless Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Spain was devastated, and many cities and towns were in ruins. Franco was proclaimed Head of State and ruled Spain as a dictator. The economy took decades to recover and the consequences for education were very serious. The new political regime needed to maintain control over their populations and justify itself to the Spaniards and abroad: then it resorted to different propaganda media (written, audiovisual, iconographic, etc.).

NO-DO (the colloquial name for *Noticiarios y Documentales*, News and Documentaries) was a state-controlled series of cinema newsreels produced from 1942 to 1981. The first newsreel of this organization was broadcast in every Spanish cinema before the screening of any film in January 1943. This media enjoyed exclusivity and it was mandatory to project it throughout Spain until 1975, although it did not stop being broadcasted until 1981. NO-DO also produced documentaries and reports and was used to show national and international newsreels through its ideology, as well as to inform, entertain and indoctrinate the population.

This paper aims to present the given image presented by NO-DO about the most important field of operation of Auxilio Social: children's homes (*hogares infantiles*). Auxilio Social was established in May 1937 promoted by two Falangists, Mercedes Sanz Bachiller and Javier Martínez de Bedoya, clearly connected with Falange. Auxilio Social (Social Aid) was based on the earliest fascist organization, Auxilio de Invierno (Winter Aid, Winterhilfswerk, WHW); it aimed to meet the needs of children and women: there were canteens, kitchens, centres for the care of mothers and children and children's homes that were the emblematic institution of Auxilio Social: War orphans, abandoned children and prisoners' offspring were institutionalised in the *hogares* during their first years of life and then they were sent to different institutions (often ruled also by Auxilio Social). We have found twelve pieces of information, News and Documentaries, included in News and Image Magazine section, where different *hogares* can be seen. Children were shown in an environment of play, discipline, learning and recreation, where teachers and caregivers provided all the pampering and affection they should receive at home. However, according to other sources, oral testimonies, biographies, among others, as children grew the discipline became a constant, which was practised through physical punishment, hunger, thirst, cold showers, etc., which marked their lives. In this way, Propaganda and Welfare were acting together as useful tools for social control. The influence of these tools is out of the question, although most of the people could not trust NO-DO as the idyllic life showed in the *hogares* was hardly believable.

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## 02-SES 18: SOCIAL ASPECTS IN EDUCATIONAL MEDIA

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Anne Elisabeth Berg (Uppsala universitet), Anne Helene Høyland Mork (University of Southeastern Norway)

### Social Aspects in Educational Media

The panelists in this preformed panel will shed light upon how social aspects are mediated in and through educational media in the Nordic countries from 19th century to our own time. Educational media are always embedded in the contexts in which they are produced, and mirror political and cultural shifts and alterations. Textbooks and other forms of educational media may therefore be regarded as important reflections of their actual societies, and may be used to strengthen mutual interdependency as well as to make different groups of the society aware of their social position. The textbooks and other forms of educational media has therefor a potential to become important political instruments for stakeholders and political authorities. These political aspects may be seen through structural aspects as well as in the factual content.

The panel will bring together historians of education, text historians and historians of childhood to reflect upon a number of questions related to social aspects and educational media. Through different methodologies and theoretical assumptions, the panellists will ask several questions relevant to this topic: How are social classes reflected in the educational media under consideration? How are social descriptions used as political tools to influence the children? To what extent is the present social media a reflection of political documents and political constraints at the actual time? How are different methodologies used to enlighten social aspects? Can educational media be used to compare social conditions in different countries?

The panel includes following presenters:

Esbjörn Larsson and Anne Berg, Uppsala University: The Making of a Docile Working Class:

Descriptions of class and class relations in the Läsebok för folkskolan, 1868–1940s

Marta Stachurska-Kounta, University of South-Eastern Norway: Representations of Europe in Norwegian history textbooks

Iben Brinch Jørgensen, University of South-Eastern Norway: The good paper in Scandinavia. The edition history of an influential textbook in academic writing for higher education

Brit Marie Hovland, Oslo Met University: Mapping the world – as we know it Changing History and Didactics prior to world war II

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### **The Making of a Docile Working Class: Descriptions of class and class relations in the *Läsebok för folkskolan*, 1868–1940**

Anne Elisabeth Berg (Uppsala University), Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University)

The 19th century educational system was socially segmented and divided according to social class. Children of the economically and politically marginalized classes was educated in primary basic subjects in the nationwide *Folkskola* (Sandin 1986; Petterson 1992; Larsson 2014). From 1868 to the early 1940s, a government subsidized reader, the *Läsebok för folkskolan*, was issued and spread. Besides poems and songs, the reader contained religious, fictitious, moral and historical text– all wrapped in an explicit nationalist discourse. The impact of this book for nationalizing the masses has been highlighted repeatedly in earlier research. However, the reader contained other interesting images and ideologies, related to class and identity of class, which has remained unexplored. The book was issued at a time in history when industrialization was rapid and a working class culture and identity was in its initial stages. What's more, the state's readers was in play during the decades when a widespread labour movement and a political class-consciousness was in the making. The fact that the book contained and spread representations of how the sub-class children should conduct themselves to grow up to become functional members of a bourgeois society, has more or less been overlooked. However, they were highly present. We see them in the stories of the model virtues of the 'cottagers son', 'the poor cabin boy' or the 'shop boy', in the poems that handled poverty or the proverbs on how 'birds of a feather stick together' and 'better poor with glory, than rich with shame'. This paper, in contrast to previous analyses, deals with the social imageries of the poor and marginalized in the *Läsebok för folkskola*. In our paper, it is suggested that we have to take the social imagery of class into consideration if we want to understand the ideological functions of the reader during the historical period it was in use. Furthermore, it is proposed the social descriptions can be understood as means of making the children of the poor into industrious and docile workers. The results are based on a qualitative analysis of the descriptions of the working poor and the stories of the imagined relationships between the poor and the rich, which the reader contains.

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### **Mapping the World – As We Know It.**

Brit Marie Hovland (NLA)

«A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties and “of battles long ago”. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life”. (Sadler, 1900:11, her etter Trohler 2016:280)

How and in what ways did history textbooks mediate the societal and national life and history during the formative period of the school subject prior to world war II? On the one hand, the paper will be focusing the changes and developing content of history lessons, on the other the new mediating didactical form and methods in question.

Reinhardt Kosellecks concepts “space of experience” and “horizon of expectations” provides an analytical and theoretical framework for the discussion, pointing out the imperative contemporary and possibly implications of an historical narrative: The outcome of historical battles highlighted in history textbooks, is more than anything else a matter of contemporary politics and societal visions of the future. History is identity and politics. Following a similar line of thinking, theories of nationalism deconstruct nation building processes of the 19th century as a the legitimation and societal construction of the nation. The subject of history and its compulsory history textbook is a mediated source, allowing historians to study the contemporary and developing mediation of this national upbringing.

Analyzing history textbooks 1889-1940 the paper “Mapping the world – as we know it” will be focusing some important and symbolic stories and the changes of storylines during the period. “Historie om skolefag og dannelsesprosjekt 1889-1940” is based on close reading and analysis of more than 40 textbooks and their reception through these 50 years (Hovland 2016). As the subject of history finds its content and form, there is a growing rupture between the subject and the science or academical historians. More than anything else, this rupture is mediated through illustrations, maps and a number of books and discussion on history didactics. Some of these discussions points directly to the symbolic mapping and narrative of the nation – the world as we know it.

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### 03-SES 18: THE EDUCATION OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Germund Larsson (Örebro universitet)

#### **Value-oriented Education in the History of the Valdense Culture**

Judit Kocsis Bognárné (University of Pannonia)

The research focuses on the Valdense cultural transmission of values and the main characteristics of the practice of the Valdense education. The Valdenses are in fact an Italian Protestant religious minority, who believe in strong connections between society and Christianity. Probably this is the underlying reason for the understanding of different social and minority groups, whether they are migrants or homosexuals.

The aim of my research is to provide an answer to the following questions: Which are the most important characteristics of the cultural transmission of values in the past and nowadays? What is and how big is the function of the school in the mediation of Valdense culture? By which characteristics is the Valdense cultural identity defined?

In my previous research I observed the European Catholic and Protestant trends of religious education including Valdense religious pedagogy from the 19th century to the present day. The results of the former research pointed out that the personality development of the children was incorporated into religious education.

The results of the current research show through the example of several centuries of their history, that the Valdense can be characterized by openness and isolation at the same time because on the one hand they are open to all educational innovation, on the other hand they live in an isolated location (North-Italy), in a community of families, in a rural ecosystem. They use their own language, if they don't want others to understand them, furthermore, they often intermarried. The Valdense are committed to revive and promote their cultural and religious heritage together with the social activity such as voluntary work, as these represent a form of active citizenship.

The analysis of the sources showed that their story goes back to the 11-12th century. They had no temples until the 16th century, the congregation and the school worked in the same room. The Valdense Region plays a key role in strengthening cultural diversity continuity in Europe. In the field of teaching and education their activity could significantly help the abolition of the high rate of illiteracy. The major aim of Italian Valdense schools was to facilitate becoming good citizens, good fathers and mothers, together with becoming good Christians. It can be said that the Valdense model is mainly self-reflective and innovative, which is characterized by targeted changes, active and constructive dialogues between the participants.

To answer the questions I used precious primary sources, most of all in Italian (memoirs, monographs etc.) and secondary work of references in Italian and in English too. The research method was the content examination, synthesizing and theoretical analysis of primary and secondary sources. My research is important to understand the characteristics of the Valdense culture and education among researchers of history of education, furthermore to offer good practices which can be adapted.

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### **Rethinking the social in the Greek History of Education: The acculturation process of the Slavic-speaking people in socio-historical perspective (1913-1936)**

Sophia Iliadou-Tachou (University of Western Macedonia), Evmorfia Kipouropoulou (University of Western Macedonia), Eirini Kouremenou (University of Western Macedonia)

It is beyond any doubt that referring to the nation-states we have to accept that the school had always constituted the main mechanism of social control and reproduction and maintenance of the dominant ideology (Karabott, F., 1997).

Consequently educational institutions were used as tools for integrating people within the social status quo. (Fragoudaki & Dragona, 1997; Avdela, 1998; Lee, Slater, Walsh & White, 1992; Alexiadou, 1992; Althousser, 1977; Mühlbauer, 1990; Terlexis, 1987) Turner, 1981; Dufour, B. 1982; Nova – Kaltsouni, 1995). In fact, three basic terms can describe the achievement of these goals, assimilation, acculturation and incorporation (Gordon 1964: 61-61). Acculturation is defined as a process through which the members of a group from a specific cultural background adapt to the culture of a different social network. (Rieger and Wong Rieger, 1995) However it has to be emphasized that the goal of the state-determined educational process is related to the construction of its particular dominant socio-cultural identity. (Horowitz D., 1975; Karakasidou A. 1993).

More specifically, in the case of Greece, institutions took on the creation of a nationally and culturally homogenized population (Tsoukalas, 1992). Consequently our principal hypothesis is that in Greece education was used as the most forceful medium within the process of social assimilation or acculturation of the Slavic-speaking (Yinger, 1981: 249-264; Cornell, S. & Hartmann, 1998; Oaks, Blazer, N. & Moynihan, 1970). So the main goal of this paper is to describe and interpret the socio-historical

process of acculturation of the Slavic-speaking, been implemented by the Greek state during the period 1913-1936. (Kostopoulos T., 2002; Michailidis I. , 1996; Iliadou-Tachou S.,2006).

The year 1913 was chosen as the starting point, of this research, because then, the Treaty of Bucharest, defined the territorial status of the Balkan states and incorporated into Greece regions such as Macedonia, inhabited by both Greco-phones and Slavic-speaking population. This period ends in 1922 when the rehabilitation of the Greek refugees after the Asia Minor catastrophe, changed the demographic balance in the above regions. (Kontogeorgi E., 1992; Michailidis I, 1992 ). From 1922 till 1936 the assimilation policies been pursued by the Greek state used the educational mechanism. Unlike 1936, the dictator Ioannis Metaxas pursued policies aiming at minorities.

The research questions are: (a) which laws were enacted to help acculturation ? b) what kind of educational institutions were founded? c) Which were the views expressed by the political parties concerning the language of instruction? d) There were motivations offered to Slavic-speaking? e) Which were the consequences in the social and political life of the local communities?

The method used is the historical-research method which adopts the study of the sources and the study of the primary archival material.

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### **Building "Homo Communisticus" through Sociology: The education of the Greek minority in the Soviet Union (1920-1936)**

Paraskevi Pougariidou (University of Western Macedonia)

Social can be translated in many ways through history. The main challenge of this task is to analyze the way that sociology, as a school lesson, was intended to replace history to the recommended guidelines programs in USSR.

In 1920 the Bolsheviks established their dominant rule on the areas of the Tsarist Russia where Greek communities are flourishing. To this area the political strategy of *korenizatsiya* has been applied which supports the mentality of equal chances and equal deal from the legal and juristic structure of the Russian state against all nations that live and act inside the geographical jurisdiction of USSR (Stalin 1953). Under this concept new schools have been established where the pupils and students are receiving lessons of their mother tongue from books that are written from the local elite particularly for that purpose.

To these kind of schools the lesson of history is abolished from the education guidelines since it is considered as a mean to pass social class messages to the young future citizens. The historian Pokrovski – a member of *troika* - has labeled history as ideology and not as a science (Fitzpatrick 1979). Sociology is coming to replace history and provide to the students all the required knowledge to help them understand the modern social and political topics. Under this concept Sociology was a new module

that will prohibit the expand the ideology of the past ideology of the tsars domination and at the same time it was related with the economical understanding on a state level of the modern world and it could be taught though a modernized way like discussion, challenges, exhibition etc. The supporting theoretical expert of that age, believed that the social studies were not official tools for teaching students , but there were composing a field that will influence and penetrate the principle of Charles Marx to the student mind set in order to give explanation and meaning to their surrounding environment.

Hence Sociology became an efficient tool of propaganda in order to cultivate and expand the dominant ideology and induce and reshape the mechanism that anyone will see the world.

Subject of this presentation and project is to pin point the subject that the lesson of Sociology includes in URRS, especially in schools of the Greek minority in USSR during the period of 1920-1936. The study of the ideology guidelines that defines this subjects , reveals the main milestones that the educational plan has placed as well as the propaganda tools that have been used in order to create the “Homo Communisticus” as the future citizen that USSR wills to create. Eight sociology school textbooks, written in a peculiar type of writing of the Greek language were the sample of the research. Qualitative analysis was used.

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## **FRIDAY June 18                      2:00 - 3:30**

### **01-SES 19: JESUIT VS ENLIGHTENED EDUCATION: EDUCATION IN POMBALINE REFORMS**

Preformed Panel (English, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Luiz Eduardo Oliveira (Universidade Federal de Sergipe), José Eduardo Franco (Universidade Aberta)

#### **Jesuit vs Enlightened Education: education in pombaline reforms**

This panel is related to the project of investigation and preparation of the complete works of the Marquis of Pombal, in 32 volumes critically annotated. The project intends to raise all the available data about the works written by the Marquis de Pombal or directly inspired by him and to prepare a critically annotated and revised edition, promoting, this way, a renovation of the pombaline studies, through an interdisciplinary approach, far beyond the partial visions motivated by polemic passions that depreciate or superestimate the meaning of his action. It intends to show the way how in Pombal's texts, while Europe was a representative of the idea of progress and civilization, thus superseding all contradictions which such assumption entails, the attack on the Jesuits, outside the scope of rhetoric,

was not always justified. It is known, for instance, that the members of the Society of Jesus were not as backward or ignorant as the law stated. Their ideary and actions, from an economic and political viewpoint, were quite venturesome for the period, as it is proved by the economic writings of the Jesuit priest Antônio Vieira (1608-1697), who advocated for the participation of the new christians in the Portuguese economy and the creation of trading companies, or the temporal administration of more than twenty villages of Pará and Maranhão, by employing the indiginous workforce, which yielded a capital and power feared as well as coveted by the inhabitants of that important lusitanian dominion. The panel, thus, aims to show to what extent the ruptures carried out by the Pombaline reforms meant a real rupture or continuity with regards to the Jesuit pedagogy.

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## **EMPIRE AND LANGUAGE: Pombal and the Law of the Directory (1757)**

Luiz Eduardo Oliveira (Universidade Federal de Sergipe)

The objective of this paper is to establish a canon of the pombaline writings on the Law of the Directory (1757), which, in order to “civilize” the Indians, imposed on the inhabitants – first of Grão Pará and Maranhão and then of all other colonies – the use and teaching of the Portuguese language. Although the consequences of the law are far from being consensual, especially to the “native” population to whom it was addressed, who were unprotected from the voracity of the settlers, it seems that without the Pombaline language policy we would not have such a large country like Brasil united by the speaking of a single language, regardless of the judgment we might make of the anthropological and cultural consequences of a policy that can be considered, at the same time, one of the greater linguistic genocides of the eighteenth century and also a “miracle” of the Portuguese colonization.

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### **From generalist to elitist education: Progress and Paradoxes of Education Reform under the Marquis of Pombal**

José Eduardo Franco (Universidade de Lisboa, CLEPUL)

Despite assuming the valorization of education as a “vital sector for the State” against the Society of Jesus, Pombal incorporated, secularized and adapted the pedagogical ideas that the Jesuits had been pursuing, against a chorus of critical voices since the 16th century. These religious men had primarily focused on education as an instrument for the reform of the Church and for the Catholic requalification of society and Christian life, and therefore understood it as a powerful means of evangelization and conversion. The Pombaline government bets on the instrumental value of education, but redirects it to work as another important instrument of the general State reform, taking into account the political ideology of enlightened absolutism.

The pedagogical-educational reform carried out by the Pombaline government, following the sanitation process of the Company's priests out of the country, which began in the late 1750s and culminated with the university reform in 1772, was presented above all as a political process with an ideological framework of educational deprivation in Portugal. The Enlightenment pedagogical utopia that inspired the minister of D. José I, according to which education was a privileged instrument to build a State and a new anthropology, and the consequent idea, also enlightened, of a happy society, was affirmed by a more negative than positive speech. The Pombaline propaganda and report documents leave the impression that this change occurred more against the Jesuits than in the name of affirming, in the discourse, the value itself and the novelty of the educational system transformation project.

The progress recognized by the Pombaline Reform of Studies by the new regulation with the nationalization of the teaching function and curricular modernization in both pre-university and university education is counterbalanced by a policy that turns out to be restrictive of access to education which has resulted in an abrupt downfall of the student population at all levels of education.

In theory and in practice, a pedagogical current has developed, since the 16th century, and has been fighting the Jesuit idea of generalist education open to as many students as possible, regardless of their social class. In this line of thought defenders of a teaching that can now be called elitist, reserved for only a few, were illuminist ideologues such as António Ribeiro Sanches and his work entitled Letters on the Education of Youth, published in the 1760s under Pombaline government..

Our communication intends to present the principles and practical results of the Pombaline education reforms, highlighting the advances and setbacks in relation to the Jesuit-Scholastic educational model that they intended to repeal and overcome with modernizing advantages.

### **Da educação generalista à educação elitista Progressos e Paradoxos da Reforma do Ensino sob a égide do Marquês de Pombal**

Apesar de assumir a valorização do ensino como «sector de vital importância para o Estado» contra a Companhia de Jesus, Pombal acabou por incorporar, secularizando-o e adaptando, o ideário pedagógico que os Jesuítas vinham prosseguindo, contra um coro de vozes críticas, desde do século xvi. Estes religiosos tinham apostado na educação fundamentalmente como instrumento orientado para a reforma da Igreja e para a requalificação católica da sociedade e da vida cristã, entendendo-a, portanto, como um meio poderoso de evangelização e de conversão. O governo pombalino aposta no valor instrumental da educação, mas redireciona-a no sentido de esta funcionar como mais um instrumento importante da reforma geral do Estado à luz da ideologia política do absolutismo iluminado.

A reforma pedagógico-educativa operada pelo governo pombalino na sequência do processo de saneamento dos padres da Companhia do país, iniciada no final da década de 50 do século xviii e culminando na reforma universitária em 1772, foi apresentada acima de tudo como um processo

político-ideológico de desjesuitização do ensino em Portugal. A utopia pedagógica iluminista que inspirava o ministro de D. José I, segundo a qual a educação era um instrumento privilegiado para a edificação de um Estado e do homem novo iluminado, e a consequente criação da ideia, também iluminista, de uma sociedade feliz, foi afirmada por um discurso mais negativo do que positivo. Os documentos-relatório e de propaganda pombalina deixam a impressão de que a mudança operada através de conceção de reformas foi realizada mais contra os Jesuítas do que em nome da afirmação, no plano do discurso, do valor em si, da mais-valia e da novidade do projeto de transformação do sistema educativo.

Os progressos reconhecidos pela reforma pombalina dos Estudos pela nova regulamentação com a estatização da função docente e da modernização curricular tanto no ensino pré-universitário como universitário são contrabalançados por uma política que acaba por revelar-se restritiva do acesso ao ensino que se traduziu no queda abrupta da população estudantil em todos os níveis de ensino. Na teoria e na prática, deu-se voz a uma corrente pedagógica que combatia desde o século XVI o ideário jesuíta de educação generalista aberta a um maior número possível de estudantes independentemente da sua classe social. Neste linha de pensamento defensores de um ensino que se pode hoje apelidar de elitista, reservada apenas a alguns poucos, se situavam ideólogos iluministas como António Ribeiro Sanches e a sua obra intitulada *Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade* publicadas na década de 60 em pleno governo pombalino.

A nossa comunicação pretende apresentar os princípios e os resultados práticas das reformas pombalinas da educação, destacando os avanços e os retrocessos em relação ao modelo educativos escolástico-jesuíta que pretenderam revogar e superar com vantagens modernizadoras.

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### **Right to Education Theorists in the Portuguese Eighteenth Century**

Susana Alves (Universidade de Lisboa, CLEPUL)

The Enlightenment, characterized by large political-religious and socio-cultural transformations that prepared for decades the entrance to the Contemporary Era at the end of the 18th century, was also characterized by a broad movement that valued education and culture as means for the emergence and affirmation of a new anthropology.

Assuming that every man would have the same rational principle within a common humanity, one of the main lines of the philosophy of the Enlightenment was precisely the need to reinforce education within Western societies, in order to men emancipation from the Ancients, while at the same time aiming at their full integration and participation in the affirmation framework of the idea of citizenship that then emerged.

Therefore, several theorists have brought the need for a profound educational-pedagogical reorganization, which would also serve to leverage a new way of understanding the coeval world and where man and citizen were increasingly called to play, in freedom, their role as engines of the history and progress of the societies. Among others, Jean-Jacques Rousseau would be outstanding, with his paradigmatic treatise *Emile*, published in 1762, which quickly became one of the fundamental texts for the valorization of education, pedagogy, citizenship and freedom of man. The articulation between education and freedom was affirmed as “a necessary relation”.

Influenced by European coeval thought, several Portuguese intellectuals, during the Eighteenth century, also problematized the pedagogical, educational and cultural Portuguese panorama, inciting reflection, pointing out flaws, proposing reforms. Names such as Cunha Brochado, Pina e Proença, Luís António Verney, Ribeiro Sanches, or Bento de Sousa Farinha stood out as an emerging right to education theorists, that would gain special elaboration during this period, and also reinforced the notions of human freedom and equality, vital conditions to the historical construction of the current notion of human rights. It will be these authors in particular that we will consider, providing the main lines of their thought, as well as articulating them with the Pombaline reform that would be instituted from the mid-eighteenth century, and also analyzing them in their contradictions and limitations in relation to the educational-pedagogical ideas that they ideally intended to implement.

### **Teóricos do Direito à Educação no Século XVIII Português**

A designada época das Luzes, caracterizada por amplas transformações político-religiosas e socioculturais que prepararam ao longo de décadas a entrada para a Época Contemporânea no final

do séc. XVIII, registou igualmente um amplo movimento de valorização da educação e da cultura enquanto vias para a emergência e a afirmação de um homem novo.

Partindo do princípio de que todo o homem seria dotado de razão em igualdade de circunstâncias no seio de uma humanidade comum, uma das pedras de toque da filosofia das Luzes passou precisamente pela necessidade de reforço da educação no quadro das sociedades ocidentais, com vista à emancipação dos homens face ao ultrapassado pensamento dos Antigos, ao mesmo tempo que visava a sua plena integração e participação no quadro de afirmação da ideia de cidadania que então emergia.

Neste sentido, diversos foram os teóricos que trouxeram para primeiro plano a necessidade de uma profunda reorganização educativo-pedagógica, que serviria também para alavancar um novo modo de compreender o mundo coevo e onde o homem e o cidadão eram chamados cada vez mais a desempenhar, em liberdade, o seu papel de motores da História e do Progresso das sociedades em que se encontravam. Entre outros, Jean-Jacques Rousseau seria um dos que mais se destacaria, com o seu paradigmático tratado intitulado *Émile*, publicado 1762, que rapidamente se tornou um dos textos fundamentais para a valorização da educação e da pedagogia enquanto vias fundamentais para a afirmação da cidadania e da liberdade do homem. A articulação entre educação e liberdade afirmava-se como “uma relação necessária”.

Recebendo em grande medida os influxos do pensamento europeu coevo, em Portugal diversos foram igualmente os intelectuais que, ao longo de Setecentos, problematizaram o panorama pedagógico, educativo e cultural do Reino, incitando à reflexão, apontando falhas, propondo reformas. Nomes como Cunha Brochado, Pina e Proença, Luís António Verney, Ribeiro Sanches, ou Bento de Sousa Farinha, destacaram-se enquanto teóricos de um direito à educação que ia emergindo nas consciências e nos discursos e que ganharia especial elaboração durante a época em questão, também enquanto via fundamental para o reforço da liberdade e da igualdade humanas, condições vitais para a construção histórica da atual noção de direitos humanos. Serão estes autores em particular que teremos em conta, fornecendo as principais linhas do seu pensamento para a temática em questão, bem como articulando as mesmas com as políticas pombalinas que se viriam a instituir a partir de meados do século XVIII, e analisando-as também nas suas contradições e limitações face aos ideários educativo-pedagógicos que idealmente pretendiam implementar.

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## 02-SES 19: EDUCATION IN THE CERRADO AND IN THE AMAZON: HISTORY, MEMORY AND CULTURE IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL SPACES

Preformed Panel (Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Maria Zeneide Carneiro M. DE Almeida (PONTIFÍCIA UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA DE GOIÁS)

### **Education in the Cerrado and in the Amazon: History, Memory and Culture in Different Social Spaces**

Este painel pré-formado tem como objetivo reunir pesquisas em andamento ou concluídas por pesquisadores que investiguem questões relacionadas à História da Educação nas áreas do Cerrado e Amazonas. Cada uma das obras busca reunir pesquisadores e repassar pesquisas sobre a História da Educação Brasileira nesses dois biomas tão importantes para o Brasil e para o mundo. O Cerrado, considerado o mais antigo bioma brasileiro, se estende até o oeste de Minas Gerais, passando pelo centro-oeste, grande parte do Tocantins e ao sul do Maranhão e Piauí. Reúne uma população estimada em 22 milhões de pessoas, é considerada a caixa d'água do país e possui uma rica biodiversidade. Os sertanejo e os indígenas são considerados os povos nativos desse bioma e os mais preocupados com sua conservação, que sofre com o mau tempo da mineração e do agronegócio. Neste espaço, a História da Educação construiu sua trajetória de forma desafiadora e contagiante. A Amazônia, maior bioma do Brasil, ocupa cerca de 61% do território nacional. Com exuberantes recursos naturais e a maior bacia hidrográfica do mundo, possui uma rica biodiversidade e uma complexidade que se estende por toda a sua territorialidade. A composição humana da Amazônia é múltipla, dinâmica, pouco conhecida e marcada por conflitos de gerações. A produção da História da Educação na Amazônia exige diálogo e articulação com as múltiplas abordagens que compõem esse caminho, incluindo colonização, catequese e missão. Os trabalhos desse painel pré-formado apresentarão fragmentos de investigações que retratam a história, a memória e a cultura escolar elencadas nesses biomas, como no estado de Goiás, na região noroeste de Minas Gerais, Tocantins e Pará. A proposta é aqui apresentada articulada como um trabalho do Diretório / grupo de pesquisa “Educação, História, Memória e Cultura em Diferentes Espaços Sociais / HISTEDBR”, cadastrado no CNPq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico) e vinculado à Linha de Pesquisa “Educação, Sociedade e Cultura” do

Programa de Pós-Graduação da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás. O Diretório / Grupo de Pesquisa tem como objetivo produzir e organizar o corpus de pesquisa sobre a história social e cultural da educação em seus diferentes níveis, processos, modalidades e espaços, como aqui se propõe. Memória e Cultura em Diferentes Espaços Sociais / HISTEDBR”, cadastrada no CNPq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico) e vinculada à Linha de Pesquisa “Educação, Sociedade e Cultura” do Programa de Pós-Graduação da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás. O Diretório / Grupo de Pesquisa tem como objetivo produzir e organizar o corpus de pesquisa sobre a história social e cultural da educação em seus diferentes níveis, processos, modalidades e espaços, como aqui se propõe. Memória e Cultura em Diferentes Espaços Sociais / HISTEDBR”, cadastrada no CNPq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico) e vinculada à Linha de Pesquisa “Educação, Sociedade e Cultura” do Programa de Pós-Graduação da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás. O Diretório / Grupo de Pesquisa tem como objetivo produzir e organizar o corpus de pesquisa sobre a história social e cultural da educação em seus diferentes níveis, processos, modalidades e espaços, como aqui se propõe.

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### **School Institutions in the Amazon and Dominican-Anastasian Missionary Action**

Cesar Evangelista Fernandes Bressanin (Universidade Federal do Tocantins/Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás), Isabel Carvalho (Universidade de Évora)

A Amazônia é um lugar comum. Os olhos do mundo estão voltados para lá. No final do século XIX e durante longas décadas do século XX, a Ordem Dominicana e a Congregação das Irmãs Dominicanas de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Monteils deram um olhar especial a esta região. Imbuídos do espírito

missionário católico, impulsionados pela romanização e apoiados pelo episcopado brasileiro, os frades dominicanos franceses da província de Toulouse e as freiras dominicanas, também francesas, entraram na região do Portal da Amazônia e fundaram missões, conventos e instituições educacionais no Porto Nacional, às margens do rio Tocantins, nos anos 1886 e 1904 e em Conceição do Araguaia, às margens do rio Araguaia, nos anos de 1897 e 1902. Os religiosos educadores chegaram a Marabá-PA em 1949 e a Belém, capital do estado do Pará, em 1952 e instituiu escolas. O trabalho tem como objetivo apresentar a trajetória das instituições escolares dominicano-anastasianas no meio da Amazônia legal e discutir a atuação, missão, contribuição e legado desses religiosos e religiosas para as realidades desafiadoras em que estão inseridos. O corpus desta investigação, em curso, centra-se nos fundamentos teórico-metodológicos da História Cultural, múltiplos nas suas dimensões, abordagens e domínios através da investigação bibliográfica e da análise documental. Como contribuição à tecelagem da História da Educação Brasileira, a apresentação de algumas pesquisas sobre história, memória, cultura escolar, prática pedagógica, currículo, missão aos povos indígenas, evangelização,

### **Instituições Escolares Na Amazônia E A Ação Missionária Dominicana-Anastasiana**

A Amazônia é um lugar comum. Os olhares do mundo se voltam para lá. No final do século XIX e por longas décadas do século XX, a Ordem Dominicana e a Congregação das Irmãs Dominicanas de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Monteils lançaram olhares especiais para esta região. Imbuídos do espírito missionário católico, impulsionados pela romanização e apoiados pelo episcopado brasileiro os frades dominicanos franceses da província de Toulouse e como religiosas dominicanas, também francesas, adentraram a região do Portal da Amazônia e fundaram missões, conventos e instituições educativas em Porto Nacional, às margens do Rio Tocantins, nos anos de 1886 e de 1904 e em Conceição do Araguaia, às margens do Rio Araguaia, nos anos de 1897 e de 1902. As religiosas educadoras chegaram à Marabá-PA em 1949 e à Belém, capital do estado do estado Pára, em 1952 e instituiu colégios. O trabalho objetiva apresentar uma trajetória das instituições escolares dominicanas-anastasianas em meio à Amazônia legal e discutir a atuação, uma missão, o aporte e o legado destes religiosos e religiosas para as realidades desafiadoras em que se inseriram. O corpus desta pesquisa, em processo, debruça-se sobre os fundamentos teóricos e metodológicos da História Cultural, múltipla em suas dimensões, abordagens e domínios por meio de pesquisa bibliográfica e análise documental. Como um contributo para a tessitura da História da Educação brasileira, uma apresentação de algumas frações de investigação sobre história, memória, cultura escolar, prática pedagógica, currículo, missão junto aos povos indígenas, evangelização, educação não-formal e comunicação compuseram as categorias exploradas que resultaram nesta produção. O trabalho objetiva apresentar uma trajetória das instituições escolares dominicanas-anastasianas em meio à Amazônia legal e discutir a atuação, uma missão, o aporte e o legado destes religiosos e religiosas para as realidades desafiadoras em que se inseriram. O corpus desta pesquisa, em processo, debruça-se sobre os fundamentos teóricos e metodológicos da História Cultural, múltipla em suas dimensões, abordagens e domínios por meio de pesquisa bibliográfica e análise documental. Como um contributo para a tessitura da História da Educação brasileira, uma apresentação de algumas

frações de investigação sobre história, memória, cultura escolar, prática pedagógica, currículo, missão junto aos povos indígenas, evangelização, educação não-formal e comunicação compuseram as categorias exploradas que resultaram nesta produção.

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### **Women from the Cerrado of the Northwest of Minas Gerais: Reminiscences of Literacy Teachers from João Pinheiro**

Maria Célia da Silva Gonçalves (Faculdade do Noroeste de Minas, FINOM), Leandra Vaz Fernandes Catalino Procópio (Universidad Complutense de Madrid/Universidad Autonoma de Madrid)

A presente pesquisa tem como objetivo registrar e analisar as memórias de mulheres que dedicaram suas vidas ao processo de alfabetização de crianças demitidas no cerrado da zona rural do noroeste

mineiro. Entendemos as memórias retratadas nas narrativas dos professores, não como verdades absolutas do passado, mas como representações, fagulhas do vivido nas salas de aula, suas dificuldades, as lutas cotidianas dos educadores que exerceram sua profissão na cidade de João Pinheiro (MG). Nesta pesquisa, a noção em torno da representação social é a “[...] relação entre significado, realidade e sua imagem” (CHARAUDEAU, 2014, p. 431). Segundo estimativa do (IBGE, 2016), o município de João Pinheiro é o maior de Minas Gerais e está localizado na porção noroeste do estado, com uma população de aproximadamente 48, 472 habitantes, com uma área de 10.727.471 km<sup>2</sup>, baseada na economia da pecuária e do agronegócio, implantada em um verdadeiro vácuo demográfico; 4 habitantes por km<sup>2</sup>, constituídos em um sertão distante dos grandes centros urbanos, enfrentando muitas dificuldades em oferecer escolas em seu território, por isso os professores aqui entrevistados são personagens muito importantes na história da educação local. Esses professores atuaram durante décadas (anos 70, 80 e 90 do século 20) na zona rural ou urbana da cidade, enfrentaram muitos desafios para alfabetizar centenas de pessoas. Hoje estão aposentados e constituem um reduto da memória viva local. Diante do exposto, a pesquisa visa responder às seguintes questões: quem eram esses professores? Onde eles trabalharam? Quais são as principais memórias de suas escolas? Quais foram os principais métodos de alfabetização utilizados por eles? Quais são os principais recursos didáticos utilizados? Em suas memórias, quais são as principais diferenças entre a indisciplina na sala de aula hoje e aquela que você enfrenta durante seu tempo de atuação? De acordo com suas autorrepresentações, quais foram as suas principais colaborações legadas à sociedade em Pinheiros? Portanto, a proposta aqui apresentada visa mapear e registrar memórias da vida de professores que trabalharam na cidade de João Pinheiro (MG) no século passado. Analisar como essas ações desses professores foram importantes para a construção de uma história da educação no município. Registre para as futuras gerações a atuação dessas mulheres no sertão noroeste de Minas.

### **Mulheres Do Cerrado Do Noroeste De Minas Gerais: Reminiscências De Professoras Alfabetizadoras De João Pinheiro**

A presente pesquisa objetiva registrar e analisar memórias de mulheres que dedicaram as suas vidas ao processo de alfabetização de crianças dispensas no cerrado da zona rural do Noroeste de Minas Gerais. Entendemos as memórias retratadas nas narrativas das professoras não como verdades absolutas do passado, mas como representações, fagulhas do vivido em salas de aula, suas dificuldades, lutas cotidianas de educadoras que exerceram uma profissão no município de João Pinheiro (MG). Nessa pesquisa a noção em torno da representação social é a “[...] relação entre a significação, a realidade e sua imagem” (CHARAUDEAU, 2014, p. 431). De acordo com as indicações do estado (IBGE, 2016), o município de João Pinheiro é o maior de Minas Gerais e encontra-se localizado na porção Noroeste do estado, contando com uma população de aproximadamente 48.472 habitantes, com uma área de 10.727.471 km<sup>2</sup>, tendo como base da economia a pecuária e o agronegócio, instituído em um verdadeiro vácuo demográfico; 4 habitantes por Km<sup>2</sup>, constituída em um sertão distante dos grandes centros urbanos, enfrentando muitas dificuldades para oferecer em seu território, portanto como professoras aqui entrevistadas são personagens muito importantes da História da Educação local. Essas professoras atuaram por décadas (70, 80 e 90 do século XX) na zona rural ou urbana do município, enfrentaram muitos desafios para alfabetizar centenas de pessoas. Hoje são aposentadas e anteriores um baluarte da memória viva local. Diante do exposto a pesquisa visa responder aos seguintes questionamentos quem eram essas professoras? Onde elas trabalhavam? Quais as principais lembranças de suas escolas? Quais eram os principais métodos de alfabetização utilizados por elas? Quais os principais recursos didáticos utilizados? Nas suas lembranças, quais as principais diferenças da indisciplina em sala de aula da atualidade com a enfrentada durante as suas épocas de atuação? De acordo com as suas representações auto, quais foram as suas principais colaborações

legadas à sociedade pinheirense? Portanto, a proposta aqui apresentada tem como escopo mapear e registrar memórias de vidas de professoras que atuaram no município de João Pinheiro (MG) no século passado. Analisar como essas atuações dessas professoras foram importantes para a construção de uma história da educação no município. Registrar para as gerações futuras a prática das mulheres no sertão do Noroeste de Minas. A pesquisa ne pautará na modalidade qualitativa, realizada por meio de História de Vida Temática.

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### **Memories and Life Stories: Educators Build the History of Education in the Cerrado and the Amazon in the 20th Century**

Maria Zeneide Carneiro M. DE Almeida (Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás), Betânia Oliveira Laterza Ribeiro (Universidade Federal de Uberlândia)

A História da Educação é construída a partir de vários aspectos. Uma delas é a história pessoal e profissional dos educadores, que, embora seja de caráter individual, é de natureza social, por isso está inserida nessa construção. O que se pretende com a ideia que aqui se traça é assumir o papel de contar, narrar a experiência docente e a trajetória de vida dos educadores que fizeram a História da Educação nos diferentes lugares de ensino por onde passaram. Alguns (mas) com maior destaque, outros em silêncio, mas todos com peculiaridades que marcaram os diferentes ambientes e espaços educacionais nas regiões do Cerrado e Amazonas, nos estados de Goiás, Minas Gerais, Tocantins e Pará durante o século XX. Esta pesquisa se comunica com outras áreas do conhecimento, valendo-se dos aportes teóricos das diversas áreas do conhecimento que se articulam na formação e produção da equipe de trabalho que participa do desenvolvimento da pesquisa aqui proposta. Sabe-se que essa prática enriquece estudos e pesquisas, pois possibilita a fecundidade do trabalho a partir de diferentes espaços do conhecimento. Visa contribuir para a expansão da história e historiografia da educação brasileira e regional a partir das Memórias e Histórias de Vida de educadores das regiões em destaque. O acervo produzido pelo corpus da pesquisa foi sistematizado e organizado para comunicações como esta, fortalecendo a produção historiográfica educacional. Orientada pelos pressupostos teórico-metodológicos da História Cultural, campo epistemológico que se mostra fértil na produção historiográfica, a partir de um mosaico de novas práticas, a pesquisa destaca as categorias MEMÓRIA e HISTÓRIAS DE VIDA como alicerces deste trabalho. A utilização da História Oral como procedimento

metodológico é de grande valia, pois reabre o diálogo entre o presente e o passado e dá sentido à vida, às práticas e às experiências dos educadores do sertão e da floresta.

## Memórias E Histórias De Vida: Educadores Constroem A História Da Educação No Cerrado E Na Amazônia No Século XX

A História da Educação se constrói de diversos aspectos. Um deles é a história pessoal e profissional de educadores (as), que mesmo de caráter individual, tem uma natureza social, por isso se insere nessa construção. O que se pretende com a ideia que aqui se esboça é assumir o papel de contar, de narrar a experiência docente e a trajetória de vida de educadores (as) que fez a História da Educação nos diversos lugares de educar por onde passou. Alguns (mas) com maior destaque, outros (as) em silêncio, mas todos com peculiaridades que marcaram os diversos ambientes e espaços educativos nas regiões de Cerrado e da Amazônia, nos estados de Goiás, Minas Gerais, Tocantins e Pará durante o século XX . Esta pesquisa comunica-se com outros campos do saber, valendo-se das contribuições teóricas das diversas áreas do conhecimento que se cunham na formação e na produção da equipe de trabalho do participante no desenvolvimento da investigação aqui proposta. Sabe-se que esta prática enriquece os estudos e pesquisas, pois possibilita a fecundidade do trabalho a partir de espaços distintos do conhecimento. Visa contribuir para ampliação da história e da historiografia da educação brasileira e regional a partir das Memórias e Histórias de Vida de educadores e educadoras das regiões em destaque. O acervo produzido pelo Visa contribuir para ampliação da história e da historiografia da educação brasileira e regional a partir das Memórias e Histórias de Vida de educadores e educadoras das regiões em destaque. O acervo produzido pelo Visa contribuir para ampliação da história e da historiografia da educação brasileira e regional a partir das Memórias e Histórias de Vida de educadores e educadoras das regiões em destaque. O acervo produzido pelocorpus da pesquisa tem sido sistematizado e organizado para comunicações como esta, fortalecendo a produção historiográfica educacional. Norteada pelos pressupostos teóricos-metodológicos da História Cultural, campo epistemológico que se apresenta fértil na produção historiográfica, a partir de um mosaico de novas práticas, uma pesquisa evidencia como categorias de MEMÓRIA e HISTÓRIAS DE VIDA como as pedras angulares deste trabalho. O uso da História Oral como procedimento metodológico é de grande valia pois reabre o diálogo entre o presente e o passado e dá significado à vida, às práticas e experiências de educadores (as) do sertão e da floresta.

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### 03-SES 19: THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION THROUGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES AND SCHOOL BUILDINGS

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Anne-Li Lindgren (Stockholm University)

#### **“School” of Piranesi and “Design for a Royal Library” of Boulée: Visualization of Educational Space in the Social Context**

Andrej Mozhaysky (Moscow State Pedagogical University)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) is perhaps the most famous engraver in the 18th century. We turn to one of his architectural fantasies, an etching called “Ancient School Built in Egyptian and Greek Styles”, created a little after 1761. This work of Piranesi embodies a vision of an idealized ancient school indisputably intended for adult education since it has a prototype -Raphael’s fresco “The School of Athens”. Largely due to this etching, this vision was formed in Europe in the second half of the 18th century and influenced the development of European educational space until the 19th century.

The etching depicts a large, wide and long space. On both sides of the structure there are tiers that rise one above the other to the top. The stairs provide access to each tier. The height of the tiers is such that a person can place there their classroom belongings; respectively, it is assumed that it is convenient for them to read and write, since the tier is slightly above the waist. The two central figures are discussing something, and one of them, probably, isn’t simply leaning on the staff, but drawing something on the floor with it (maybe in the sand). The other people in the etching are sitting, reading, standing and walking. A wide and high portal leads to the street, to the city. The room ceiling resembles an arched vault, decorated with inscribed rectangles – a motif borrowed by Piranesi from his earlier works depicting the interior of the Pantheon and the Triumphal Arches of Titus and Septimius Severus. From the portal upward, on the outer side of the school building, there is a wide staircase that directly connects the school building with the majestic Greek temple. On the stairs, numerous people are depicted. Since the staircase connects the city center with the school’s open portal, it can be concluded that the school is open to various social groups, which is confirmed by the view of numerous people circulating from the school to the temple in the city center.

The same concept of social accessibility of knowledge together with the direct architectural and visual borrowing from Piranesi’s “Ancient School” was used by a French architect and teacher Etienne-Louis Boulée in his design for a Royal library in 1784: the same arched ceiling, with the same decor as Piranesi; the same tiers on the sides of the room, this time used as bookshelves; the same wide space where the library visitors converse (one of them is drawing something on the floor, almost like in Piranesi’s etching). Thus, Piranesi and later Boulée, drawing upon Greek and Roman material heritage, through the visual approach, formed an idealized vision of the educational space for a broad spectrum



of society. They thought of schools or libraries as accessible sanctuaries of sciences designed to serve for the benefit of society.

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### **Remodeling the Educational Space: The Design of Schoolhouse from 1830 to 1860**

Xiaofei Qian (Beijing Normal University)

Credited as the origin of American public education system, the common school movement which started from the 1830s, has long been the focus of studies on history of American education. Among the inclusive common school reform issues, reformers of common schools gave much heed to better schoolhouse. With the development of common school movement, school reports, proceedings of educational meetings, and public lectures were gradually flooded with trenchant comments on the deplorable condition of the average schoolhouse. On the meanwhile, manuals of schoolhouse emerged, and were disseminated widely, aiming to remodel the educational space.

Despite the importance of better schoolhouse in the common school movement, it hadn't received due attention from historians. Why did school reformers come to realize the problems of schoolhouse from the 1830s? Why did they attach so much importance to schoolhouse? How did they reshape the educational space? And what's the historical significance of remodeling educational space? Those questions remain unsolved. Therefore, through collecting and analyzing school reports, educational magazines (e.g., the *American Journal of Education*), proceedings of educational organization (e.g., the *American Institute of Instruction*) and manuals of school architecture (e.g., *School Architecture* edited by Henry Barnard), this paper tries to explore the process of reshaping of educational space from 1830s to 1860s, and reexamines the nature and historical significance of the common school movement.

Under reformers' critical rhetoric and concrete designs, schoolhouse was gradually vested with great educational significance. Not only would the wretched schoolhouse (bad air, inconvenient layout, ill-looking appearance, uncomfortable furniture, and so on), which can be found all over the country, greatly impair children and teachers' health, but also it would imperceptibly influence children's malleable mind and character. Moreover, school reformers viewed the miserable schoolhouse as graphic symbol, which vividly showed a general disrespect for public education, and thus hindered the development of public education. Therefore, upholding the principles of functional efficiency and symbolism, school reformers provided detailed designs of schoolhouse. Through integrating common school idea into the concrete designs of schoolhouse, reformers customized educational space for public education, which facilitated the process of systemization and specialization of public education.

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### **School Restrooms Emergence: Material and Visual Approaches**

María Lucila da Silva (IPEHCS-CONICET-UNCO)

Regulations that forbade residents to “defecate or urinate” on streets, throw garbage out of building windows or “spill blood or animal remains” on public spaces appeared for the first time in Paris in the fifteenth century (Laporte, 1998). Although some authors (Bourke, 1891; Laporte, 1998) pointed out that this sort of legislation was not pioneer, it shows that regulating and hierarchizing waste into incipient cities was becoming a need. Additionally, these regulations materialized the beginning of a process that culminated in the 19th century, with the success of the Social Hygiene movement and the concept of “public health” (Armus, 2000; Foucault, 1988). Water closets emerged in this context. In Argentina, despite of existing regulations in the city of Buenos Aires regarding “latrines” since 1848 (Municipalidad de Buenos Aires, 1856), these did not become widespread until mid-twentieth century. This illustrates the complex relations between building legislation and practices.

In the case of school construction, although erecting schoolhouses was one of the aims of Law number 1420 (of General Common Education, 1884), there were no general guidelines or official projects until mid-twentieth century (Ordinance n° 14089, 1942). Moreover, most primary schools kept working in rental properties (Aliata, 2007; Cattaneo, 2011; Espinoza, 2017; Grementieri & Shmidt, 2010).

My doctoral research sought to study the emergence of restrooms in Buenos Aires city primary schools. The data was built from documentary evidence such as educational legislation, building regulations, official records and blueprints, articles in *El Monitor de la Educación Común* magazine, among others.

As a result of this research, I suggested that latrines were not regularly included in Argentinian common schools until the end of 19th century, and that these were materially and discursively distant from contemporary ones. I explored how these spaces produced subjects-bodies, fields of visibility, lines of communication and techniques of government (Dussel & Carusso, 1999; Foucault, 1988; Varela & Uría, 1991); emphasising the role of massive schooling in the constitution of modern subjectivity during the last decades of 19th century.

The aim of this presentation is to share some of these results highlighting visual and material approaches to school restrooms emergence (Foucault, 1884). The exposition will be organized in two parts. First, I am going to mention characteristics of school restrooms: location, dimension, material features, etc. I will also underline differences between new school buildings and rented ones. Finally, I would like to share some hypotheses about the relation between restrooms and the emerging school space.

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### **Campinas of Books: the history of education through the library of João Falchi Trinca**

Munir Abboud Pompeo de Camargo (Campinas State University, UNICAMP)

The present research is in the field of History of Education with emphasis in the History of Books, Reading and Libraries. João Falchi Trinca's book collection is the analysis aim. It was named "Campiniana collection" and donated by the bibliophile to Unicamp Memory Center (CMU/UNICAMP). The research's objective is to make an analysis of the education history of Campinas present in Trinca's book collection, the acquisition process and the impacts for the university. For this purpose, official documents from the library will be analyzed as well as the books containing writings that thematize education in Campinas. Analyzing these elements together, using the new French cultural history to view books as artifacts of material culture and enabling the analysis of written and visual narratives. Concerning the library, mainly the one analyzed, which is located in the university, it is considered more than a book depository, a space of sociability which enables the legitimation of certain narratives in detriment of others.

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#### 04-SES 19: EDUCATIONAL THINKING: GRIMM BROTHERS, KEY, LANGEVELD AND WARD

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lukas Boser (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

#### **The Early Spread of The Century of the Child in Europe**

Juan Luis Rubio Mayoral (Universidad de Sevilla), Carmen Sanchidrián-Blanco (Universidad de Málaga)

Ellen Key's works, and mainly *The century of the Child*, have been cited since 1900 in different parts of the world. In this sense, it could be said that she has been travelling around the world for over 120 years, from Sweden to Japan, USA or Spain. Key was a tireless reader who was influenced by earlier authors, as Locke, Montaigne, Goethe or Rousseau, and by most of the contemporaries she read: Darwin, Nietzsche, Spencer, Steiner, Rilke... She had a wide range of interests and publications (essays, books, articles and reviews) in various fields besides education (literature, art, architecture, politics, religion, social work, peace, feminism, love, women's suffrage, motherliness...).

Although Key was not an original thinker, she was, "in the best meaning of the word a European intellectual, and one of the last people in Swedish cultural history for whom the whole European tradition of ideas was real" (Ambjörnsson, 2014: 134). The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the first editions of *The Century of the Child* where most of her educational concepts are collected paying special attention to her ideas about children rights. Key's title has been used to name the 20th century and its meaning and influence has been reconsidered (Dekker, 2000; Hällström, Jansson, & Pironi, 2016).

It was an essay collection published in 1900, *Barnets århundrade*, and translated into German in 1902 (*Das Jahrhundert des Kindes*) being warmly received in German-speaking countries, as evidence by the fact of coming out in more than twenty editions at the beginning of the 1920s. It was immediately translated into other languages such as Danish (1902), Dutch (1904), Italian (1906), Spanish (1906), French (1908), or English (1909).

The structure of both chapters and contents are similar in the German version of 1920, translated by Frances Maro (pseudonym of Marie Franzos) and in the Italian version of 1906, translated by Maria Ettlinger Fano. This one was certainly the version used for the Spanish translation done by Miguel

Domenge Mir in 1906. The English version, 1909, was also made from the German. The German version was meticulously supervised by Key who carried out some rearrangement and reductions of the Swedish text (Pirone & Cecarelli, 2019).

The Century of the Child consists of eight chapters. We present a detailed table where the German, Italian and Spanish versions, and the original 1900 two-volume Swedish edition, are compared

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### **Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm as a Source of Education Knowledge Influencing Upbringing Patterns in the Past.**

Julia Stępniewska (University of Warsaw)

The first medium that allowed people to share knowledge, experiences and wisdom between them was language. It enabled people to express their great ideas. Since antiquity, the time of great philosophers, language was main component in the educational process. By using it, people transferred knowledge, great ideas and advices how to be a good man between themselves.

One of the human ways to share this knowledge was telling stories (often coming from an imagination) and then to write them down. Fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm are a perfect example of such stories. Their folk character illustrates the social background of 18th/19th century German. The tales of the Brothers Grimm contain everything that people dreamed about what worried them and wondered. The reason is that Grimms' fairy tales were narrated by simple people. It makes them so special.

In my speech I will talk about Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm as a source of educational knowledge and about the model of human contained there. I will analyze the boy and the woman model and compare it with contemporary models. I will also speak about the values and virtues promoted by fairy tales and according to them - about the recipe for a good way of living.

At the end of my speech, I will show the similarities between the fairy tales and the 18th/19th century German society (the role of poverty, family structure and the process of transition from childhood to adulthood).

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### **Looking from Below. Colin Ward and Incidental Education as an opportunity to rethink the Social in the History of Education.**

Luca Odini (University of Verona)

In this contribution we aim to analyse how Colin Ward's thinking has helped to provide a social look into the history of education.

Starting from the community up to the educational spaces, we will outline the thought and work of this "anarchist" thinker, architect and educator, trying to understand the beliefs underlying his work, which make him a key figure in the history of pedagogy. That will allow us to understand the turn towards a bottom-up approach.

Once we have analysed his figure, we will focus on the importance of experience in his approach: indeed, Ward's look at reality always starts from the bottom to show that in our social and community life we almost always have the freedom to choose between options based on the values of freedom and community and options that instead appeal to authoritarian principles. Education plays a strategic role in this choice.

We will therefore analyse the concept of incidental education as an opportunity to rethink the "social" in the history of education, underlining how every urban and rural place can offer an infinite amount of educational stimuli as long as we know how to read them from a different perspective. Spaces can be therefore transformed into places where experience is at the basis of the motivation to learn.

For this reason this community and bottom-up approach is central: only if we manage to rethink and rebuild public and educational spaces in light of Ward's ideas will we be able to imagine every context as a place of learning in which every man and woman can be motivated to learn and achieve self-determination by actively and independently participating in social life.

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### **Langeveld's Phenomenology As A Method To See The Individual Child**

Marloes Hoencamp (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

Martinus Jan Langeveld (1905–1989) was a key figure in the establishment of Dutch educational science after the Second World War. In 1939, Langeveld was appointed as an external lecturer at Utrecht University, followed by an appointment in 1946 as Professor of Pedagogy, Developmental Psychology and Didactics (i.e., 'full pedagogy') at the same university. In this position, Langeveld played a major role in determining the course of pedagogy and the social sciences as a whole. He was also widely known for his work in educational practices in, for instance, South Africa and Japan. Many authors refer to Langeveld as a famous Dutch educationalist or to his phenomenology. Why was Langeveld's educational theory popular, and what was his interpretation of the phenomenological method?

In his educational theory, Langeveld stressed the moral development of each child into a self-responsible individual. This fit with the social developments of a country that had suffered the consequences of a destructive war and was undergoing a period of economic reconstruction. The educational aim of 'self-responsible self-determination' emphasised both the importance of the community (which was, e.g., in favour of the reconstruction) as well as the individual (e.g., his or her need for individual freedom and responsibility). Langeveld was also a representative and one of the founders of the Utrechtse School, a group of psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists and criminologists. In their publications, this group of scholars emphasised the individual as a free and

social person as well as a citizen who has the responsibility to contribute to the rebuilding of the society. This group was also widely known for the phenomenological method.

Langeveld's scholarship was inspired by his clinical practice. To him, it was about the individual child, in his or her own situation, at that moment in time. Therefore, pedagogy was above all a practical science. Care for the individual child, as a 'whole, social- person', in his or her unique situation remained the constant theme in his work. All methods of acquiring knowledge that could contribute to children becoming morally independent were acceptable, but Langeveld considered phenomenology to be the most suitable. Because Langeveld had no philosophical intentions with phenomenology, he distanced himself from the father of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl (1859–1938). To Langeveld, it was 'just' about making the immediate relationship between the individual, social human being and his world visible. However, after a short period of successful opposition to what he called 'science without a soul', the phenomenological approach came under pressure due to the rise of empirical-analytical research.

This paper aims to pay renewed attention to Langeveld's preferred method for educational research: phenomenology. This will be done through a brief elucidation of his educational theory, followed by an elaboration on Langeveld's phenomenology and how this method fits with his educational theory. Finally, it raises the question of whether phenomenology still has something to offer in the field of educational research in the present time.

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## **05-SES 19: TEACHER TRAINING AND THE NORMAL SCHOOLS**

Panel Session (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Joakim Landahl (Institutionen för pedagogik och didaktik)

### **The Coming of Western Pedagogic Knowledge in Normal Schools in Colonial India (ca. 1820-1882)**

Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The British Empire brought many changes to the education of the people of South Asia. First, it imposed new forms of institutionalization of educational practices detached from established patterns of legitimacy (Bellenoit, 2012; Rao, 2020). Second, it introduced English as an additional medium of education and, in so doing, it devalued the role that Persian had hitherto played in some branches of higher learning (Evans, 2002; Ghosh, 2006). Third, it defined the question of female education as a crucial for the colonial project regardless of the rather poor results of the colonial intervention (Allender, 2016; Bhattacharya, Bara, Rao Yagati, & Sankhdher, 2015; Tschurenev, 2018). Lastly, it created a new range of particular institutions associated to specific forms of knowledge, called in the colonial reports special schools (Gupta & Uttam Singh, 1998; Kalidas & Ghose, 1951). Among them, specific institutions for teachers' education became one of the most contentious issues of the colonial educational policies. On the one side, colonial officials and Christian missionaries repeatedly pleaded for their establishment and discussed their crucial function in establishing the new type of education they wanted to prevail (Nayeem, 2010/11). On the other side, these were rather small institutions catered to specific groups and quite expensive. These institutions had to overcome substantial obstacles to their workings, for instance in the question of training female teachers (Allender, 2013; Caruso & Moritz, 2018). Teachers' training institutions, often referred to as Normal Schools, not only should improve the knowledge of prospective and in-service teachers in many subjects, but they had rather to introduce a new form of knowledge: Western pedagogic knowledge. Beyond the inherited knowledge about the hierarchical and devoted relationship between teachers and pupils, Western pedagogic knowledge tried to introduce a series of considerations related to managerial and psychological knowledge and proposed a broader concept of education, among other innovations. Which role has pedagogic knowledge played in the broader project of creating a new teaching staff suited to the colonial project? Which kinds of knowledge and which authors became a reference in these first specialized institutions? Which manuals and texts were prescribed and used dealing with this new form of knowledge? This paper, based on a series of official reports from the three presidencies in India as well as archival material, addresses these questions and discusses the social value that pedagogic knowledge obtained within the Normal Schools in their early phase of institutionalization until the major survey on the state of the education in colony under W. W. Hunter in 1882.

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### **This is not the way? "The Old School" in the training proposal for teachers of Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano**

Sofía Gabriela Dono Rubio (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

From her management positions in the educational system and as a teacher trainer, at the beginning of the 20th century, Clotilde G. De Rezzano thought of her pedagogical task in terms of a reform capable of introducing innovations and ruptures in teacher training that would mark an epochal change.

From her pedagogical ideas, enrolled in the Escolanovista movement, she sought to convert the Escuela Normal de Maestras de Barracas to the North of the City of Buenos Aires into an experimental center of pedagogical progressivism that was a model for Argentina and had a transnational projection. In this direction, art was one of the central elements of the proposal.

In 1906, by order of the National Council of Education, Clotilde Guillén travelled to Europe to get in touch with the Escolanovista vanguard. As a result of this trip, a simple but highly symbolic event took place. Clotilde brought from Europe the painting "The Old School" - by Ralph Hedley- 1904, which reproduces a scene characteristic of the traditional school. On February 16, 1909, when she assumed the direction of the Normal School, she hung that painting on a central and visible wall, and at the same time proclaimed the training teacher school as a laboratory for testing the principles escolanovistas.

The work that is presented, assumes that the power of words becomes more intense when they enter into dialogue with the images that make them more vivid. The fragments of the past, reconstructed through the brushstrokes that it has left in the visual representations, reactivates that past, bringing it closer together in a clearer way. From this perspective, some reflections about Old School are presented.

What does the image represent? What does it show and what is its symbolic strength? Why did it feature prominently on the wall of an innovative school that sought to differentiate itself from the Old School? What was the message that Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano wanted to convey from that image?

In order to offer possible answers to these questions, the analysis of the engraving is proposed as a source that allows revealing ideas, attitudes and mentalities, to document experiences that took place and were accentuated in the life of the school and in the wider social, sphere in which it was inserted.

In the first term, a semblance of the Escolanovista movement and the place that Clotilde Guillén de Rezzano occupied in it is sketched through the formative experiences that he proposed in the Normal School No. 5. The theoretical-methodological framework is explained later, from the historiography of reflection to think about the use of the image as a valuable source for the reconstruction of past school culture. In this conceptual context, the characteristics of the engraving, the scene it recreates, will be analyzed, and in dialogue with the words provided by the written sources, an attempt will be made to discern the meanings it had and the place it occupied in the formative proposal of Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano.

### **Así no se hace? "The Old School" en la propuesta de formación docente de Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano**

Desde sus cargos de gestión en el sistema educativo y como formadora de maestros, a comienzos de siglo XX, Clotilde G. De Rezzano pensaba su tarea pedagógica en términos de una reforma capaz de introducir innovaciones y rupturas en la formación docente que marcarían un cambio epocal. Desde su ideario, inscripto en el movimiento escolanovista, buscó convertir a la Escuela Normal de Maestras de Barracas al Norte de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires en un centro de experimental de progresismo pedagógico que fuera modelo para la Argentina y tuviera proyección transnacional. En esta dirección, el arte constituyó uno de los elementos centrales de la propuesta.

En 1906, por disposición del Consejo Nacional de Educación, Clotilde Guillén viaja a Europa para ponerse en contacto con la vanguardia escolanovista. Producto de este viaje, tuvo lugar un acontecimiento sencillo pero de fuerte carga simbólica. De su paso por Europa, Clotilde trajo el cuadro "Old School"- de Ralph Hedley- 1904, que reproduce una escena característica de la escuela tradicional. Años más tarde, el 16 de febrero de 1909, cuando la pedagoga asume la dirección de la Escuela Normal, cuelga en una pared central y visible ese cuadro, y al mismo tiempo proclama a la institución que dirige como un laboratorio de ensayo de los principios escolanovistas.

El trabajo que se presenta asume que el poder de las palabras cobra mayor intensidad cuando éstas entran en diálogo con las imágenes que las vuelven más vívidas. Los fragmentos del pasado reconstruidos a través de las pinceladas que este ha dejado en las representaciones visuales reactiva ese pasado, acercándolo de un modo más nítido. Desde esta perspectiva se presentan algunas reflexiones acerca del Old School, cuadro que ocupó un lugar destacado en la actual Escuela Normal Superior Nº 5 desde el año 1909.

¿Qué representa la imagen? ¿Qué muestra y cuál es su fuerza simbólica? ¿Por qué ocupó un lugar destacado en la pared de una escuela innovadora que buscaba diferenciarse de la Old School? ¿Cuál era el mensaje que Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano quiso transmitir a partir de esa imagen?

Con el propósito de ensayar posibles respuestas a estas preguntas, se propone el análisis del grabado como una fuente que permite revelar ideas, actitudes y mentalidades, documentar experiencias que tenían lugar y se tensionaban en la vida de la escuela y en el contexto social más amplio en el que se inscribía.

En primer lugar, se describe el movimiento escolanovista y el lugar que en él ocupó Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano a través de las experiencias de formación en la Escuela Normal Nº 5. El marco teórico metodológico se explicita luego, para la reflexión historiográfica de uso de la imagen como fuente valiosa para la reconstrucción de la cultura escolar pretérita. En ese contexto conceptual se analizan las características del grabado, la escena que recrea, y en diálogo con las fuentes escritas, se intentarán discernir los sentidos que tuvo y el lugar que ocupaba en la propuesta formativa de Clotilde Guillen de Rezzano.

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**Manufacturing Educators: Discipline, Hygiene, and Contention in the Normal School of Paraná, Argentina (1870-1920)**

Sabrina Gonzalez (University of Maryland - College Park)

As part of the global expansion of primary schooling, teachers' training became a national concern. In 1884 Argentine elites approved a law that made primary schooling mandatory for children between 6 and 12 years old. The law also regulated normal schools under the Ministry of Justice and Instruction in charge of designing the school curricula and supervising normal schools through national inspectors. Historians have understood the foundation and organization of normal schools as part of a process in which the state sought to create a body of obedient teachers-- missionaries of culture--who were expected to sacrifice for the nation. Yet, we know very little about how school-teachers were trained in normal schools. This paper examines the practices and discourses that circulated in normal schools and how school teachers in training embodied their role in the emerging modern nation. In order to respond to these questions, I examine classroom experiences at the Normal School of Paraná, the first school founded by Domingo Sarmiento and considered the cradle of Argentine normalismo.

First, I delve into the tensions between U.S. educators, principals, and teachers in training in the foundation of normal schools. Second, I examine the oral and written discourses that school-teachers learned in the classroom, in the principal's office, and in the backyard, paying special attention to discourses around discipline and hygiene. Drawing on principals' reports, school regulations and programs, and teachers' memoirs, the paper uses quantitative and qualitative methods to reconstruct the quotidian experiences and the challenges that principals, school inspectors, and teachers in training faced in the process of modernization. I conclude that in order to understand the origins of the school in Argentina, we need to contrast elites' expectations of national teachers with the lived experiences of professors and teachers in training. From the perspective of normal schools, "looking from above and below" means to reconsider the process of modernization not as an unilateral set of educational policies that disciplined national teachers but as a contested process in which normal schools acted as arenas where racial, class, gender, and generational hierarchies were created, reimagined, and destabilized.

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### **Educating Educators from Above and Below: A Comparative Case Study of Canadian Teaching Masters and their Programs, 1925 - 1975**

Kurt Clausen (Nipissing University), Lynn Lemisko (University of Saskatchewan), Helen Raptis (University of Victoria), Frances Helyar (Lakehead University)

Largely appropriated from British and French origins, the Normal School became the standard means towards teacher certification in all provinces across Canada by the turn of the 20th century. Acknowledged by most historians (see Christou, 2018; Kach & Mazurek, 1992) as a strongly centralized system at this time, it acted as a process of “normalization” by the state; a moulding of its young protégés into ideal educators for the youth of the nation. As the century proceeded, however, Canadian teacher education underwent substantial transformations in terms of policy, control and design, gradually shifting to embrace more de-centralized programs; first as semi-autonomous teachers’ colleges and finally as faculties within university campuses. Rather than oversimplifying this progression as either lock-step or unified across the country, it should be noted that this process developed over a lengthy period of time with some provinces reorganizing earlier (like Alberta in 1945) and others only relinquishing central power much later (like Ontario in 1973). While large scale political/economic changes and *esprit du temps* no doubt played a part (see Kitchen & Petrarca, 2013/2014; Sheehan & Fullan, 1995), the present study argues that many of the shifts that took place over the course of the 20th century varied depending on more specific and complex cultural and social environments in which they thrived (see also Prentice & Theobald, 1991; Sheehan, Wilson, & Jones, 1986; Patterson, 1968).

This study, as part of a larger funded project, specifically focuses on representative institutions from across 4 provinces to see which reforms in the post-war period emerged from above and which from below (and what combination of influences may exist). Using the comparative case study approach (as suggested by Skocpol, 1979; Fitzgerald and Dopson, 2011; and Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003), the project treats each site as a community of teaching masters, first in isolation and then in a gradually extending circle of comparison. Using this methodology (including examinations of archival material found in government and institutional repositories, primary writings from various stakeholders, and local media) allows for the potential to create understandings of ideas, practices, opportunities and constraints that existed within rich site-based contexts as well as wider findings from multiple data sources (Beverland and Lindgreen, 2010; Dyer and Wilkins, 1991).

Our preliminary conclusions show that these institutions were neither mindless outgrowths of a central authority, nor completely autonomous outposts, cut off from each other. Rather, in connecting formal and informal communication that went on at the individual level, one can then see the otherwise overlooked networks that existed between faculty members, institutions and provinces. As

pointed out by Goodson (2005: 1), “...we have to understand the personal and biographical if we are to understand the social and political.” By starting at the local level, and then examining teacher education institutions as connected social constructions, we hope to avoid the perpetuation of an oversimplified view of the real workings of human action. Rather, we aim to show that the education of student teachers comes from many sources (above and below) acting simultaneously.

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**01-SES 20: IN(EX)CLUSION WITH/THROUGH SCHOOL MATH AND SCIENCE: THE ENTANGLEMENT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CURRICULUM**

Preformed Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Paola Valero (Stockholm University), Catherina Schreiber (Ministry of Education, Saarland)

**In(ex)clusion With/through School Math and Science: The Entanglement of Political and Economic Aspirations in the History of the Curriculum**

ISCHE 42 invites participants to reflect on the significance of “the social” in the study of the history of education. One of the proposed topics is considering the social histories of educational knowledge. We follow Tröhler and Horlacher (2019) in historicizing mathematics and science as areas of knowledge in the school curriculum to interrogate the configuration of “languages of education” (Tröhler, 2011) within social, political and economic conditions. Our panel rethinks the social of curriculum history by questioning the received chronology that science and mathematics education only discovered diversity in the “social turns” of the 1980s-90s and have become progressively more inclusive since.

By mapping an earlier circulation of pedagogies of inclusion, the papers highlight paradoxes in how efforts to include “all” have generated divisions and exclusions within that all. Historicizing school math and science allows us to interrogate the growing idea that these subjects are central to promoting the inclusion, prosperity, and well-being of individuals, communities, and nations, while at the same time, operating as areas where success is systematically reserved to the few. It seems that the stronger the explicit desire for making math and science instruction relevant to all, the more extensive are efforts of policy and pedagogy to classify and segregate who seems to require targeted intervention versus who is considered already knowledgeable in these areas.

While dynamics of inclusion and exclusion have been studied within critical curriculum studies in general (e.g., Popkewitz et al., 2017), few studies examine how the entanglement of politics, economics and culture occurs within and across school subjects of math and science. These subjects are especially salient to an in(ex)clusion perspective given their persistent positioning as universal and value-free. Our panel explores how these two areas together have increasingly become instrumental in articulating curricular aspirations for the moral and cognitive capacity of citizens that public schooling should promote. A critical examination of the technological optimism embodied in the post-WWII growth and expansion of these subjects in terms of policy, curricula and pedagogy offers crucial insights for social histories of school knowledge.

The papers in the panel examine in(ex)clusion within and through math and science curricula by focusing on three different but interrelated areas. The first paper examines the making of the Swedish mathematics curriculum in the context of the 1960s social-democratic school reform. By analyzing revisions of the formal math curricula, it is revealed how inclusion was handled through scientific and rationalistic principles and methods from 1950 to 1980. Nonetheless, in the same period there were great differences in how such principles and methods were understood. The second paper compares how post-WWII science curricular reforms in Germany and the United States diagnosed some populations as needing to “scientize” their daily lives by learning concrete health habits in place of abstract knowledge—a diagnosis generating both ableizing and racializing effects. The third paper explores the articulation between the supra-national economic agenda of OECD and the strengthening

of math and science as areas of the curriculum. The paper shows that the notion of human capital development has articulated the support and expansion of mathematics and science curricula with the advancement of a particular economic rationality, which has been used for building bio-political strategies connected to people's mathematical capacities.

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## **Swedish School Mathematics and Inclusion, 1950–1980**

Johan Prytz (Uppsala University)

In an in(ex)clusion perspective, a basic change in the 19th and 20th centuries was the expansion of school years and numbers of students attending school for an increasing number of years. Today, all Swedish students study mathematics for at least nine years in comprehensive school (years 1–9). Around 1900, only a small portion of the population had secondary education and studied mathematics for nine years or more. Those who did were mainly sons and daughters of wealthy or well-educated parents. The curriculum for those students could in part be very advanced and cognitively demanding. In contrast, most children did not even attend six years in primary school and the mathematics they learned consisted mainly of basic arithmetic. Thus, the math curricula of primary and lower secondary schools were in part very different.

By the 1950s, the situation had changed. An increasing number of students went on to secondary education, which meant more students studying mathematics for longer periods of time. The Swedish model for organizing an expanding school system was a unitary model. The former parallel model with a mandatory primary school (seven years) with voluntary transfer to lower secondary school after year 4 or 6 was replaced, in the 1960s, by one nine-year mandatory school type called *Grundskolan*. This school type comprised just one course program; there was no division between practical and theoretical programmes. The introduction of *Grundskolan* meant that a nine-year mathematics curriculum for all students had to be developed.

In an in(ex)clusion perspective, this posed a complicated situation. On one hand, the mathematics curriculum became more complex with new topics such as function theory and statistics. Moreover, topics previously taught in years 7–9, such as algebra, were introduced much earlier (Prytz, 2015). The argument was that a modern society needed more advanced knowledge in mathematics. On the other hand, it was discovered that the group of low achieving students in mathematics were greater than formerly believed (cf. Prytz, 2018).

In this paper, I describe the efforts to develop a Swedish mathematics curriculum for all in the period of 1950–1980. Special attention is paid to the issue of low achieving students.

Three events are studied:

- The development of the first curriculum of Grundskolan (issued in 1962)
- The development of the second curriculum (issued in 1969)
- The development of the third curriculum (issued in 1980)

The research question address how was the mathematics curriculum designed to facilitate good teaching for low achieving students? The main material is reports about curriculum development and the curriculum documents.

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## **3. The “Aha! Moments” that Weren’t: (Re)discovering Pedagogies of Inclusion in Post-war U.S. and German Science Education**

Kathryn Kirchgasler (University of Wisconsin-Madison), Nele Kuhlmann (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

Today, inclusion appears as an umbrella term for the imperative to recognize difference in terms of both disability and racial/migrant background. Often assumed is that this inclusion imperative is recent, that little data exist to inform these efforts, and thus, that iterative cycles of R&D are needed to reveal the needs of previously overlooked or recently arrived populations. Questioning this common sense, our paper historicizes current strategies of pedagogical inclusion by examining 1960s-70s science curricular reforms in the U.S. and Germany that targeted subpopulations along lines of dis/ability and social background. We explore how science education offers a crucial vantage onto shifts in biopolitical strategies (Rabinow & Rose, 2006) to distinguish the “needs” of subpopulations in the name of collective life and health.

As an entangled history of educational knowledge (Sobe, 2013), this paper parochializes discourses of inclusion by drawing on a range of research, reports, and curricular resources to highlight particularities of German and U.S. reforms targeting ableized and racialized groups (Powell, 2016). Over the 1960s-70s, German reforms to mitigate social inequalities mobilized comparable strategies to improve the lives and health of “Arbeiterkinder” (‘working class students’) in comprehensive and lower secondary schools (Gesamt- und Hauptschulen), and “Lernbehinderte” (‘with learning disabilities’) in the special education system (e.g., KMK 1969; 1972). Meanwhile in the United States, the confluence of school desegregation and mainstreaming policies permitted overlapping interventions targeting the “culturally deprived” and “educable mentally retarded.” Through comparative analysis, we examine techniques of research and pedagogy that located each target population at a distance from cultural norms of healthy living, and positioned them as inherently demanding a more “accessible” curriculum to ‘scientize’ their daily lives.

The paper scrutinizes a reiterated account of benign neglect: that research has overlooked certain populations of students, leaving the adaptation of science instruction to their particular needs a “neglected subject” (e.g., Bennett & Downing, 1971, p. 161). Following Richardson (1999), we examine the continual reformulation of categories of concern, with new terms acquiring the bulk of children

from the prior term but altering operational criteria in ways that cleaved their histories. The effect of these alleged “Aha! Moments” is to sever ethical and political ties to the past, creating the innocence of a ‘new’ beginning (Gotanda, 2004, p. 673). Juxtaposing past and present reforms, we ask: How has difference been produced and regulated through science curriculum such that current categories and strategies of inclusion appear equitable, or even natural?

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## **School Mathematics and Human Capital Development**

Paola Valero (Stockholm University)

Nowadays, OECD and PISA champion the promotion of equity to educational access as a fundamental path to social and economic inclusion of marginalized populations. And mathematics has been set as a key indicator of success for individuals and nations, to the extent that scores in the international standardized tests in mathematics are taken as an indicator of a country’s potential for economic development and a predictor of individual economic success (Valero, 2018). Such an idea is now so familiarized that current descriptions of the moral, attitudinal and cognitive characteristics of citizens to be found in, for example, the new framework for PISA 2021 (OECD, 2018), are embedded in the expectations for what young people should be able to know and do with school mathematical knowledge. However, the question that can be asked from a cultural-historical point of view is how has this idea configured and become a current, taken-for-granted truth in the way mathematics education is understood and valued.

This paper engages in a strategy of historization of the connections between OECD’s policies for steering economic development and the concretization of ideas of human capital development in the

steering of mathematics education. The paper traces ideas of human capital development that navigated in OECD's policies, in mathematics education collaboration circles of academics interested in promoting mathematics education reform, and in national curricula in the 1950–1960's. By analyzing a variety of different documents about each of these three different sites of practice, it will be possible to see how ideas of human capital navigated in these sites and became concretized in particular ideas about what should count as the New Mathematics, a project thought to secure the future of Western civilization (e.g. Marmier, 2014). The concrete event that serves as a point of confluence of these ideas is the organization of the "Royaumont Seminar" —an international seminar called 'New thinking in school mathematics' held at the end of 1959— known as a key event in the formulation of the New Math Era. It is my intention to show how the articulation of the idea of human capital development to the essential characteristics attributed to mathematics and its "good" teaching and learning allowed to connect in inseparable ways the mathematical development of a nation with ideas of economic progress. From the point of view of in(ex)clusion, such connection has been instrumental in connecting success in school mathematics to operate bio-political classifications regarding which kinds of mathematically competent citizens are seen as more economically valuable.

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## **02-SES 20: PICTURES OF THE NEW SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN ARGENTINA, CHILE, AND COLOMBIA (CA. 1920 - CA. 1950)**

Preformed Panel (Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Alexander Aldana Bautista (Universidad Pedagógica Nacional)

### **Pictures of the New School Movement in Argentina, Chile, and Colombia (ca. 1920 - ca. 1950)**

In this panel, we have proposed investigating those pedagogical experiences inspired by the Escuela Nueva in Argentina, Chile, and Colombia, from a comprehensive set of photographs from the first half of the 20th century. The purpose is to analyze the practices and the system of objects that shaped the discourse of Escolanovism in these three countries.

The theme suggested by this panel, that of the photographs, was precisely addressed by Peter Burke (2005) in his book, *Seen and Not Seen*. The use of the image as a historical document. Burke reminds us of the importance of images to reconstruct people's "everyday culture," their ways of life, and the mentalities that characterized an era. Following these approaches, the photographic images account for the specific use of objects. Through this visual testimony, it is possible to recognize details of a time's material culture. The images show what people do not narrate because they take it for granted that the other already understands.

Understanding the distribution of objects, their shapes, their organization, their attributes, and what people do with them gives an account of the forms of an era's political and social organization. Therefore, it is appropriate to place the images in their political and cultural contexts not to misinterpret their message.

The analysis of the photographs in the three countries, proposed for this panel, takes up the debates and problematizations raised by different historians of education (Ciavatta, 2019; Dussel, 2008 and 2019; Del Pozo, 2006). The aim of this panel is the production of historical knowledge using photographs as a source. Each of the authors analyzes a set of photographs that show how the New School Movement inspired the different pedagogical actions.

In this framework, the panel contributes to the field of the history of Latin American education by revisiting these records and raising new questions about the visual regime that configures the teacher and the students' role. The comparative study between the three countries will allow us to articulate and identify the continuities and trace the particularities that these experiences assume in each context.

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### **Seeing and explaining the past: the visual memory of the New School Movement in Colombia (1930s)**

Alexander Aldana Bautista (Universidad Pedagógica Nacional)

In 1914 the Modern Gymnasium was created in Bogotá. The Modern Gymnasium was an initiative of a group of bourgeois intellectuals: Agustín Nieto Caballero, Tomás y José María Samper, and Tomás Rueda Vargas. This educational and pedagogical event questioned the Catholic pedagogy, which had become the hegemonic discourse around teaching in Colombia.

According to Quiceno (2004), the Modern Gymnasium pedagogy is a pedagogy invented from the New School and the Colombian social environment. This amalgam produces a repertoire of specific practices within this institution. Through these practices, it sought to apply educational theories to social needs.

During the 1920s, the decline of Catholic pedagogies and the emergence of liberal and secular educational institutes occurred. Likewise, in this decade, the general lines of the subsequent reform were drawn: education as a national problem, the reorganization of the Ministry of instruction, the meaning of education and teaching methods, practical education and science education, observation,



and experimentation. These ideas inspired the educational reform implemented during the 1930s. Agustín Nieto Caballero thought this reform from the Modern Gymnasium experience and the New School Movement's ideas' appropriation. When Agustín Nieto held a position in the Ministry of Education, he introduced the New School's pedagogy in the official schools (Herrera, 1999).

Based on a set of photographs, in this work, we analyze the discourses that this offer about the New School Movement in Colombia. I want to answer the following questions: what do they show and hide about the school? How do the photographs configure a visual regime on teaching? How are teachers and students represented in the pictures? The New School Movement expressed a set of theories about the child and teaching methods. Also, the images are a visual form to look at the school and the teacher. In this sense, what do the photographs show about implementing the New School Movement in Colombia? What practices of the New School Movement do they visually legitimize in the pictures? Following Dussel (2008), the visibility regimes contain political, epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic elements. What kind of visibility regime do the photographs of the New School Movement define?

Finally, according to the statement by Peter Burke (2008), I should ask, "how to interrogate eyewitness testimony?" The photographs selected in this work are crucial to understanding the system of objects and practices that characterized the New School Movement in Colombia. These photographs are not just documents from the past. It is possible to study the school's materiality. In specific, the particularities of the active methods disseminated in Colombia throughout the 1930s.

### **Ver y explicar el pasado: la memoria visual del Movimiento de la Escuela Nueva en Colombia (década de 1930)**

En 1914, en Bogotá, se creó el Gimnasio Moderno, como iniciativa de un grupo de intelectuales burgueses: Agustín Nieto Caballero, Tomás y José María Samper y Tomás Rueda Vargas. Este evento educativo y pedagógico cuestionó la pedagogía católica, que se había convertido en el discurso hegemónico en torno a la enseñanza en Colombia.

Según Quiceno (2004), la pedagogía del Gimnasio Moderno es una pedagogía inventada desde la Escuela Nueva y el entorno social colombiano. Esta amalgama produjo un repertorio de prácticas específicas dentro de esta institución. A través de estas prácticas, se buscó aplicar las teorías educativas a las necesidades sociales.

Durante la década de 1920, ocurrió el declive de las pedagogías católicas y el surgimiento de institutos educativos liberales y laicos. Asimismo, en esta década se trazaron las líneas generales de la reforma posterior: la educación como problema nacional, la reorganización del Ministerio de instrucción, el significado de la educación y los métodos de enseñanza, la educación práctica y la educación científica, la observación y la experimentación. Estas ideas inspiraron la reforma educativa implementada durante la década de 1930. Agustín Nieto Caballero pensó esta reforma desde la experiencia del Gimnasio Moderno y la apropiación de ideas del Movimiento Escuela Nueva. Cuando Agustín Nieto ocupó un cargo en el Ministerio de Educación, introdujo la pedagogía de la Escuela Nueva en las escuelas oficiales (Herrera, 1999).

A partir de un conjunto de fotografías, en este trabajo analizamos los discursos que éste ofrece sobre el Movimiento Escuela Nueva en Colombia. Quiero responder a las siguientes preguntas: ¿qué muestran y qué ocultan sobre la escuela? ¿Cómo configuran las fotografías un régimen visual sobre la docencia? ¿Cómo se representan los profesores y los alumnos en las imágenes? El Movimiento de la Escuela Nueva no solo se expresó en un conjunto de teorías sobre el niño y los métodos de enseñanza, sino que también en imágenes, las cuales son una forma visual de mirar a la escuela y al profesor. En este sentido, ¿qué muestran las fotografías sobre la implementación del Movimiento Escuela Nueva

en Colombia? ¿Qué prácticas del Movimiento Escuela Nueva legitiman visualmente las imágenes? Siguiendo a Dussel (2008), los regímenes de visualidad contienen elementos políticos, epistemológicos, éticos y estéticos. ¿Qué tipo de régimen de visualidad definen las fotografías del Movimiento Escuela Nueva en Colombia?

Finalmente, de acuerdo con Peter Burke (2008), conviene preguntarse, "¿cómo interrogar el testimonio de testigos presenciales?". Las fotografías seleccionadas en este trabajo son claves para comprender el sistema de objetos y prácticas que caracterizaron el Movimiento Escuela Nueva en Colombia. Estas fotografías no son solo documentos del pasado, sino que a través de ellas es posible localizar la materialidad de la escuela y las particularidades de los métodos activos que fueron difundidos en Colombia a lo largo de la década de 1930.

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### **Images of the school: the pedagogical experiences of Luis Iglesias and Olga Cossettini**

Mariana Tosolini (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba)

This paper shares some reflections about two experiences based on the New School Movement's pedagogical ideas and developed in Argentina between the 1930s and 1950s.

At the end of the 19th century, positivist philosophy was configured in Argentine primary education as a hegemonic current. At that time and until after the middle of the 20th century, teachers' training was guided by normalism, leaving school grammar traces.

Between 1920 and 1943, an anti-positivist reaction took place in Argentina (German and others, 2011) that resulted in some experiences that disputed meanings with the dominant pedagogy. Although some authors emphasize their marginal character, these experiences constituted alternatives, and for others, it constituted an irruption movement (Dono Rubio, 2005).

The practices of two teachers who tried different ways of organizing the school space and the link with knowledge become relevant there. On the one hand, the Serena School of Olga Cossettini developed between 1935 and 1950 at the Gabriel Carrasco school in Rosario. On the other hand, Luis Iglesias's experience, the "teacher" Iglesias, who between 1938 and 1957 worked in a rural school in Esteban Echeverría, Province of Buenos Aires.

These proposals' pedagogical singularities invite us to rethink the school as technology (Dussel, 2010). As an intuition that proposes ways of organizing space and time, ways of processing subjectivities, and particular relationships with knowledge. These experiences allow us to unravel the singularities assumed by the New School Movement's postulates in Argentina. It is analytically relevant that these proposals took place in state schools. Although these experiences did not establish themselves as hegemonic, they contributed continuity and rupture elements. It allows us to analyze their impact on the pedagogical field and, thus, on its material culture.

We intend to contribute to the debate on pedagogical alternatives (Puiggrós and Gómez, 2005) through the use of images understood as social production. The importance of photographs as a document lies in the elements they provide about schools' material life. There, configurations of space-time with specific objects (Dussel, 2019). We should problematize these configurations with our mediations.

### **Imágenes de la escuela: las experiencias pedagógicas de Luis Iglesias y Olga Cossettini**

Este artículo comparte algunas reflexiones sobre dos experiencias basadas en las ideas pedagógicas del Movimiento de la Nueva Escuela y desarrolladas en Argentina entre las décadas de 1930 y 1950.

A fines del siglo XIX, la filosofía positivista se configuró en la educación primaria argentina como una corriente hegemónica. En ese momento y hasta después de mediados del siglo XX, la formación del profesorado se guió por el normalismo, dejando huellas en la gramática escolar.

Entre 1920 y 1943 se produjo en Argentina una reacción antipositivista (German y otros, 2011) que desembocó en algunas experiencias que disputaron significados con la pedagogía dominante. Si bien algunos autores enfatizan su carácter marginal, estas experiencias constituyeron alternativas, y para otros, constituyó un movimiento de irrupción (Dono Rubio, 2005).

Allí cobran relevancia las prácticas de dos profesores que probaron diferentes formas de organizar el espacio escolar y el vínculo con el conocimiento. Por un lado, la Escuela Serena de Olga Cossettini se desarrolló entre 1935 y 1950 en la escuela Gabriel Carrasco de Rosario. Por otro lado, la experiencia de Luis Iglesias, el "maestro" Iglesias, quien entre 1938 y 1957 trabajó en una escuela rural de Esteban Echeverría, Provincia de Buenos Aires.

Las singularidades pedagógicas de estas propuestas nos invitan a repensar la escuela como tecnología (Dussel, 2010). Es decir, como una intuición que propone formas de organizar el espacio y el tiempo, formas de procesar subjetividades y relaciones particulares con el conocimiento. Estas experiencias nos permiten desentrañar las singularidades asumidas por los postulados del Movimiento de la Escuela Nueva en Argentina. Es analíticamente relevante que estas propuestas tuvieran lugar en las escuelas estatales. Si bien estas experiencias no lograron establecerse como hegemónicas, aportaron elementos de continuidad y ruptura, lo que nos permite analizar su impacto en el campo pedagógico y, por tanto, en su cultura material.

Pretendemos contribuir al debate sobre alternativas pedagógicas (Puiggrós y Gómez, 2005) a través del uso de imágenes entendidas como producción social. La importancia de las fotografías como documento radica en los elementos que aportan sobre la vida material de las escuelas. Allí se muestran configuraciones de espacio – tiempo con objetos específicos (Dussel, 2019) que deben ser problematizadas con relación a las mediaciones que producimos los investigadores.

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### **New School Movement in Chile: an approach from the photographic archive of the Experimental School for Girls (1929 - 1949)**

Camila Pérez Navarro (Universidad de O'Higgins), Analía Álvarez Seguel (Investigadora Independiente)

In Chile, the pedagogical ideas of the New School Movement inspired the educational policies implemented since 1927. According to Núñez (1986), with the Ministry of Public Education's creation, a movement of pedagogical experimentation began. The Ministry of Education promoted an active and student-centered pedagogy in primary education.

In 1928, Decree No. 5881 created the first experimental primary schools.

In this paper, we analyze, from the photographs belonging to his Photographic Archive, the case of the Experimental School for Girls in Santiago. Between 1929 and 1931, this school applies the Dalton Plan. Developed by the American educator Helen Parkhurst, in this plan, the school was considered "like a

laboratory, where the students themselves are the experimenters" (Luzuriaga, 1969, p. 298). The first director of the Experimental School for Girls was Anne Charlotte Keefe. She was a Parkhurst contributor in America. For three months in Chile, Keefe prepared the teachers who would work in the Experimental School for Girls. Based on the principles of freedom, cooperation, and economy of energy, the Dalton Plan aimed at "developing work habits such as sociability and responsibility" (AEEN, 1959, p. 3). The school day did not have a rigid structure. Each student organized her time according to her interest in the different laboratories, working individually and freely, and going to the teachers only for advice. The tasks were organized based on a contract, understood as a set of «assignments» that the students had to «carry out in the different laboratories in a certain time (one month)» (AEEN, 1959, p. 4).

In 1931, the School stopped applying the Dalton Plan. From that moment, the School tried a combination of methods, including the radio, the organization of theater activities, among others. We analyze this educational reform based on the Experimental School for Girls' Photographic Archive pictures.

### **Escuela Nueva en Chile: un acercamiento desde el archivo fotográfico de la Escuela Experimental de Niñas (1929 – 1949)**

En Chile, las ideas pedagógicas del Movimiento de la Escuela Nueva inspiraron las políticas educativas implementadas a partir de 1927. De acuerdo con lo señalado por Núñez (1986), con la creación del Ministerio de Educación Pública se inició un movimiento de experimentación pedagógica que se tradujo en el funcionamiento de diversas escuelas de experimentación. El Ministerio de Educación manifestaba una tendencia de base científica, que promovía, particularmente en la enseñanza primaria, una pedagogía activa y centrada en el estudiante.

En 1928, con la dictación del Decreto N° 5881, se crearon las primeras escuelas primarias experimentales. En este artículo analizamos, a partir de las fotografías pertenecientes de su Archivo Fotográfico, el caso de la Escuela Experimental de Niñas de Santiago. En esta Escuela se aplicó, entre 1929 y 1931, en Plan Dalton. Desarrollado por la educadora estadounidense Helen Parkhurst, en este plan la escuela era considerada «como un laboratorio, donde los alumnos mismos son los experimentadores» (Luzuriaga, 1969, p. 298). La primera directora de la Escuela Experimental de Niñas fue Anne Charlotte Keefe. Ella fue colaboradora de Parkhurst en Estados Unidos. En Chile, Keefe durante tres meses preparó a las profesoras que trabajarían en la Escuela Experimental de Niñas. El Plan Dalton se basaba en los principios de libertad, cooperación y economía de energía, todos tendientes a «desarrollar hábitos de trabajo como sociabilidad y responsabilidad» (AEEN, 1959, p. 3). La jornada escolar no poseía una estructura rígida, ya que cada alumna organizaba su tiempo en función de su interés en los diferentes laboratorios, trabajando individual y libremente, y acudiendo a las profesoras solo en busca de consejos. Las tareas se organizaban a partir de un contrato, entendido como un conjunto de «asignaciones» que las estudiantes debían «realizar en los distintos laboratorios en un determinado tiempo (un mes)» (AEEN, 1959, p. 4).

En 1931, la Escuela dejó de aplicar el Plan Dalton. Desde este momento, en la Escuela se ensayó una combinación de métodos, entre los cuales se cuentan la aplicación de la radiofonía, la organización de actividades teatrales, entre otras. Con base en las imágenes pertenecientes al Archivo fotográfico de la Escuela Experimental de Niñas, nos adentramos en el proceso de implementación de esta reforma educativa.

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### 03-SES 20: TEACHERS WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

#### **The Center of a "Crazy Calico Quilt": The Role of Summer Vacation in the Family Life of U.S. Schoolteachers, 1880s-1930s**

Christine A. Ogren (University of Iowa)

When Minnesota schoolteacher Gertrude Black returned to her parents' farm for the summer of 1901, the family dog was "so tickled" that he jumped into the buggy to greet her. During the weeks that followed, Black contributed to the farm and the household by hoeing, picking gallons of berries, cleaning "from one end of the house to the other," and sewing a block for her mother's "crazy calico quilt"; it was fitting that her mother wanted to place Gertrude's block in the center of the quilt (Black La Due Diaries). Teacher Lillian Herrick maintained family ties through visits and other social activities during summer stays in the 1890s and 1900s at her family home in the town of Horseheads, New York (Herrick Chapman Diaries). And Iowa teacher Ruth Jensen enjoyed a whirlwind summer courtship that culminating in her becoming "pinned" to medical student and baseball player Carter Hamilton in August, 1920. They secretly married the following spring, and she spent the summer of 1921 keeping house in a small apartment while he played ball; in the fall, he returned to his studies and she to

teaching school. (Hamilton Papers). One thread of a larger project on the history of U.S. schoolteachers' "summers off," this paper utilizes qualitative historical data from education journals and the diaries and letters of Black, Herrick, Jensen Hamilton, and dozens of other teachers, to explore the various ways in which the summer break shaped teachers' role in their families and family played a role in teachers' summer activities.

Considering how the summer vacation enabled schoolteachers to support their families of origin as well as to take steps toward establishing families of their own sheds new light on the interaction between the structure of the education system and family life. The historiography of U.S. teachers emphasizes that shifting gender ideology and the disappearance of marriage bars in the mid-twentieth century cast the ideal teacher as a married woman, infusing family responsibilities into the accepted role of the teacher (e.g., Clifford, 1989; Weiler, 1998). By focusing on the decades between the 1880s and 1930s—when the nine-month school calendar was new (Gold, 2002) and the majority of teachers were single women (Clifford, 2014; Blount, 2005)—this paper demonstrates that women teachers negotiated family and career even when they were not supposed to have both, and explains how the structure of the education system enabled them to do so. Many teachers felt a responsibility to help out at home, and the summer break provided room for them to return temporarily to the family fold. Although administrators cautioned against “foolishness” in “romantic summer evenings” (“Sweethearting by Moonlight,” 1891), summer also provided teachers with time away from surveillance of their personal lives during which to explore romantic possibilities. The summer vacation thus supported family life in the U.S., sometimes at the cost of losing teachers to marriage.

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**Server of the Welfare state: A Study of Teachers' Working conditions in the Swedish countryside, 1930-1960**

Åsa Melin (Karlstads universitet)

School and education, and therefore teachers, were central parts when building the Swedish welfare system during the 20th century. One of the goals regarding school development was democracy, in line with equality. The basic idea was that differences[1] would be counteracted.[2] Investigations were made and reforms were implemented (or not implemented) and the state's expenditure on the school increased by about 220% from 1920-1940.[3] Grants, for example the construction of school houses, resources for dental care and free school lunch were given from the state, from the municipalities and from voluntary associations. It was the municipal politicians that had to ensure that welfare reforms reached everyone. It also affected the teachers working conditions, consisted of many different duties, both social and educational aspects included.[4]

Teachers' working conditions being debated today and media portrayal of the teaching profession is seldom positive. Teachers should be caretakers, social workers, curators and knowledge brokers. "It was better in the past" echoes in the corridors.[5] In a study of how the social dimension in teachers' working conditions has changed in character during the 20th century, Landahl has broadened the notions of what teachers' work could involve.[6]

To discuss continuity and change in teachers' professional duties I will follow Landahl, presenting concrete examples from my own research of what teachers' work could consist of during the period of 1930-1960.[7]

I am using archive material from Storfors and Arvika, two municipalities in Sweden.[8] It primary letters from teachers and protocols from the municipalities' primary school board and municipal council.

[1] Differences between regions, places and students

[2] Ringarp, J., Román, H., Hallsén, S., & Nordin, A. (2017) ss 1, 25.

[3] Edgren (2015)

[4] Larsson (2008) (Larsson,ss 98 f) Sundberg et al. (2011, ss 12 och 243)Landahl (2006) ss 2-5

[5] Landahl (2006) s 2. Se även: <https://www.sydsvenskan.se/2017-08-22/lat-larare-fa-vara-larare-istallet-for-vaktmastare-administratorer-och-kuratorer>; <https://skolvarlden.se/artiklar/lararna-var-tid-gar-till-annat-undervisning> ; <https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/m64zbE/jag-har-fatt-nog--och-slutar-som-sfi-larare>

[6] Landahl (2006) ss 11,19. Landahls main result as a whole says that the working conditions is both eternally and changing in the meaning: as the norms in society change, borders have chanced regarding teachers' responsibility.

[7] Storfors municipal archive. FII, letter 18 maj 1942. EII:1, letter 21/11 1944. E:2 letter 29/6 1946. E:1 letter 23/11 1938 and 21/3 1939. E:2 letter 14/3 1946. EII:1 1932-1950.

[8] Storfors was an industrial community with only

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### **Expectations and Requirements of Society for the Role of Teachers through Greek Schools Regulations in the 19th and 20th Centuries**

Efstratios Vacharoglou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Aikaterini Peleki (Hellenic Open University of Patra)

The work of teachers in the 19th century concerns not only the state and the local stakeholders (municipalities or villages) responsible for the operation of schools and expressing the mentality of the citizens they represent but also schools themselves. Recordings of the expectations and requirements of stakeholders are based on early sources of the period. Legislative texts and circulars of the Ministry of Education include direct or indirect references to the role of teachers and specify the educational, teaching and social duties in so many details that regulate even their behavior. School regulations reflecting expectations of local communities include direct or indirect references to the role of teachers in their legal provisions defining their educational and teaching obligations and their general attitudes towards the local community. Schools and teachers are required to obey regulations issued or endorsed by their respective ecclesiastical authorities. The Regulations of the Greek Communities, and especially of Thessaloniki, which are of examined in this paper, include articles dealing mainly with the responsibilities of the curators and operators of schoolunits, the general operation of schools and the qualifications of the teachers employed in those schools.

The focus of this paper is on the period from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, which is of great importance for Macedonia due to the transition from the Ottoman government to the free Greek state and hence, the accession of the Greek schools of the region at the Ministry of Education of the Greek state along with the currently existing rules of operation of Greek schools in the region. The method used is historical-interpretative at both of its levels: a) systematic historical-historiographical: the unique rules of operation of primary education schools in the Greek communities of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century are recorded and presented; and b) analytical - interpretative: the school rules are analyzed and interpreted based on historical, political, social and educational contexts. Qualitative analysis on teachers' autobiographical texts is also done.

The purpose of this paper is to present the articles of the primary school operating regulations related to the duties and obligations of teachers, and thus, the demands and expectations of local communities, and how teachers perceive and respond to their particular role. The study of these texts is carried out: 1) For teachers based on three main axes: a) the training of male and female teachers; b) the rules of conduct for teachers and female teachers (admonitory) and generally, their image in society, and c) the general tasks and the general / wider obligations of male and female teacher. 2) For principals, highlighting the differentiation of their duties from those of the teaching staff. The present work reflects on whether society's demands on teachers are the same today or differentiated within a new socio-economic context and the new conditions created by the refugee issue. Another concern is whether modern teachers respond to the demands of society and/or are prepared to respond or whether they propose something different for its future.

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## **04-SES 20: ASYLUMS AND INSTITUTIONS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED**

Panel Session (Spanish, Portuguese)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Marisa BITTAR (Federal University of São Carlos, Brazil)

### **Asylum institutions and their educational practices in Amazonia and São Paulo (1900-1930)**

Miriam Fernandes Muramoto (Universidade de São Paulo), Milen Margareth Fernandes Schramm (Universidade de São Paulo)

In the beginning of the 20th Century, the Brazilian State kept a firm determination about controlling the formation of individuals, focusing their actions on the poor kids and society's underprivileged. However, the foundations of public instruction were still based on traditional confessional instruction. In this way, the subjects should adapt to the guidelines of catechesis and civility. The orphanage or asylum institutions used for educational practices, in this period, consisted of much more than pedagogical spaces. These were places used to develop policies aimed at promoting health and civilization of the masses. When investigating aspects of school culture in different institutions of a confessional character, we found that their pedagogical proposals provided teaching focused on religious instruction, thus spreading Catholic values in relation to family, morals and concept and practical values. Therefore, the objective of this study is to analyze different aspects of educational practices developed in institutions located in the Amazon and in the State of São Paulo, from 1900 to 1930. The methodology used was based on documentary research, as we use documents such as: reports ecclesial inspection, registration of student enrollment, internal regulations, minutes of meetings, photographs, newspapers that circulated in the period under analysis, among others. The analysis was carried out based on the ideas of Beozzo (1980) and Azzi (1983) on the history of the Catholic Church in Brazil. We also used the studies of Hilsdorf (2011), on the social history of the abandoned child, and de Freitas, Kuhlmann Jr (2002) on the history of the child in Brazil, and also the studies by Rizzini (2004; 2011); Rizzini and Rizzini (2004) Schueler (2012) on asylum and orphanage institutions. The readings of the "Civilizing Process", by Norbert Elias (1993), corroborate the understanding of the policies produced by the State regarding the control of the conduct practiced within the institutions, through the incorporation of the rules of civility. The public education system, which includes the set of educational institutions in the national territory, presented contrasting

differences, characterized as a non-uniform and discontinuous process. However, some institutions such as nursing homes and boarding schools stood out as models of instruments for the promotion of the ideals of civilization, crystallizing the projects of the elites regarding the formation of the people for the construction of the Brazilian nation (SCHUELER, 2012).

### **Instituições asilares e suas práticas educacionais na Amazônia e em São Paulo (1900-1930)**

No início do século XX, o Estado brasileiro manteve a firme determinação de controlar a formação dos indivíduos, focando sua ação para as crianças pobres e desvalidas da sociedade. Contudo, as bases da instrução pública ainda estavam assentadas na tradicional instrução confessional. Desse modo, os sujeitos deveriam se adequar às orientações da catequese e da civilidade. As instituições orfanológicas ou asilares utilizadas para as práticas educativas, nesse período, consistiam muito mais do que espaços pedagógicos. Se tratavam de lugares utilizados para desenvolver as políticas voltadas à promoção da sanidade e a da civilização das massas. Ao investigar os aspectos da cultura escolar em distintas instituições de caráter confessional constatamos que suas propostas pedagógicas proporcionavam um ensino voltado à instrução religiosa, difundindo, assim, os valores católicos em relação à família, à moral e aos conceitos e práticas cívicos. Por conseguinte, o objetivo desse estudo consiste em analisarmos aspectos diferenciados das práticas educativas desenvolvidas em instituições localizadas na Amazônia e no Estado de São Paulo, no período de 1900 a 1930. A metodologia empregada foi fundamentada na pesquisa documental, pois utilizamos documentos como: relatórios de inspeção eclesial, registro de matrículas de alunos, regimentos internos, atas de reuniões, fotografias, jornais que circularam no período analisado, entre outros. A análise foi realizada com base nas ideias de Beozzo (1980) e Azzi (1983) sobre a história da Igreja Católica no Brasil. Utilizamos ainda os estudos de Hilsdorf (2011), sobre a história social da criança abandonada, e de Freitas, Kuhlmann Jr (2002) sobre a história da criança no Brasil e, ainda os estudos de Rizzini (2004; 2011); Rizzini e Rizzini (2004) Schueler (2012) sobre instituições asilares e orfanológicas. As leituras do “Processo Civilizador”, de Norbert Elias (1993), corroboram para a compreensão das políticas produzidas pelo Estado acerca do controle das condutas praticadas no bojo das instituições, através da incorporação das regras de civilidade. O sistema de instrução pública, no qual se insere o conjunto de instituições educativas no território nacional apresentou diferenciações contrastantes, caracterizado como um processo não uniforme e descontínuo. Entretanto, algumas instituições como os asilos e internatos se destacaram como modelos de instrumentos para a promoção dos ideais de civilização, cristalizando os projetos das elites quanto à formação do povo para a construção da nação brasileira (SCHUELER, 2012).

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### **"Asylum Houses In Spain: A New Space For Historians Of Education?"**

Gabriel Barceló-Bauzá (University of the Balearic Islands)

Every democratic state must guarantee the same rights and duties among its fellow citizens regardless of their social class or place of birth. Among these rights, which began to be strengthened in the liberal states, established from the 18th century onwards in various European territories, we find the right to education. However, which institutions were in charge of guaranteeing this right to those children who, due to their personal circumstances, were left on the margins of society? In the case of Spain, it was the asylum houses or foundling homes that, from the 19th century onwards, worked in favor of giving shelter and education to those children with fewer resources. This contribution presents an organizational project designed to be applied in one of these centers. The institution in question is the one popularly known as Casa de la Misericordia, located in the city of Palma (Mallorca, Balearic Islands). The project presented was written in 1932 by the teacher Lorenzo María Duran y Coli (1903-1986) when he applied to manage the aforementioned center. In it, he brings us closer to the pedagogy that should be applied, according to his opinion, in this asylum house. The analyzed source should be placed within the framework of the competitive examinations for the direction of graduate schools held during the period of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939). By the means of these competitions, the Republic tried to promote the most prepared teachers with the educational reform to occupy management positions in the different pedagogical institutions of the country, with the asylum houses among them. Curiously, it was Lorenzo Duran, a well-known teacher in the pedagogical panorama of the time, who wanted to compete for the management of the most important institution for the protection of children in the Balearic Islands. In the organizational report, he presented aspects as diverse and interesting as how hygiene, food, clothing, leisure or teaching methodologies are dealt with. Through his dissertation, he highlights a series of aspects that would help to improve both the functioning of the center and the educational level of the children who lived there. On the other hand, the analyzed text emphasizes another topic of great interest for historians of education, I am referring to the need to know, in further detail, the biography of those teachers who chose to work with children who, for various circumstances, had been left out of the official channels of the educational system. EDU2017-82485-P (ERDF/MCIU/AEI).

### **"Las Casas De Asilo En España: ¿Un Nuevo Espacio Para Los Historiadores De La Educación?"**

Todo Estado democrático debe garantizar los mismos derechos y deberes entre sus conciudadanos independientemente de su clase social o lugar de nacimiento. Entre estos derechos que empiezan a potenciarse desde los estados liberales, instaurados a partir del siglo XVIII en diversos territorios europeos, encontramos el derecho a la educación. No obstante, ¿qué instituciones se encargan de garantizar este derecho en aquellos niños que debido a sus circunstancias personales quedan al margen de la sociedad?. En el caso de España fueron las casas de asilo o casas de expósitos las

instituciones que, a partir del siglo XIX, trabajaron a favor de la manutención y educación de aquellos niños con menos recursos. En esta contribución se presenta un proyecto de organización ideado para aplicarse en uno de estos centros. La institución en cuestión es la conocida popularmente como Casa de la Misericordia, ubicada en la ciudad de Palma (Mallorca, Islas Baleares). El proyecto presentado fue redactado en 1932 por el maestro Lorenzo María Duran y Coli (1903-1986) cuando opositó para dirigir el centro antes mencionado. En él nos aproxima a la pedagogía que debería aplicarse, según su parecer, en esta casa de asilo. La fuente analizada la debemos situar en el marco de las oposiciones a direcciones de escuelas graduadas que se convocó durante el período de la II República Española (1931-1939). Mediante estas oposiciones, la República trataba de promocionar a los docentes más preparados con la reforma educativa para que ocupasen cargos directivos en las diferentes instituciones pedagógicas del país, entre ellas, las casas de asilo. Curiosamente, fue Lorenzo Duran, un maestro muy conocido en el panorama pedagógico del momento, quien quiso opositar para optar a la dirección de la institución de protección a la infancia más importante de las Islas Baleares. En la memoria de organización que presentó se tratan aspectos tan diversos e interesantes como la higiene, la alimentación, la vestimenta, el ocio o las metodologías de enseñanza. A través de su disertación pone en evidencia toda una serie de aspectos que ayudarían a mejorar tanto el funcionamiento del centro como el nivel educativo de los niños que vivían allí. Por otra parte, el texto analizado pone en evidencia otro aspecto de gran interés para los historiadores de la educación, me refiero a la necesidad de empezar a conocer con mayor detenimiento la biografía de aquellos maestros que optaron por trabajar con aquellos niños que, por diversas circunstancias, habían quedado al margen de los cauces oficiales del sistema educativo. EDU2017-82485-P (FEDER/MCIU/AEI).

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### **Identity processes and resistance in São Mateus, Brazil (1908 to 1930).**

Ingrid Regis de Freitas Schmitz de Alencar (Independent), Elda Alvarenga (Ifes-Instituto Federal do Espírito Santo)

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE STATE OF ESPÍRITO SANTO / BRAZIL: IDENTITY PROCESSES AND RESISTANCE IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF SÃO MATEUS (1908 to 1930). This study investigates the identity formation of teachers in the Northern State of Espírito Santo / Brazil in the period from 1908 to 1930 and the resistance to the colonialist order present in this process. To do so, question the sources based on the following questions: a) How was the relationship of forces between the different ethnicities present in São Mateus configured during the studied period? What were the consequences of this relationship in the constitution of the local teaching profession? To what extent did identity processes constitute a form of resistance to Portuguese colonialism? It aims to characterize the relationship of

forces between the different ethnicities present in São Mateus, Espírito Santo, Brazil, based on the consequences of this relationship in the constitution of the local teaching profession. It also seeks to understand the processes of resistance to Portuguese colonialism present from the organization of primary education. It is based on the conception of post-colonial studies advocated by Hall (2003). For him, post-colonial studies seek alternatives to deconstruct the West / Rest antinomy, distinct from the simple inversion of the place of colonial enunciation. He further states that these studies are not a single theoretical matrix. It is a historiographical practice guided by theoretical and methodological propositions of Italian micro-history, among which we highlight the indictment (GINZBURG, 1990). Of a qualitative character, the inductive method does not have pre-established hypotheses and considers particularities of the analyzed processes. It proposes a historiographical practice outlined based on evidence and “clues” left in time. We use as sources: resolutions, laws, decrees, requirements, ordinances, letters, reports, books - statistics, terms of promise, teacher registrations. The sources used in this study indicate a certain level of independence of the municipality of São Mateus in relation to the State Government. It seems that the expansion of education in São Mateus depended very little, or almost nothing, on the policies and reforms of education undertaken by the State Government. The Inspection Reports themselves speak of the autonomy of that municipality, when they mention the existence of so many private schools. The lack of information about schools in the municipality of São Mateus in the Government reports indicates that the government did not have access to what was happening in São Mateus, but that, yes, there was an organization to offer instruction according to the “teaching conveniences” at that time. It can be seen that at the beginning of the 20th century it was marked by the expansion of Italian immigration in a municipality where Indians, blacks, Portuguese, Northeasterners, Germans and at least one Lebanese family are already installed. This whole process contributed to a scenario marked by disputes and interfered in the educational processes constituted at the time.

Keywords: Identity processes; History of Education in Espírito Santo; Public instruction; São Mateus-Brazil

### **Processos identitários e resistência em São Mateus Brasil (1908 a 1930).**

PROCESSOS IDENTITÁRIOS E RESISTÊNCIA NO MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO MATEUS, Brazil (1908 a 1930).

Este estudo investiga a formação identitária de professores/as no Norte do Estado do Espírito Santo/Brasil no período de 1908 a 1930 e a resistência à ordem colonialista presente nesse processo. Para tanto, interroga as fontes a partir das seguintes questões: a) Como se configurava a relação de forças entre as diversas etnias presentes em São Mateus no período estudado? Quais os desdobramentos dessa relação na constituição do magistério local? Em que medida os processos identitários se constituíram uma forma de resistência ao colonialismo português? Objetiva, caracterizar a relação de forças entre as diversas etnias presentes em São Mateus, Espírito Santo, Brasil, a partir dos desdobramentos dessa relação na constituição do magistério local. Busca ainda compreender os processos de resistência ao colonialismo português presentes a partir da organização da instrução primária. Baseia-se na concepção dos estudos pós-coloniais defendida por Hall (2003). Para ele, os estudos pós-coloniais buscam alternativas para a desconstrução da antinomia West/Rest, distinta da simples inversão do lugar da enunciação colonial. Afirma ainda que esses estudos não constituem uma matriz teórica única. Trata-se de prática historiográfica orientada por proposições teórico-metodológicas da micro-história italiana, dentre as quais destacamos o indiciário (GINZBURG, 1990). De caráter qualitativo, o método indiciário não possui hipóteses preestabelecidas e considera particularidades dos processos analisados. Propõe uma prática historiográfica delineada a partir de indícios e “pistas” deixados no tempo. Utilizamos como fontes: resoluções, leis, decretos, requerimentos, portarias, ofícios, relatórios, livros - de estatística, de termos de promessa, de

matrículas de professores. As fontes movimentadas nesse estudo indicam um certo nível de independência do município de São Mateus em relação ao Governo do Estado. Ao que parece a expansão do ensino em São Mateus dependeu muito pouco, ou quase nada, das políticas e reformas do ensino empreendidas pelo Governo do Estado. Os próprios Relatórios de Inspeção dizem da autonomia daquele município, quando citam a existência de tantas escolas particulares. A falta de informações sobre as escolas do município de São Mateus nos relatórios de Governo indica que o governo não tinha acesso ao que acontecia em São Mateus, mas que lá, sim, havia uma organização para ofertar instrução segundo as “conveniências do ensino” naquele município. Observa-se que no início do século XX é marcado pela expansão da imigração italiana num município em que já estão instalados índios, negros, portugueses, nordestinos, alemães e pelo menos uma família libanesa. Todo esse processo contribuiu para um cenário marcado por disputas e interferiu nos processos educativos constituídos na época.

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### **Civilize, Discipline and Moralize: The Primary Education Institutions and Trades for the Disadvantaged Population of the Province of Alagoas, Brazil**

Edgleide de Oliveira Clemente da Silva (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)

Part of the historiography of education of Alagoas states that the school space in the nineteenth century was organized in a curricular, social and economic perspective of a small group in society. However, some studies, such as those of Silva (2002) and Santos (2011) problematize this generalizing conception of the school apparatus designed only for children of the elite, disregarding the poor, black, orphaned, undervalued, etc. In this sense, the use of letters became a strategy of action to overcome the cultural, racial, social and economic subordination of boys and girls, regarding the political and educational measures implemented by the Brazilian Empire. In this perspective, in the second half of the 19th century, some institutions were founded in the province of Alagoas to receive poor, black, orphaned and underprivileged children, such as the Colégio de Educandos Artífices (1854), the Companhia de Aprendizes Marinheiros (1875), the Asilo de Senhora do Bom Conselho (1877), the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (1884), the Escola Central (1887) and the Colégio Orfanológico (1890). The objective of these institutions was to civilize, discipline and moralize the conduct of these children and, later, to insert them in the different social spaces, considered civilized. This class classified as “dangerous”, “violent”, “ignorant” and “dirty” besides being instructed in habits and behaviors, was also prepared to work in agriculture and in the trades of tailor, shoemaker and bricklayer. The Colégio de Educandos Artífices and the Companhia de Aprendizes Marinheiros were institutions of assistance character. The first was created to receive only boys between seven and twelve years old with the purpose of literacy, teaching crafts or agriculture and spreading moral and behavioral values. The Asilo de Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho was designed to receive orphaned and neglected girls whose parents had no financial resources to maintain and educate them. In this institution, the girls received their first letters, religious education and domestic gifts, as well as being prepared for marriage and domestic work in family homes or teaching. For the young public and adults, the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios was installed, whose objective was to help the working class, including women. At the Colégio Orfanológico, the

teaching of first letters and agricultural practices was given. The purpose of the Escola Central was to teach first letters, agricultural education and moral education to black children freed by the Free Womb Law (1871). Moral conduct was a necessary requirement for the classes of economic and social prestige, which understood that the insertion in social life of children and young people, considered miserable and idle, represented a threat to the model of “morality” established at the time. Therefore, from the studies of Fonseca (2007), Cruz (2008), Santos (2011) and Barros (2018) I sought to understand the inclusion of these groups to education, associated with the different national and provincial projects of the Brazilian Empire. Thus, this work is pertinent to understand the process of schooling of these emerging groups in the historical trajectory of the Brazilian population in the 19th century.

### **Civilizar, Disciplinar e Moralizar: As Instituições de Ensino Primário e Ofícios para a População Desfavorecida da Província de Alagoas, Brasil**

Parte da historiografia da educação de Alagoas afirma que o espaço escolar no século XIX esteve organizado numa perspectiva curricular, social e econômica de um pequeno grupo da sociedade. No entanto, alguns estudos, como os de Silva (2002) e Santos (2011) problematizam essa concepção generalizadora do aparato escolar projetado somente para filhos da elite, desconsiderando a classe pobre, negra, órfã, desvalida, etc. Nesse sentido, o uso das letras, passou a se constituir como estratégia de ação para superar a subordinação cultural, racial, social e econômica de meninos e meninas, a respeito das medidas políticas e educacionais implementadas pelo Império brasileiro. Nessa perspectiva, na segunda metade do século XIX, foram fundadas na província de Alagoas algumas instituições voltadas a acolher crianças pobres, negras, órfãs e desvalidas, como o Colégio de Educandos Artífices (1854), a Companhia de Aprendizes Marinheiros (1875), o Asilo de Senhora do Bom Conselho (1877), o Liceu de Artes e Ofícios (1884), a Escola Central (1887) e o Colégio Orfanológico (1890). O objetivo dessas instituições era civilizar, disciplinar e moralizar as condutas dessas crianças e, posteriormente, inseri-las nos diferentes espaços sociais, considerados civilizados. Essa classe classificada como “perigosa”, “violenta”, “ignorante” e “suja” além de ser instruída nos hábitos e comportamentos, era também preparada para exercer o trabalho na agricultura e nos ofícios de alfaiate, sapateiro e pedreiro. O Colégio de Educandos Artífices e a Companhia de Aprendizes Marinheiros eram instituições de caráter assistencialista. A primeira foi criada para receber somente meninos entre sete e doze anos com o intuito de alfabetizar, ensinar os ofícios artesanais ou agrícolas e difundir os valores morais e comportamentais. O Asilo de Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho, era destinado a receber meninas órfãs e desvalidas, cujos pais não tinham recursos financeiros para mantê-las e educá-las. Nessa instituição, as meninas recebiam a educação de primeiras letras, religiosa e prendas domésticas, como também eram preparadas para o casamento e para o trabalho doméstico em casas de famílias ou no magistério. Para o público jovem e adultos, foi instalado o Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, cujo objetivo era ajudar à classe operária, incluindo as mulheres. No Colégio Orfanológico, ministrava-se o ensino de primeiras letras e práticas agrícolas. A Escola Central tinha por finalidade ensinar as primeiras letras, o ensino agrícola e a educação moral para crianças negras libertas pela Lei do Ventre Livre (1871). A conduta moral era um requisito necessário para as classes de prestígio econômico e social, as quais entendiam que a inserção no convívio social, de crianças e jovens, consideradas miseráveis e ociosas, representava uma ameaça ao modelo de “moral” estabelecido na época. Portanto, a partir dos estudos de Fonseca (2007), Cruz (2008), Santos (2011) e Barros (2018) busquei compreender a inclusão desses grupos à instrução, associada aos diferentes projetos nacional e provincial do Império brasileiro. Sendo assim, esse trabalho é pertinente para compreender o processo de escolarização desses grupos emergentes na trajetória histórica da população brasileira no século XIX.



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## 05-SES 20: SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: FROM LEGISLATION TO SCHOOL LIFE

Panel Session (Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): José Luis Hernández Huerta (University of Valladolid)

### **Regimes of Educational Secularism for the Private Sector in Mexico- France**

Samantha Morales Nava (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos), María Adelina Arredondo López (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

The paper that I propose compares the Mexican and French private schools background, context and educational legislation that characterized the secular education regimes between 1942 and 1959. During this period of time different transcendental legislative changes happened in both countries; France adopted a limited secular regime for its private educational sector, whilst in Mexico the basic education secularism, which since 1917 was deemed compulsory, was emphasized and broaden for both public and private schools. The importance of this paper lies in the capability of establishing an interconnection that allows a complex analysis of the same problem, in this particular case the problem is comparing Mexico and France secularism in the private sector of education or what Guy Swason (1971) calls: a “mirror image” comparison.

This proposal focalizes on secularism regimes of two countries that, despite sharing many similarities, those two countries, such as languages derived from Latin, Romanic-German juridic system, strong catholic secular tradition are completely different. This comparison also used took into account analytical criteria from Adelina Arredondo and Roberto Gonzalez Villareal´s “Regimen of Laicity” analytical tool, which encompasses pedagogical objectives, curriculum, actors, spaces and context in the educational process. The findings of the aforementioned comparison showed that even though, Mexican and French secular regimes kept the same objectives and jurisprudence, the Mexican legal system different to France, opted for a more radical approach by staying away from any religious doctrines.

### **Regímenes de Laicidad Educativa Para el Sector Privado en México-Francia**

En esta ponencia se hace una comparación sobre los antecedentes, el contexto y la legislación que caracterizaron los regímenes de laicidad educativa para las escuelas privadas en México y Francia entre 1942 y 1959. Durante este periodo se suscitaron cambios legislativos trascendentales en ambos países ya que en el caso de Francia se logró suscribir al sector privado a un régimen de laicidad con limitaciones, mientras que en México se reiteró y amplió en las leyes de esa misma época el régimen que, desde 1917 prescribía la educación laica tanto para las escuelas públicas como para las privadas de enseñanza básica. La importancia de este estudio radica en establecer relaciones que permitan elaborar un análisis más complejo de un mismo problema, en este caso de la laicidad educativa para el sector privado, en retrospectiva y como señaló Guy Swason (1971) en una comparación “a manera de espejo”.

Esta ponencia se centra en los regímenes de laicidad educativa de dos países con historias diversas, de diferente continente y con distinta lengua -aunque estas provengan en ambos casos del latín-, pero con una misma clasificación de su sistema jurídico Romano-germánico y considerados de “fuerte tradición” tanto laica como católica. La comparación se realizó tomando en cuenta los criterios del operador analítico “Régimen de laicidad” configurado y propuesto por Adelina Arredondo y Roberto González Villarreal que comprende los siguientes elementos: los objetivos pedagógicos, el ámbito de

su ejercicio, el currículum y los agentes que intervienen en los procesos educativos. Las conclusiones de esta comparación mostraron que estos regímenes se mantuvieron similares en objetivos y jurisprudencia, sin embargo, el ordenamiento jurídico de México fue más radical al mantenerse ajeno a cualquier doctrina religiosa que el de Francia.

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### **Secular Education From The Margins: Popular Education and Indian Education in Peru in the First Biennium of the 20th Century**

Juan Flumencio Chileno Milla (Sociedad Peruana de Historia de la Educación)

His anarchist ideology represents a turning point in political-social thought in postwar Peru in the Pacific. Opposed to all colonialist ideologies, Manuel Gonzalez Prada's thought emerges as a beacon that guides the debate around the assignment of an expectant place to the working class and the Indians in their role as the builders of a social order. fairer and an inclusive society: it was up to them to be the missing actors in the long-awaited construction of the Peruvian nation. However, these ideas did not penetrate enough in the leaders and intellectuals of the time who, in the light of positivism, guided the debate around racism and the formation of the Gentelman elite that governs Peru from the aristocratic perspective.

We are interested in presenting the educational proposals and action towards the popular and Indian sectors during the first biennium of the twentieth century where the student worker alliance was decisive for the popular education proposals through university extension and the Popular University, regarding the The education of the Indian is particularly attractive to the action of the educators graduated from the Normal School for Men who were sent to the interior of the country to carry out their civilizing mission; In this case, we focus our attention on Puno educators who react to the enslaving attitudes of the Creole gamonales and propose the secular school as a liberating element of the Indian.

### **Educación Laica Desde Los Márgenes: Educación Popular y Educación Del Indio en el Perú del Primer Bienio Del Siglo XX**

Su ideología anarquista representa un punto de quiebre en el pensamiento político-social en el Perú de la postguerra del pacífico. Opuesto a todas las ideologías de tinte colonialista el pensamiento de Manuel Gonzalez Prada surge como un faro que guía el debate en torno a la asignación de un lugar expectante a la clase trabajadora y a los indios en su papel de ser los agentes constructores de un orden social más justo y una sociedad inclusiva: les correspondía ser los actores que faltaban en la tan ansiada construcción de la nación peruana. Sin embargo, estas ideas no calaron lo suficiente en los gobernantes e intelectuales de la época quienes a la luz del positivismo orientaron el debate en torno al racismo y la formación de la élite gentelman que gobierne el Perú desde la óptica aristocrática.

Nos interesa presentar, las propuestas y acción educativa hacia los sectores populares y el indio durante el primer bienio del siglo XX donde la alianza obrero estudiantil fue decisiva para las propuestas de educación popular a través de la extensión universitaria y la Universidad Popular, respecto a la educación del indio resulta particularmente atrayente la acción de los educadores egresados de la Escuela Normal de Varones quienes fueron enviados al interior del país a realizar su misión civilizadora; en este caso focalizamos nuestra atención a los educadores puneños quienes reaccionan a las actitudes esclavizantes de los gamonales criollos y plantean la escuela laica como elemento liberador del indio.

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### **An Investigation About (Religious) Practices In The History Of Education: From Legislation To School Life.**

Gabriela Alfonsina Lamelas (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba)

This presentation highlights the theoretical-methodological decisions adopted in an investigation that analyzed the dispute to determine the place that religion would occupied in the origins of the educational system in the province of Córdoba, Argentina.

The issue has been mostly studied in relation to its normative definition, analyzing sources such as legal texts and their parliamentary debates and, on occasions, taking the press as the spokesperson for the elites. Although the legislation was a key terrain for these struggles, as well as the definition of the study plans, studies that take the practices and materialities that were part of the school experience as their object are less frequent in Argentina. What place did religion and religion occupy in the daily life of schools?

This "turn" in the research problem of the investigation involved a methodological turn. Investigating not only the legislation and the debates and disputes that resulted, but also the curriculum, the institutions, their daily lives, the school practices that were sustained in them, required new theoretical-methodological approaches.

Considering that the positions assumed by the subjects are complex and refer to a wide range of elements that are characterized more by survival, borrowing, and mixtures between tradition and modernity than by a stagnant Catholic traditionalist image, which would have solidified them in the past clericalism, it was about analyzing how the tendencies and positions between clericalism and secularism were also played out in the subjects who gave life to the schools, subjects who made decisions, carried stories, personal trajectories, career pass and educational trajectories that influenced in the appropriation of theresistance and / or recreation of the legal and regulatory provisions that sought to regulate the operation of the system.

The details, the anecdotes of the daily life of some schools, the life stories of the teachers, altercations, institutional resolutions, many times discarded as inappropriate as valid sources from a sector of educational historiography, gave to the investigation an essential possibility to approach, with an ethnographic perspective, to the life of schools to aproach our area of interest. Inventories, requests for supplies, sanctions, notifications, teacher appointments, requests for reconsideration, inquiries about incidents, letters, notes, visitor and inspector reports, circulars, offered clues about school practices.

The turn involved analyzing these sources with an ethnographic sensitivity (Dussel y Ortega, 2019; Rockwell, 2018), with the intention of mapping or documenting those practices that illustrated appropriations, negotiations, control, production, resistance.

Thus the school practices, so dominant and emerging, are an expression not only the persistence of historical invariants of school culture but also of innovations of the time (Escolano, 2008). The work that we present was thus proposed to another way of understanding or facing the history of education with the purpose of studying the school realities from considering the place and the action of concrete subjects who made history.

### **Una Investigación Sobre Prácticas Escolares En La Historia De La Educación: De La legislación A la Vida De Las Escuelas**

Esta presentación refleja las decisiones teórico-metodológicas adoptadas en una investigación que analizó la disputa por determinar el lugar que habría ocupado la religión en los orígenes del sistema educativo en la provincia de Córdoba, Argentina.

El tema ha sido mayoritariamente estudiado en relación a su definición normativa, analizando fuentes tales como textos legales y sus debates parlamentarios y, en ocasiones, tomando la prensa como vocera de las élites. Si bien la legislación fue un terreno clave para estas luchas, así como la definición de los planes de estudio, son menos frecuentes en Argentina los estudios que toman a las prácticas y materialidades que formaban parte de la experiencia escolar como su objeto. ¿Qué lugar ocupaba la religión y lo religioso en la vida cotidiana de las escuelas?

Este “giro” en el problema de investigación implicó un giro metodológico. Indagar no solo en la legislación y en los debates y disputas de las que resultaba, sino también en el currículum, en las instituciones, en sus cotidianos, en las prácticas escolares que en ellas se sostenían, requería nuevos enfoques teórico-metodológicos.

Considerando que las posiciones asumidas por los sujetos son complejas y remiten a un amplio haz de elementos que se caracteriza más por la pervivencia, los préstamos, las mixturas entre tradición y modernidad que por una imagen tradicionalista católica anquilosada, que las hubiese solidificado en un pasado clerical, se trataba de analizar cómo las tendencias y posiciones entre clericalismo y laicismo se jugaban también en los sujetos que daban vida a las escuelas, sujetos que tomaban decisiones, portaban historias, trayectorias personales, laborales y educativas que influían en la apropiación resistencia y/o recreación de las disposiciones legales y normativas que buscaban regular el funcionamiento del sistema.

Los detalles, las anécdotas de la vida cotidiana de algunas escuelas, las historias de vida de las y los maestros, altercados, resoluciones institucionales, muchas veces descartados como improcedentes como fuentes válidas desde un sector de la historiografía educativa, brindaron a la investigación una posibilidad fundamental de acercarnos, con mirada etnográfica, a la vida de las escuelas para indagar en nuestro ámbito de interés. Inventarios, pedidos de útiles, sanciones, notificaciones, designaciones de docentes, pedidos de reconsideración, averiguaciones frente a incidentes, cartas, notas, informes de visitantes e inspectores, circulares, ofrecían pistas sobre las prácticas escolares

El giro implicó analizar esas fuentes con una sensibilidad etnográfica (Dussel y Ortega, 2019; Rockwell, 2018), con la voluntad de cartografiar o documentar esas prácticas que ilustraban apropiaciones, negociaciones, control, producción, resistencia.

Porque las prácticas escolares, tanto dominantes como emergentes, son expresión de la persistencia de invariantes históricas de la cultura escolar pero también de innovaciones de la época (Escolano, 2008). El trabajo que presentamos se propuso así a otro modo de comprender o encarar la historia de la educación que tiene que ver con estudiar las realidades escolares a partir de considerar el lugar y la acción de sujetos concretos que hicieron historia.

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**MONDAY June 21                      11:00 - 12:30**

**01-SES 21: SWG 3\_1: INTERROGATING TEXTS ABOUT WOMEN'S POST-ELEMENTARY EDUCATION 1860S-1960S**

SWG 3 Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Rebecca Elizabeth Rogers (Université de Paris)

**Visualising From “Above” Or From The Margins? Defining The “University Woman” And Internationalising Knowledge: Types Of University Training (IFUW, 1934).**

Joyce Goodman (The University of Winchester UK)

The paper traces the social processes and social categories codified in the numerical data and inscription devices deployed in *Types of University Training* (IFUW 1934). This survey was initially compiled by the Committee of Standards of the International Federation of University Women to advise its Council on the requirements for membership in national associations wishing to affiliate. The Committee of Standards surveyed the qualifications of members of national associations of university women (Hunyadi 2016) to determine who “counted” as a “university woman” in a situation where the uneven development of women’s higher education had resulted in the potential for the term “university woman” to be differently interpreted in different countries (Cabanel 2018). *Types of University Training* sought to provide “a comparative illustration of the types of educational systems”

and of programmes that had admitted IFUW members and to illustrate the “variety in the value of [their] degrees” (introduction). The paper argues that while surveys have been associated with the collection of “commanding knowledge” from above (Yeo, 1996), power relations of gender entangled in the social biography of Types of University Training in ways that complicate this designation.

The first section of the paper traces the expansion of the social purpose informing Types of University Training from a mechanism to determine membership to a link with the IFUW’s aim to internationalise learning and knowledge, and then to a concern with academic status and quality. This section argues that in a context where women often occupied marginal spaces in the academy the numeric data and visual inscription devices (Turmel 2008) deployed in Types of University Training enabled both the “university woman” and her position in higher education institutions to become visible in ways amenable to international transfer with the potential for (re)deployment in the IFUW’s liberal narratives of “progress”, “excellence” and/or exclusion around reforming the often marginal position of the “university woman”, particularly in relation to research.

The second section explores the social processes through which the IFUW sought to stabilise the “scientific” reliability and validity of the data through which “the university woman” was mapped and classified. It traces methods of data collection, their local, national and transnational flows, the grids of visibility created via numbers, tables, and diagrams and the international glossary of educational terms that the IFUW published to clarify definitions and classifications across different education systems. This section argues that what emerged as numbers and visual inscription devices was the result of dialogue and negotiation and that the “commanding knowledge” of the IFUW that was produced held the potential to legitimise the academic status of IFUW members (one of the IFUW’s aspirations).

The concluding section argues (following Sobe 2013) that Types of University Training “smoothed out” spaces of international comparative visibility around ethnicity and race and that by excluding institutions like training colleges where many women gained a higher education, Types of University Training created an “alternative above” from the margins that was fractured around gender as well as ethnicity and race.

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## **Gender Differences in Educational Attainment – Resumption of a Social History Approach on the Example of Switzerland's Secondary Education**

Thomas Ruoss (University of Zurich, Institute of Education), Lars Heinzer (University of Zurich, Institute of Education)

The history of education and social history have a special relationship: when the “turns” of cultural theory began to question social historical approaches, the history of education was largely lacking a socio-historical tradition. Indeed, social theory has been established in the sociology of education earlier and the history of education dealt with the ideas, concepts and reception of this part of its own historiography (Hofstetter et al 2014). But a history of education based on social and economic structures, a social history of education could not be properly established in the field. This is crucial for the history of gender and education.

International educational research on gender issues is increasingly calling for historical perspectives, as the majority sociological perspectives leave too little room for historically developed institutional, economic and political contexts (Albisetti et al 2010; Giudici & Manz 2018). Even on elementary socio-historical issues such as gender specific educational attainment, a very rudimentary state of research can still be found today. This is not intended to devalue the existing efforts (see Mayeur 1977; Lelièvre & Lelièvre 1991; Zymek et al 2005; Rogers 2010; McDaniel 2010), but to show, that socio-historical approaches that would take quantitative-descriptive sources and methods seriously remain a marginal phenomenon (Martin & Goodman 2011).

Our contribution reflects on the consequences that arise from this marginalization of socio-historical approaches, using secondary education in Switzerland as an example. Here, historiography on gender and education can be roughly divided into three approaches: biographies, commemorative histories of schools and (historical) curriculum research. There are portraits of particularly socially successful women (Joris 2011), of single schools (Hodler 2014; Crotti 2005) as well as studies on the (re-)production of femininity in and through schooling (Monnier 2018; Kellerhals 2010). We will point out the potential of socio-historical approaches to either allow the theses from the cultural-historical case studies greater explanatory power or to develop critical views on popular theses. Our contribution, based on a comprehensive research project on the editing of historical school statistics, shows for the first time on the example of federalist Switzerland, how spatial and temporal differences in the (increasing) attainment of women in higher secondary schools have manifested themselves both within the cantons and between educational pathways. Focusing on these differences in the light of socio-economic, financial and demographic developments in the cantons, new insights into old theses become possible. A particular need of explanation emerges related to the very large temporal differences in women's effective access to higher secondary education, which cannot simply be explained by classic sociological characteristics (such as urbanity or denomination). Furthermore, we are able to question the frequently raised argument of system differentiation, the much-cited effects of the "educational expansion" of the 1960/70s, as well as an all too simple causality of social status and gender-specific educational attainment.

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**MONDAY June 21                      2:00 - 3:30**

**01-SES 22: SWG 4\_1: SCHOOL FUNDING AND THE RISE OF THE STATE**

SWG 4 Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Clémence Cardon-Quint (Bordeaux University), Damiano Matasci (University of Geneva), Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

**For The Benefit Of The Church And The State: Designing A Public School In Ancien Regime Switzerland**

Gabriela Wuethrich (University of Zurich)

In the context of enlightenment debates, elementary education became a major concern in some parts of Switzerland in the second half of the 18th century. In this context, the Zurich church authorities carried out a survey among the parsons of their dominion to evaluate „the state of education“. One of the most persistent complaints were the small salaries of the teachers on the countryside, inhibiting them from extending both their skills and the duration of the school year. That is why already in 1771/2, some of the parsons not only demanded more financial support from the central authorities but also a centrally organised teacher training seminar. Probably as a consequence of the survey, which definitively revealed these inequalities, the central church authorities mandated a new school ordinance for the rural schools in their dominion recommending the combination of the teacher's with lay church offices like cantors or sacristans to improve the teachers' salaries, on the one hand. On the other, they established a central school fund to support poorer rural schools both in their own political dominion as well as in the collective dominion of Thurgau where they were in control of the protestant church organisation. Only some 30 years later, in the short-lived Helvetic Republic, the minister of education Philipp Albert Stapfer carried out another survey among the teachers. Comparing their self-reported salaries with the numbers given by the parsons in 1771/2, first results show a divergent development between Zurich and Thurgau: While the Zurich authorities had the means to improve the teacher's salaries with extending the contributions not only from the central school fund, but also from other central and/or district-level funds, the parishes and villages in Thurgau started to establish communal funds. The latter were partly initiated by the very parsons who filled in the 1771/72 survey, and specifically entrusted for the school to guarantee free education. Thus, in Zurich a tendency towards centralized public financing can be observed already in the Ancien Regime, while in Thurgau, the local communes started to finance public education. This divergence may be grounded in the differing political and judicial organisations of the two areas, the former being a centrally organised city state, while the latter was called a "museum of the Middle Ages" with a complicated mixture of lay and clerical political authorities on different judicial levels, indirectly enabling a larger communal autonomy at the time.

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### **Thomas Piketty "Capital Et Idéologie" : A Reading For Historians Of Education ?**

Clémence Cardon-Quint (Bordeaux University)

The publication of *Capital et Idéologie* by the economist Thomas Piketty in 2019 follows the publication in 2013 of *Capital au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

In this book, he analyses the evolution of income and wealth inequalities between countries and within countries while extending the reflection to the political-ideological developments that have accompanied these transformations. This paper proposes a "situated" reading of this work, by a historian working on school funding.

This paper will first recall the characteristics of the historical narrative written by Thomas Piketty. It is an economic history based on a vast corpus of longitudinal data - the result of a collective work. This narrative is neither deterministic nor teleological, since the author constantly insists on the plurality of possible trajectories based on the same socio-economic situations. Finally, it is a committed history: the last chapter of the book takes a resolutely normative turn by proposing a new conception of social justice, and in particular of educational justice.

The second part of the paper will specifically focus on the analyses dedicated to education inequalities, especially for the contemporary period, from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. Thomas Piketty underlines the historical link between the expansion of national education systems and the increase in state resources, made possible by the development of progressive and redistributive taxation. He also questions the transformation of the partisan divide and the role played by diplomas in the evolution of the political field in Europe and the United States. Finally, he shows how inequalities in education, which persist in liberal democracies, reflect and, at the same time, fuel the new rise in inequalities which started in the 1980s.

Finally, the paper will comment on the shifts this narrative operates, away from the current canons and topics of history of education. In the French context, the work published in 1968 by Antoine Prost constructed, for generations of historians, the reading grid from which to decipher the evolution of the school system from the nineteenth century to the mid-1960s, from the juxtaposition of socially compartmentalized streams to a "meritocratic" organization, in successive degrees. Adversely, the history of the relationship between school and social structure since the 1970s offers singular difficulties. How should we interpret the persistence and even growth of social inequalities at schools, at odds with the politically consensual credo of equal opportunity? Is it the mere confirmation of the 'reproduction' mechanisms described by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in 1970? Shall we accuse the rigidity of a system where anything can be reformed save pedagogy? Or point out the incompleteness of the managerial changes brought about by New Public Management? In this book, Thomas Piketty sketches out another path: that of social inequalities in trajectories and learning, which would be driven by economic and financial factors. We will show how these reflections - which are in line with the contributions of the political economy of education - can open up new avenues of research for historians working on school funding.

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### **A Social History of School Finance Reform: Movements for Educational Equity in North Carolina, 1968-1997**

Esther Cyna (Teachers College, Columbia University; Université Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Paris III)

School funding is inevitably linked to questions of access, fairness, and equity in educational opportunities. In the United States, school finance systems vary from state to state, and even from school district to school district. Because school funding is partially based on property tax, districts with high property wealth have more resources than school districts in poor neighborhoods. In Halifax County, North Carolina, a single street separates the wealthier, whiter school district of Roanoke Rapids from the impoverished, rural, and majority Black school district of Halifax County Schools. This paper tackles the question of inequitable school funding not from the standpoint of law and policy alone, but seeks to historicize the many processes of resource allocation for schoolchildren in the state of North Carolina.

North Carolina has the kind geographic diversity that is crucial for understanding school finance inequality. My paper will present examples from four case studies, including two rural and two urban and suburban counties: Halifax, Robeson, Durham and Charlotte. I analyze local, county and state decisions about resource distribution, and show that public officials maintained inequitable funding mechanisms that discriminated against communities of color, for example by choosing to allocate funds in proportion to property wealth rather than student population. I also ask how historical actors have addressed educational inequalities over time, and how local governments, courts and legislatures responded to these challenges.

The stories of these North Carolina counties allow us to see that school finance is not just inequitable because it is based on property tax, although many have recognized that this foundational structure entrenches inequalities between districts, and that district line manipulation often makes it a weapon to deepen these inequalities over time. It is also a political process, and one that has been interconnected with racial segregation—in Durham, for example, county commissioners crafted special white enclaves called “city-out areas” that fell within the geographical limits of the urban school district, but belonged to the suburban district. These isolated pockets, with the fiscal consequence of

contributing tax money to the suburban district while benefitting from city services in sanitation, sewage, etc., only existed for schools, and persisted until 1992. The four districts highlight the racist dimension of school finance systems that local and state actors have devised over time.

In an effort to propose a social history of school finance reform efforts, a topic that has been mostly dominated by legal scholars, this paper will emphasize the importance of county governance in the allocation of school funds, as well as grassroots movements that have sought to challenge inequitable school funding through different strategies in the second half of the 20th century. Focusing on historical actors allows me to expose different layers of decision-making and discrimination in the distribution of resources.

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**MONDAY June 21** **4:00 - 5:30**

**01-SES 23: SWG 4\_2: STRATEGIES TO TACKLE THE SCARCITY OF RESOURCES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON EDUCATION PROVISION**

SWG 4 Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Clémence Cardon-Quint (Bordeaux University), Damiano Matasci (University of Geneva), Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

**Danish Teachers' Allotted Farms: Educational Politics, Pedagogical Tools and the Funding of Mass Schooling, 1780–1900**

Christian Larsen (The Danish National Archives)

This paper considers the educational and pedagogical history of the allocation of farms to Danish schoolteachers during the transitional stage of the 1814 School Acts, underlining the importance of educational funding for mass schooling in Denmark.

Teachers have been central to Danish educational history, but the focus has been on the educational dimension, reflecting our present understanding of teachers as having only one occupation (in the classroom), with their salary in cash being their sole income. However, 19th century teachers in rural areas of Denmark were farmers too. In Denmark, the reform period 1780–1820 brought reforms and changes to rural primary schools. The reforms created a financial foundation for rural schooling as well for teachers in the form of a nationwide payroll system based on a combination of free housing and a piece of land (school farm) together with payment in kind and monetary remuneration. This form of salary with payment in kind lowered schooling costs, thereby enabling the parish school boards who paid for schooling to adjust their expenditure according to the local conditions and economy. Thus, amongst other things, school farms played an important role during the transitional stage of implementing mass schooling in rural Denmark.

The farm and plot tied rural teachers closely to rural communities and influenced their living conditions throughout the 19th century, effectively turning them into smallholders. However, clear expectations were set by the government and educationalists, whereby teachers were envisaged as being pedagogical pioneers in the agricultural area, bridging the gap between government reforms and peasants. Teachers were expected to use their educational funding as a pedagogical tool to transform peasants (traditionalist farmers with cultural roots in feudal times) into farmers – modern, capital-producing and entrepreneurial farmers. In other words, teachers were “teachers of the people” (“Volkslehrer”) doubling as ideal farmers, and schools represented ideal farms.

The paper will, using school farms as an example, examine the relationship between state and local school districts from the reform era of the 1780s until the sale of school farms following the 1899 School Act. The first main research questions concern the political and pedagogical debate on the intended role of this educational funding and teachers as role models and exemplary farmers (Topic 3: School finance between state and local districts). The second main question deals with how teachers translated these expectations into everyday practice on their school farms. Thus, the paper underlines, firstly, the importance of this form of educational funding for the emergence of mass schooling in rural districts, and secondly, gives us new perspectives on the history of educational funding and our interpretation of the 19th century teaching profession (Topic 4: New perspectives on the history of educational funding (open section)).

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### **Reforming Education with Limited Means: The Case of School Journeys in Portugal, 1894-1960**

Inês Félix (Umeå university)

The proliferation of progressive education ideas and movements aiming to produce emancipated and productive people and the nation-states' agenda of national modernization through education prompted school reforms across the globe at the turn of the 20th century. This was also the case of Portugal who promulgated an extensive reform of secondary schooling in 1894 requiring new modes



of teaching and learning to develop the child as a whole and calling for the use of active and scientific methods, such as school journeys. However, the enactment of the reform, according to which these activities were to occur, required substantial financial means that the country lacked. Indeed, despite the perceived importance of school journeys for the social regeneration of the Nation, given that they were considered “one of the most powerful and effective means for physical, intellectual and moral culture the school has” (Faria de Vasconcelos 1923, 87), their implementation faced considerable financial limitations.

On the one hand, the aim of this paper is to show the ways in which school journeys were financed amid constant financial constraints. Particularly, the inventiveness of the Portuguese secondary schools to comply with the State’s demand to carry out those activities notwithstanding failing to provide the financial means to do so; the State’s appropriation of the created strategies as to avoid increasing the overall budget for secondary education; and their persistence after the Ministry of Education’s directive to have school journeys financed by the Portuguese Youth’s budget from 1936 onwards. On the other hand, it also aims to generate a discussion on education history methods through the particular example of school journeys’ funding in secondary schooling, Portugal.

Considering the premise that “little is known about actual developments at the ‘chalk-face’”, Depaepe argued that education historians have been mainly focusing on discourses concerned with education policy, theories and curriculum which has resulted in “blind spots towards pedagogical reality at the micro-level” (Depaepe 2000, 9). This “reality”, however, is less about knowing what happened and more to bring together reported practices with those discourses, i.e. to regard the “organisational and structural framework of pedagogical practice rather than simply the cultural legacy and social function of education” in education history (Depaepe 2000, 11).

Indeed, by bringing together the regulatory and practice levels through the intertwined analysis of education legislation, education press and secondary school principals’ annual reports, this paper not only contributes to the understanding of those two levels’ interplay concerning the implementation of school journeys in the grammar of the Portuguese secondary schools as it also sheds light into how structural education reforms were executed with limited means by focusing on the schools’ responses and strategies engendered to overcome immense financial limitations.

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### **The Educational Economics of the Right to Education by UNESCO in the Immediate Post-War Period: An Archival Exploration**

Stefanie Kesteloot (University of Luxembourg)

The end of the Second World War marked the start of a new era, with worldwide support for a Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in December 1948. By signing the Universal Declaration, the Member States of the United Nations pledged to promote a series of universal values. As part of the UN, UNESCO made a major effort to disseminate the Declaration and its content globally, at a national, regional and local level. The idea of “building peace in the minds of men and women” and encouraging equal rights was central to UNESCO’s mission. An archival exploration of the correspondence material of UNESCO’s secretariat, available at the UNESCO archives, offers an insight into the continuous struggle faced by the staff for the creation and implementation of educational initiatives on human rights.

One focus of UNESCO’s work was the area of fundamental education. Early general correspondence found related to this topic reveals the continuous flow of communication between the different UNESCO departments, especially the office of the Director-General and the Departments of Mass Communication and Education. The discussions were mainly centred on the development of centres for fundamental education. The location to choose, the content and methodology to use, and the appropriate strategy to raise the funds needed for the continued implementation of regional centres of fundamental education, were just some of the issues addressed.

The initial financial and ideological support from the Member States seems to have been slowly replaced by budgetary constraints and political opposition. A network of international experts on fundamental education helped promote UNESCO’s initiatives to possible funders with a view to creating twelve fundamental education centres all over the world. Their contribution was seen as vital for the implementation of the project. Despite the hard work and lobbying activities, only two of the initially planned twelve centres were established.

Through this focus on fundamental education, I will argue that, despite the worldwide support for this philosophical and humanistic ideal, political and economic interests soon came to dominate the transition of this initial project to local communities, creating imbalances in relations within and between nations. Consequently, the dissemination and promotion of the UDHR was subject to a wide range of individual translations by UNESCO’s Member States. This only enlarged the difficult task for the intergovernmental organisation to mediate the development of peace in the minds of men and women.

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## 02-SES 23: SWG 8\_1: DISCUSSING A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LAIC EDUCATION

SWG 8 Panel (English, Spanish)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): María Adelina Arredondo López (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos), Felicitas Acosta (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento), Bruno Poucet (Université de Picardie Jules Verne France)

### **A Proposal for the Analysis of Laic Education (In Different Historical Contexts)**

María Adelina Arredondo López (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

Is it possible to analyse, to evaluate, to compare, to understand different regimes of laic education?, I mean different regimes in time and geographical spaces. In my paper I would show that is not just possible but it is necessary to observe and compare a wide global panorama for better understand any national case of construction of a regimen de education laic. Until now in the historiography there are studies about national cases, because laic education is a way of government, a political configuration, a historical construction, which is built inside the frames of the modern national States. Secularism and laicism are being studied as processes leaded by State intervention on public, mass and popular education in order to built homogeneous corpus of citizens, but also has being studied the State intervention on private education as well.

In my paper I will propose and explain a methodological and epistemological tool, built for Roberto González and myself, the regime or laicity, which allows to understand better the changes and continuities on secular policies about education. I will consider institutions, curriculum contents, pedagogical means, school symbols, grades and sectors of education, actors, financial resources, having as a main axis of analysis the legislation on education. The analysis of educational legislation is taken, not just as a formal aspect of the problem, but also as the crystallization of conflicts, negotiations and power relations. Laws and regulations are taken not just like a point of departure but

mainly as a point of arriving, as a result from social struggles, as fundamental basis for designing and negotiate policies, but as well as a frame for historical projections, for the diffusion of new conceptions and practices. I discuss as well the terminology and meaning of concepts of secular education and laic education in English, French, Spanish, and analyse the different meanings emerging mainly from history, and not from lexical or grammar connotations. Those notions cannot be taken as synonymous (in English language). Appropriate distinctions must be made to continue advancing in the research of this topic. I hope our proposal of the concept of regimen of laicity contributes to that kind of academic and political communication. My paper has the format of an essay, still based on many primary and secondary sources.

### **Una Propuesta para el Análisis de la Educación Laica (en Diferentes Contextos Históricos)**

Es posible analizar, evaluar, comparar y comprender diferentes regímenes de educación?, quiero decir, diferentes regímenes en el tiempo y el espacio geográfico. En mi contribución intentaré mostrar que no sólo es posible, sino incluso necesario observar y comparar un amplio panorama global para entender mejor cualquier caso nacional de construcción de un régimen de educación laica. Hasta ahora en la historiografía se tratan estudios acerca de casos nacionales, porque la educación laica es un medio para gobernar, es una configuración política, es una construcción histórica, que es edificada dentro del marco de los modernos estados nacionales. Secularismo y laicismo suelen investigarse como procesos dirigidos por la intervención estatal sobre la educación pública, la educación de masas, la educación popular, con el objetivo de construir cuerpos de ciudadanos homogéneos, aunque también puede incluir la intervención estatal sobre la educación privada también.

En mi contribución propongo y explico una herramienta metodológica y epistemológica, construida por Roberto González y yo, el régimen de laicidad, que permite entender mejor los cambios y continuidades en las políticas educativas seculares. Tomaré en cuenta las instituciones, los contenidos curriculares, los medios pedagógicos, los símbolos escolares, los grados y sectores educativos, los actores, los recursos financieros, teniendo como eje del análisis la legislación educativa. Este análisis es tomado no sólo como un aspecto formal del problema, sino también como la cristalización de conflictos, negociaciones y relaciones de poder. Las leyes y reglamentos son tomados no sólo como punto de partida sino principalmente como un punto de llegada, como resultado de luchas sociales, como base fundamental para diseñar y negociar políticas, pero también como un marco para proyecciones históricas, para la difusión de nuevas concepciones y prácticas. Se discute también la terminología y significado de los conceptos de educación secular y educación laica, en inglés, francés y español, y analizo los diferentes significados surgidos principalmente de la historia y no de las connotaciones léxicas o gramaticales. Estas nociones no pueden ser tomadas como sinónimos (lo que sucede en el idioma inglés), y para seguir avanzando en la investigación de este tema esos términos tienen que ser distinguidos propiamente en la discusión colectiva. Espero que nuestra propuesta del concepto de régimen de laicidad contribuya a la comunicación académica y política, por su potencial heurístico y de generalización. Mi contribución tendrá el formato de un ensayo, pero estará basada en múltiples fuentes primarias y secundarias.

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### **The Fading of Religion in Argentine Secondary Schools During the 19th Century: Between State Intervention and Self-Dissolution**

Felicitas Acosta (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento)

The history of education in Argentina usually considers the enactment of Law 1,420 in 1884 the legislative victory that ushered in laïque schooling in the country. While the scope of that law was limited in terms of territory and did not explicitly enact laïque teaching in public primary schools, it prohibited religious instruction during school hours. Yet, the development of laïque education in public secondary schools in Argentina has not been studied in depth.

Studies of the origins of public secondary schooling in Argentina usually consider as the inaugural moment the creation of the first public high school run by the national government ("colegios nacionales") in 1863. Indeed, that year did witness the beginning of the development of a network of high schools in several provinces based on a similar institutional model, a network sustained by the national government. There were throughout Argentina, however, institutions that performed

functions like those later performed by the *colegios nacionales*, some of which were eventually turned into schools of that sort. At these institutions, religion was part of students' daily life and curricula. As *colegios nacionales* were created and those earlier institutions turned into institutions of that sort, religion was gradually displaced in curricula; religious practices, on the other hand, were slower to disappear.

This paper aims to examine the creation of *colegios nacionales*, focusing on the evolution of religious practices. In particular, our interest is to understand the causes of its eventual dissolution in the conjunction between state intervention and the construction of other ways of legitimizing the knowledge to be transmitted. The hypothesis is that, at the *colegios nacionales*, the source of legitimation for institutional regulations was displaced from religious practice to knowledge and information. Nevertheless, this change was supported by the development of the state apparatus and its early and growing interest in creating institutions to train its agents and government elites.

This work looks at primary and secondary sources. The former include the curricula and rules at four institutions created before 1863 that were later turned into *colegios nacionales* together with the curricula and rules at the first national schools and their rectors' reports. The secondary sources consist of studies of the organization of those institutions and autobiographical novels by former students at them. The period covered goes from 1863 to 1880.

The analysis of both primary and secondary sources will provide information to study the changes and the constants in institutional organisation forms, specifically religious practices. Such an analysis is paramount to understanding how those practices intersected with others in which knowledge became the centre of the institutional model. It will also provide deeper knowledge of the configuration of the Argentine educational system and its relationship to the process by which laicism expanded.

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### **Defining a new Semantic Field of Secularism? Integrating the word “Laïcité”, “Laic” and “Laic education” in French Dictionaries.**

Ismail Ferhat (Université de Picardie Jules Verne), Bruno Poucet (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

Abstract: “laïcité”, “laic education” or other words related to this semantic field have a semantic as well as an intellectual history. Their use has been quite ancient, as it has been shown through the last SWG session in Porto. Nevertheless, the contemporary meanings of “laïcité”, “laicidad”, “laicidade” or “laic education” – and their evolutions- are more recent. Across Europe- including European colonies, like French Africa- and Latin America, they have been defined, used and officially recognised in the late decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. How and when “laïcité” and “laic education” entered dictionaries?

This communication, using a first collective work developed in Porto, aims at investigating how French and French-speaking dictionaries (France, European French-speaking territories outside France) have progressively integrated and defined “laïcité” and “laic education”.

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Sources: This proposal is based on the exploitation of French dictionaries available Dictionaries (private sector and public sector books included) of the 19th-20th century, from France and French-speaking territories in Europe (in the last case, subject to availability).

### **Laicity and Education. Concepts and their Limits in the Portuguese Public School, 1910-1930**

José António Martin Moreno Afonso (Universidade do Minho), Margarida Louro Felgueiras (Universidade do Porto)

The Republic, established on October 5, 1910, generated great expectation in the emergence of plural public spaces, leading to the creation of provisions tends to laicize society, that reflect the autonomy of the politician and the recognition of the citizen with equal freedom and dignity.

The process of republicanization - or laicization - of society begins with a series of legal measures that, precluding the promulgation of the Constitution in 1911, its objective is to empty the religious from the social space and to initiate a movement of deinstitutionalization of the religious that legitimizes state regulation.

The culmination of this process is the Law of Separation of the State from Churches of 20 April 1911, which constitutes the main instrument of institutionalization of secularism. The Constitution of the Republic was approved on August 18, 1911, acting as a rector document in enumerating the rights and guarantees of citizens, in the continuity of the Portuguese liberal tradition. The whole legislative building is built on the assumption of justifying a neutral public teaching on religious matters.

The sociological conditions of consolidation of the Republic were not propitiatory. A succession of adverse micro conjunctures, both national and international, between 1910 and 1918, dictated that the first and optimistic idea of the Republic withered and emerge a particular form of Republic toned philosophically on other assumptions and with practical modalities that definitively blurred the secularity conceived as confessional neutrality. This adverse cycle is reinforced by the persistence of the idiosyncratic ideology of degeneration, with multiple epigons in intellectual circles, but also for the larval resistance that a hegemonic Catholicism exerted in inhibiting the constitution of a civil society that was the expression of the autonomy of social practices in relation to the religious. In order to understand the degree of assimilation in the pedagogical field of the germinal legal and constitutional provisions of secularism, we probed the contents of the pedagogical publications published between 1910 and 1930. The one hundred and forty census journals will give us an idea of the circulation of secular principles as well as enable us to reconstruct how social actors have conceived of a free and compulsory secular school, beyond the construction of a pluralist ethos. Over these twenty years political conjunctures have been succeeding at a breakneck pace gradually marking the end of a secular project.

The pedagogical field obviously reflects the changes and transformations that permeate society, and despite its autonomy, it cannot hide the conflicts and tensions that cross the educational field. Even translating into a more neutral pedagogical language what affects the community, do not eliminate the hot flashes that different paradigms cause. Thus, in a context of a Republic that is becoming increasingly anti-modern, pedagogical journals give us this pulse of a field that is losing visibility, increasingly moving away from the founding ideals of a school with civic purposes and highlighting the rarefaction of the principles of secularism.

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### **03-SES 23: WILL COVID-19 BE THE END OF EDUCATION? DEBATING AGAMBEN'S "REQUIEM FOR THE STUDENTS" FROM WITHIN/WITHOUT THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION**

Tertulia (English)



Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV)

**Will Covid-19 Be the End of Education? Debating Agamben's "Requiem for the Students" from Within/Without the History of Education**

Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo (DIE-CINVESTAV), Jan Masschelein (KU Leuven), Fanny Isensee (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Lisbeth Matzer (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

The Covid-19 pandemic has brought about major disruptions to educational systems. For some months, over 1.5 billion students had to shift to forms of online or remote education, and this continues to be the case in several countries. This unprecedented move was perceived by some as an anticipation of the future, and by others as a failed experiment that showed that schools need some kind of physical co-presence.

Perhaps no thesis was as blunt as Giorgio Agamben, who wrote in May 23rd, 2020, a piece titled "Requiem for the Students" (<https://d-dean.medium.com/requiem-for-the-students-giorgio-agamben-866670c11642>). His main argument is that the student as a form of life has ended: the cancellation of the senses and the loss of the gaze, condemned to the eternal screen, as well as the impossibility of actually encountering other scholars, will produce the death of the student and eventually of scholarly institutions.

In the panel, we would like to use Agamben's radical thesis as a provocation to think about the pandemic in historical terms and about what this argument implies for the history of education. Is there something like birth and death in history? Are we at the end of a historical cycle, and which one would it be? In particular, can it be stated that schools and universities are effectively dying? And if they are, is it a collapse or a slow agony? Or will they start to reemerge, thanks to the allure of presence in a digital world? Do we need to rethink our concepts of time for re-reading the past and the present of schooling?

The participants will reflect on these questions from their experience as historians and philosophers of education, and as students and teachers that have been forced to find other ways around during the pandemic.

**TUESDAY June 22                      11:00 - 12:30**

**01-SES 24: SWG 3\_2: WOMEN TEACHERS TRANSFERRING KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE ACROSS BORDERS**

SWG 3 Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Rebecca Elizabeth Rogers (Université de Paris)

**Three Prototypes of the Woman Teacher: the Unmarried, the Professional and the Revolutionary**

Talia Tadmor Shimony (Ben Gurion University)

This paper seeks to present three types of Jewish woman teachers, which were transferred by different European actors to Ottoman Palestine: The unmarried teacher, the professional female teacher and the revolutionary female teacher.

The unmarried female teacher: Most of the teachers and kindergarten teachers in Ottoman Palestine adopted the maternalistic bourgeois model, and saw their work as temporary employment until they married. These women adopted the norms of the marriage ban, which required women teachers to choose between family life and a professional identity (Blount, 2000; Whitehead, 2003; Redmond & Harford, 2007).

The professional woman teacher: The model of the teacher who combines professional life with family life developed in the Third French Republic, where the marriage ban did not exist (Trouvé-Finding, 2005). This model was adopted and spread by Alliance Israélite Universelle's educational network. The AIU exemplifies the nature and the process of circulation and adaption of educational ideas and the French cultural patterns. Most of the AIU teachers in Ottoman Palestine were native born who had studied in ENIU in Paris and then returned home. For example, Chana Averbach, a native of Safed and a graduate of the network's elementary school, underwent teachers' training in Paris, married Eliyahu Kahanov, a graduate of her school in Jaffa, and then the teachers' training institution. The two returned to Ottoman Palestine and ran an Alliance school. The AIU encouraged the employment of married female teachers in general and married couples in particular. Their numbers grew, especially during the first decade of the twentieth century (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 2013). AIU's schools sought to mold a woman who would be independent of her mother, would marry at a later age, and would value the advantages latent in education. The female teachers themselves served as role models who should be emulated by their students. They were independent, educated women who earned their bread, with a professional identity.

The female nationalist revolutionary teacher: This type of female teacher who entangled national awareness, professional identity and family life began immigrating to Ottoman Palestine from the beginning of the twentieth century. These young teachers were members of several networks, some of them formal and others informal, which were entangled with each other. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, there was an increased clamor for the creation of the new woman, which sought to undermine the accepted gender order. This was the result of the encounter between the increasing influence of the women's movement, the suffragist network and the Marxist discourse which saw in freeing women an expression of historic process. Most of the teachers were members in the revolutionary network of the youth in Tsarist Russia and adopted the criticism of the gendered social norms. These woman teachers described their work in national terms and saw themselves as pioneers like their male comrades in the struggle to create a new society (Azaryahu, 1957).

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### **From Sweden to Japan : Tokuyo Nikaido(1880-1941 )and Martina Osterbergs' Training College for Physical Education**

Setsuko Kagawa (Nishikyushu University)

This paper aims to consider on the circulation and transfer of educational knowledge, focusing on the practices of Tokuyo Nikaido (1880-1941) and Martina Bergman-Osterberg (1849-1915) in women's physical education in the early twentieth century.

Nikaido, founder of Nikaido Taiso-Juku (predecessor of Japan Women's College of Physical Education), is one of the pioneers of girls' physical education in Japan. She graduated at Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School (TWHNS) founded by Meiji government in 1890 to train teachers for secondary education for girls. She was appointed associate professor of physical education at TWHNS in 1911. From 1912 to 1914, she studied abroad at Osterberg's Training College as the fourth female student sent to Britain by the Japanese government. After the winnings of Sino-Japan War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), patriotism and militarism gained power in Japanese society. Influenced by Western thought of social Darwinism, Japanese government recognized the importance of physical training for girls to grow up to be healthy mothers of future male soldiers. Nikaido's mission was to master the teaching methods of gymnastics for girls in elementary and secondary schools, being a little different from those of her seniors, Tetsu Yasui(1870-1945) and Sumi Oe(1875-1948) who had been sent to England to study domestic subjects at the turn to the twentieth century.

Martina Bergman-Osterberg was a Swedish woman who had appointed superintendent of elementary education by London School Board. It's entirely her private venture to start a college to train professional physical educator in Hampstead in 1885. In 1895 it moved to Dartford in Kent, being called Kingsfield Training College. The experience at the College was a turning point for Nikaido which changed her idea of physical education into more wide and liberal one. She was deeply impressed with educational arrangement based on Osterberg's educational principle and admired her in spite of little chance to talk with. It seemed that Osterberg thought much of the connection with foreign educators so that she inspired Nikaido on their departure, saying 'You should found your own Kingsfield College in Japan!'. After coming back to Japan, Nikaido made efforts not only to diffuse Swedish Gymnastics, but also to reform stereotypical training of TWHNS. She had to face conflict with traditional social and educational values not only in teaching practice but also in gender differentiation of physical culture. In 1922 she resigned there to start her own school modelled on Kingsfield College.

How could Osterberg, nameless woman from Sweden, gain success in putting her idea in practice in British society? How she managed to introduce the Swedish Gymnastics into British middle-class girls' schools? What Nikaido borrow from the "Osterberg's legacy", and how could she adapt it into Japanese education? To examine these questions I use the biographical documents of Nikaido and Osterberg as research material. Analyzing the relationship and intercourse between them in gender and transnational perspective, I try to show new aspect of transfer of educational knowledge and practice in historical context.

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## **"Sumi Ōe's Transnational Experience and the 'Social' Role of Modern Japanese Women c.1902-1912"**

Sayaka Nakagomi (Center for the Global Liberal Arts Program, Rikkyo University)

Sumi Ōe (née Miyakawa, 1875-1948) is a well-known Japanese female educator who had contributed to the development of Japanese female education in the first half of the 20th century. She attended

Battersea Polytechnic, London to study domestic science as one of the government-funded students (1902-05) and extended her stay by private means to study public health at Bedford College, London (1905-06). After her return to Japan, she was appointed the Professor of Domestic Science at the government-funded Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women (THNSW). In 1925 Ōe resigned her post and established her own school, Tokyo Kasei Gakuin (TKG: 'the School of Domestic Economy, Tokyo').

Introduction of domestic science into Japanese female education is one example of the contribution made by a transnational woman in the process of cultural transfer. Mayer [2019, pp.60-64] explains the three steps of cultural transfer as: the 1st step 'addresses how contact with another culture came about and what interests, motives and reasons guided the interaction'; the 2nd step 'consists mainly of analysis of intermediaries (people, media and channels, etc.) and their roles and function in the decontextualization of the transferred concepts, a central precondition for the transfer and import of material, intellectual, or symbolic cultural elements into the receiving culture': the 3rd step sees the 'recontextualization of the transferred concept and examine how the receiving culture deals with its new acquired cultural elements'. Ōe served as the intermediary of cultural transfer both as a non-state actor and as a state actor during and after her study abroad. She started her study abroad as a government-funded student and served as the Professor of THNSW after her return to Japan. At the same time, she privately participated in international & domestic Christian activities.

Within the process of cultural transfer of domestic science, Ōe went beyond the original purpose of introducing the methods and practice of domestic science instruction and developed her own concept of 'domestic economy'. Ōe's concept of 'domestic economy' could be seen as a variation of the concept of 'good wife, wise mother' (ryōsai kenbo), the combination of traditional Confucian family ideal and Victorian femininity introduced from the Western countries [Ikeda, 2010], which was influential in modern Japanese female education. Ōe's idea is well described in her book, *Sanbō shugi* (1912) which compared and contrasted the merits and demerits of society and education in UK and Japan by focusing on 'three bō's' (sanbō): wives/family (nyōbō), guns/military (teppō) and sermon/religion (seppō). Here Ōe demanded Japanese people not merely to imitate British education and lifestyles but to integrate them with Japanese traditions to form lifestyles and values suitable for the homes of 'modernized Japan'. She aimed to fulfil her goal through 'domestic economy' teaching in TKG.

This presentation aims to question how Ōe conceptualised the 'social' role of modern Japanese women, in nation-state and family, through her transnational experience by analysing her writings between 1902 and 1912.

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## 02-SES 24: SWG 6: MIGRANTS, MIGRATION AND EDUCATION

SWG 6 Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Helen Proctor (University of Sydney)

### **Sports and Physical Activities for Children at Hull House, a Social Settlement in Chicago 1889-1915**

Ai Senga Tanimoto (Hokkaido University of Education)

This study aims to examine the development of physical activities such as sports, dance in areas with many immigrants from non-English-speaking countries. In 1886, the first American settlement was opened in New York. Three years later, in 1889, the Hull House was established in the area of Chicago as a social settlement for poor foreigners, by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr.

Two research questions that arise are: What were the experiences that children from Hull House's physical activities? What was the most distinguishing feature of sport and theater for children compared to school activities at Chicago? This study analyzed historical documents such as “Jane Addams Papers”, digital records of physical activities, play and sports for pupils published between 1890 and 1915, and annual reports of Chicago board of education.

In the late 19th century in the United States, immigrants were rapidly increased in urban cities. Unregulated work in factories, rising problems of poverty and disease, and inadequate educational seats for children led to the creation of many institutional reforms. “There were civic commissions, charity associations, church leagues, and reform societies galore, but none symbolized the new spirit of conscience more dramatically than the social settlement. Settlement originated in England during 1880's as a response to the appalling conditions of industrialism.” (remin, 1961, p.59).

According to their social investigation. “Maps and Papers” (1895), previous to the passage of the factory law of 1893, many children had to work nine or ten hours a day, and in holiday seasons twelve to thirteen hours a day (pp.56-57). In addition to long working hours, factory children had serious health problem as nicotine poisoning in the tobacco factory, throat or lung disease, spinal curvature, hand or finger injuries from machine-work (ibid., p.58). Frost (2010) described that “ in Addams and other leaders of the child-saving movement, we see the passion and commitment devoted to the American play and playground movement, supporting the many forces (e.g. recreation specialists, education authorities, government) that initiated and implemented, with varying degrees of success, playgrounds, and recreational opportunities in many cities.” At the turn of the 19th century, highly competitive sports such as basketball and baseball were introduced at school. Particularly, gymnastics were carried out in public school for prevention of disease and improvement of posture. Meanwhile, Club activities were initiated by youth at Hull House; at sports clubs and gyms, teenagers discussed health issues, and younger children sold tickets for their performance at theater. As a result of examination, it was suggested that physical activities at Hull House played the role of encounter and cooperation between the same generation of youth and children who had hardly attend to school.

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### **Imperial Hygiene and Urban Schooling: Architecture of Health and Fitness in Hong Kong 1901-1941**

Meng Wang (University of Sydney)

This paper considers the imperial anxiety over pupils’ health as an important factor shaping schooling practices in Hong Kong in the early twentieth century. As the historian Alison Bashford (2004) shows, the period between the mid 1860s and the Second World War was a time of an expanding scope and bureaucratization of public health within the British empire. The spatial forms of this health governance-the healing spaces in colonial centres-denoted the changing therapeutic, carceral, preventive, racial and eugenic geographies. This paper examines one particular spatiality in which imperial discourses of health and hygiene operated: the learning site. The notion ‘imperial hygiene’ as it is deployed in this paper entails the travelling of hygiene knowledge, institutions, and practices across the British empire and its impact on the governance of health in individual schools in pre-WWII Hong Kong.

In the nineteenth century, the lack of town planning resulted in the mixed land use in Hong Kong. Schools in the early colonial decades were invariably poorly housed in tenement buildings, deficient in light, air, and ventilation. By the early twentieth century, with the leveling of hills and reclamations that rendered more constructible land for civic buildings, many government and grant-in-aid schools gradually moved out of tenements and assumed separate sites. In this process of allocating

'designated' space for schooling purposes, the Education Department exercised improved building regulations, medical inspections, and health provision in urban schools. These legislative and health infrastructural measures tangibly shaped the architectural character of urban schools and produced new learning experiences. School medical inspection was first discussed through the racial turn in the nineteenth century that pathologised the 'tropical' colony as 'contagious', especially unhealthy for the Europeans. As the medical inspection expanded to include Chinese children in the early twentieth century, this racial anxiety over the health of European children was redefined by the eugenics and hygienic imperatives that aimed to produce fitter bodies of Chinese children.

The desire to improve the child's body-both European and Chinese- further underlined the curricular measures including physical education and the study of hygiene. Both of these curricular interventions aimed at developing self-governance through self-discipline as the goal of colonial education (Seth, 2007). By placing schools in the colonial regime and governance of health, this paper shows in pre-WWII Hong Kong, eugenics and hygiene imperatives enacted through the learning site were textured by the imperial ethic of improvement, and thus operated not as means of racial differentiation, but as tools for racial improvement.

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### **Re-thinking the social in Greek diaspora in England**

Angeliki Voskou (University of Birmingham)

Drawing on the key theme of the conference, this paper aims to examine how personal and social historicities of Greek immigrants in the UK, can be understood through experiences of migration, nostalgia, family histories, memories and heritage practices in educational institutions. It aims to explore how social and ethnic histories are communicated in the space of Greek supplementary schools in England, aiming to understand how students' identities are developed as a result of their social positioning as symbolic members of the Greek diaspora, the Greek supplementary schooling and a wider nation state.

The examination of these themes is even more significant today, due to the intergenerational and structural change of the Greek community in the UK, as a result of the increase of migration waves from Greece and Cyprus to the UK in the last few years (Labrianidis and Pratsinakis, 2016). Within this context of constant migration flows and cultural amalgamation, the negotiation of immigrants' ethnic identities and their social positioning within a pluralistic society, becomes more prominent and necessitates the re-examination of educational policies and practices in Greek supplementary education.

The paper draws on historical, documentary research, to explore the basic historical facts around the history of Greek-Cypriots migration in the 20th and 21st centuries, their experiences of postcolonialism, their social positioning as members of the Greek community, the church and of a



nation state accompanied by fixed, archetypal notions of culture and ethnicity. Supplementary primary data from this research, drawn from important chronological turns in the history of Greek migration (both from the 20th century and the recent migration flows), sheds light on how Greek immigrants translate and reflect on their social and ethnic entities, their experiences of nostalgia and trauma during their migration, their mechanisms against assimilation and discriminatory behaviour and students' socialisation into a system of Greek supplementary schooling. The data also show how these social agents negotiate their identities and how they re-think of the social values and notions of heritage and culture within a diasporic and pluralistic society.

The findings present two expositions of the Greek culture and its relation to the construction of identities. The first one presents a wish and desire to preserve the culture and ethnic minority identities, which is also presented in curricula and policies of Greek supplementary education (CEM, 2018), while the second one argues for a more dialogic approach to identity development, in which actors reflect on their social positioning and reveals the wider structural change.

This paper drawing on postmodern theories on identity development (Archer, 2000), suggests that within a context of fluidity and continuous socio-political changes, the history curricula and pedagogy of Greek supplementary education should be developed considering students as social actors, able to reflect on their position within a changing community and society.

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**TUESDAY June 22                      2:00 - 3:30**

### **01-SES 25: PUBLISHING IN HISTORY OF EDUCATION JOURNALS**

ECR Special Event (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Inês Félix (Umeå university), Chelsea Angela Rodriguez (University of Groningen), Franziska Primus (Örebro University)

#### **Publishing in History of Education Journals**

At this session the editors of different international journals in the field of history of education will offer early career researchers (ECRs) in the field advice and guidance on journal publishing.

The event is created and chaired by the current members of the ISCHE ECR THINKERING INITIATIVE (<https://www.ische.org/ecr-thinkering-initiative/>):

Inês Félix (Umeå university), Josefine Wähler (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin//DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education), Arnis Strazdiņš (University of Latvia), Fanny Isensee

(Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Jona Garz (Humboldt-University Berlin // University of Zurich), Chelsea Rodriguez (University of Groningen), Lilli Riettiens (University of Cologne), Franziska Primus (Örebro University), Daniel Töpper (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Lisbeth Matzer (LMU Munich)

For questions regarding the event contact [er-ische42@ische.org](mailto:er-ische42@ische.org)

**TUESDAY June 22 4:00 - 5:30**

**01-SES 26: SWG 2\_1: MATERIAL HERMENEUTICS AND REMEDIATION AS CHALLENGES IN VISUAL STUDIES IN HISTORIES OF EDUCATION**

SWG 2 Panel (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg), Timothy Alec Allender (University of Sydney)

**Picturing School Architecture Reforms. Monumentalisation And Modernist Angles In The Photographs Of School Spaces, 1890-1940**

Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV)

In this paper, I would like to reflect on a series of photographs that depict the modernization of school buildings between 1890 and 1940. The photographs, found in Latin America and Europe, were gathered as part of a larger research project on the transformation of school architecture and particularly of school playgrounds and bathrooms in that period. Most pictures were taken by professional photographers, in some cases specialized architectural photographers (such as the case of Arthur Köster in Berlin), artists (László Moholy-Nagy) and educational photographers and reformers (Aenne Biermann) (Stetler, 2011; Grosvenor & Lawn, 2005; Lugon, 2006).

One way to consider these pictures is to study them as a reflection of the architectural transition from the school as a palace or fortress to a modern, lean school building, oriented towards functionalism and the efficiency of materials. The photographs depict schools as state monuments, particularly at the turn of the 20th century, while others appear as highly individualized creations of architects, mostly related to the modernist movement of the 1920s and 1930s. They were created for books, journals and exhibitions, and also as part of the portfolios of architectural offices (Stetler, 2015).

Yet in this reading, the means and artifacts of representation remain opaque. My interest is to discuss school architecture photographs not as metonymical and transparent representations of school buildings (Zimmerman, 2017), but as artifacts and surfaces that produce particular rhetorics about space and school experience and have their own historicity (Carter, 2010). I want to pay attention to the changes in photographic genres and technologies in architecture (Levine, 2012; Lugon, 2008; Brandáriz et al, 2018), and in the visibility of urban public spaces and educational spaces that they produced, that were central to the new discourses of educational reform. In my study of these pictures, I will analyze the point of view taken by the photographers -angles or shots, for example from above or frontal, panoramic or close-ups-, the spaces they chose to depict -façades or interiors, classrooms and corridors, playgrounds and special classrooms-, as well as their technological constraints and choices. I am interested in discussing the relationship of school space reform and the production of particular visualities, which from the 1920s is focused on details and innovative angles. In these shifts, it is evident that photography as a medium is in close dialogue with film, and that any consideration of

visual sources needs to take into account their intermediality and their material production and circulation.

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### **Spoken pictures, rescued memories: Building the Audio-visual Archive of rural education in Portugal**

Helena Cabeleira (Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon)

Those of us who are interested in "the visual as object of educational research" (Cabeleira, et al., 2011: 474), or involved in "historiographical reflection on how images are being approached in the field of educational history" (Dussel & Priem, 2017: 641), are aware of "the photographic trap" that makes us believe in audiovisual records as if they were "reality duplicated" (Scott, 1999: 9). We know that a "picture", "image", visual "object" or "medium" (Mitchell, 2005: xiii), is never a simple reality. As shown by Berger (1973), Crary (1990) and Sicard (2006), our eyes and our ways of seeing have been shaped throughout the centuries by technological devices and educational institutions. Our mental universes are filled with visual artifacts and conventions of (re)presentation generated by scientific and artistic "operations" i.e. "relations between the sayable and the visible" (Rancière, 2007: 6), that produce "history as a discourse of knowledge" (Mietzner, et al., 2005: 9). It is the purpose of this paper to highlight the epistemological potential of Audiovisual Archives in documenting research processes in which history, sociology and ethnography merge, in order to deal with 'objects' such as personal archives and life histories. From "ego-documents" and "ego-history" (Dekker, 2002; Nora, et al., 1987), to the "archaeology" of "school memory and culture", we can access the "educational heritage" from

“the central position of the individual’s school memory”. According to Escolano Benito, this focus on individual memories contributes “to defining our identity” and “to recognize ourselves in a ‘shared *Bildung*’ within a specific social community” (Yanes-Cabrera, et al., 2017: 3-4). Since April 2019, Project MRIR (PTDC/CED-EDG/29091/2017) has been capturing and digitalizing documental sources (oral interviews, autobiographies, photographic albums, school diaries, textbooks), from populations of Pinhal Interior Sul (PIS). Located at the geodesic heart of Portugal, this is the most sparsely populated rural area of the country. Project MRIR aims to ‘rescue’ the educational self-narratives and experiences (Axis 1: Memory); and the (im)materialities of schooling of these populations (Axis 2: Heritage), in order to make this stock of knowledge available for future generations (Axis 3: Education). We will focus on empirical materials generated in collaboration with local partners (senior universities), and explore the potentialities and difficulties raised by a series of digital audiovisual recordings where the people being interviewed speak about their own school photographs and memorabilia (Harper, 2002). The purpose is to identify narratives of “rescue and salvation” (Martins, et al., 2011) that spread during the period of expansion of the primary school system (under Salazar’s dictatorship), and to inquiry about “everyday practices” (Certeau, et al., 1997) that resisted such “grammar of schooling” (Tyack & Tobin, 1994). The inventorying of these ‘resistant’ or ‘dissident’ knowledges and local subjectivities is a central task of MRIR. We will further discuss some of the major ‘social’ challenges that our ‘encounter’ with these rural communities and landscapes brings to our ambition of building a “living archive” (Passerini, 2014; Kollmann, et al., 2018), and to “the idea of research itself as a ‘method’” (Holly & Smith, 2008: xi).

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### **WEDNESDAY June 23      11:00 - 12:30**

#### **01-SES 27: SWG 2\_2: MATERIAL HERMENEUTICS AND REMEDIATION AS CHALLENGES IN VISUAL STUDIES IN HISTORIES OF EDUCATION**

SWG 2 Research Workshops (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Timothy Alec Allender (University of Sydney)

#### **"The Camera in the School": Exploring visual cultures of schooling**

Angelo Van Gorp (University of Koblenz-Landau), Frederik Herman (Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz; Pädagogische Hochschule Schwyz), Björn Norlin (University of Umeå)

Over the past decades, increasing digitization of still and moving visual and audiovisual data (photographs, documentary films, newsreels, instructional videos, etc.) by public and private agencies has sprouted a new accessibility of previously hidden sources for historical knowledge. This development, in turn, has instigated new opportunities as well as new challenges both to the mentioned agencies and to academic research engaged within different scientific fields. As part of the so-called "visual turn" within the field of educational history, visual data have increasingly been

considered as significant sources with a high potential for finding new ways of engaging with and researching histories of education – thus, providing a new modus, a new gaze at education that traditional sources within the field cannot offer.

Our interest is particularly in the visual cultures of schooling or – call it – visual representations of educational institutions and practices, providing a gateway both for understanding new aspects of past day-to-day school life, pedagogical practices and reform initiatives, and for understanding how political and educational ideologies were projected on schooling and for linking education to broader societal processes of modernization and technological change. In short, to better understand the visual cultures/representations of schooling in the past and how it has changed (or remained similar) during history is at the same time to better comprehend the historical role of education in society (see, e.g., Depaepe & Henkens 2000; Warmington, Van Gorp & Grosvenor 2011; Burke, Grosvenor, & Norlin 2014; Dussel & Priem 2017; Herman, 2019). The “camera” in the title refers to both film and photo cameras. It is not on visual media as pedagogic tools (such as classroom film), but on visual sources “documenting” schooling and educational practices (including visuals that show the use of visual media as pedagogic tools).

Together with and in addition to the workshop by Karin Priem and Eng Sengsavang, this second workshop – with its focus on the mediatization of educational reforms – aims at developing new research perspectives in the field of history of education. It serves to discuss visual source materials, more specifically documentary film and photography that records and (re)mediates adventures in education reform as well as early experiments with ‘scientific observation’ of the developing child by means of the camera. The first case study by Van Gorp and Herman focuses on both edited and raw footage of “scientific films” presenting the Decroly School as a psycho-pedagogical laboratory within the context of the new education during the first decades of the 20th century (Van Gorp 2011, Wagnon 2013). The second case study by Björn Norlin on Sami nomadic schools between 1920 and 1950 addresses the visual staging of new education in a local colonial context (Sjögren 2010; Norlin & Sjögren 2016). The workshop also serves to introduce and launch a workshop series on “The Camera in the Classroom”, which will be organised in cooperation with the SWG.

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### **Films and Visual Aids in UNESCO's Fundamental Education Programme**

Giovanna Hendel (UNESCO), Eng Sengsavang (UNESCO)

In the first decade of its existence, UNESCO delivered programmes in the framework of so-called “fundamental education,” a concept that we will clarify in our introduction, by reference also to the existing literature on the subject (Boel 2016; Elfert 2016; Watras 2010). Fundamental education was regarded by UNESCO at the time as one of its main axes of activities, so much so as to justify the existence of a whole ‘Division’ within UNESCO’s Education Sector dedicated to it.

UNESCO pursued an interdisciplinary approach to its fundamental education programme, by promoting and employing various mediums of “mass communications” for educational purposes, including film and other visual aids. From its establishment, UNESCO recognized films and visual materials, such as film strips, as highly suitable, if in some ways challenging, mediums through which to deliver fundamental education programmes to illiterate, under-resourced, and remote populations (UNESCO Courier 1948; Lauwerys and Hubbard 1948). At the same time, UNESCO highlighted film and visual media as a subject of its own and others’ film productions, thereby revealing a self-referential aspect to its uses and production of visual media.

The intersection between UNESCO’s fundamental education and film programmes exists as a rich site of inquiry into the uses of visual media, both as an educational and a communication tool (promoting UNESCO and its activities; promoting film through film itself), to realize UNESCO’s ambitions of international equality and peace. In the two case studies we have selected for analysis, we propose to address the following questions: How did UNESCO mobilize film and visual media in general to deliver and promote its concept of “fundamental education”? What specific messages did UNESCO attempt to communicate through its film programme, and how do they relate to UNESCO’s more general conceptual framework of the time? What does UNESCO’s film and visual aids production reveal about how it saw its own educational role in relation to the role of other organizations, in particular local organizations? And are there any hints in the films suggesting the interactions, if any, UNESCO had with other programmes and organizations?

Films and Visual Aids in UNESCO’s Fundamental Education Programme is geared as a workshop discussing the following two films, of which only the first will be shown almost in its entirety during the session:

That All May Learn (19 minutes) - most of it will be shown during the session

<https://digital.archives.unesco.org/fr/collection/films-and-videos-2/detail/f0308332-d839-11e8-9811-d89d6717b464/media/af088942-cbc0-28d9-0452-4dd38f79e6f3>

Dawn Over the Mountains (47 mins) - will not be shown during the session

<https://digital.archives.unesco.org/fr/collection/films-and-videos-2/detail/f0336eda-d839-11e8-9811-d89d6717b464/media/89b18ece-c4d5-b3b5-48a3-c1d3e4170d17>

Participants in the workshop are strongly encouraged to watch Dawn Over the Mountains before the session

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## **WEDNESDAY June 23                      2:00 - 3:30**

### **01-SES 28: SWG 7\_1: DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOL AND PEDAGOGY CRITICISM (RIGHT AND LEFT)**

SWG 7 Panel (French)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): André Désiré ROBERT (université Lyon 2), Frédéric Mole (Université de Genève), Joaquim António de Sousa Pintassilgo (University of Lisbon)

### **Experimental Pedagogy In The Face Of School Conservatism (Geneva, 20th Century)**

Frédéric Mole (Université de Genève)

In 1916, Claparède asked for the teachers to receive scientific training, in order to "be initiated into the methods of new psychology". So that they "undertake in school environments, the additional investigations essential to the construction of pedagogy of tomorrow". The idea is to imagine an experimental pedagogy and of to engag future teachers in a reforming process.

Similarly, in the 1920s, Robert Dottrens developed multiple arguments aimed at convincing school authorities and teachers, that the development of experimental pedagogy is the condition for more effective teaching. He was appointed director of the Mail's experimental school in 1928, and became the main promoter of pedagogical reform in Geneva for over twenty years, training generations of teachers.

But the idea of experimental pedagogy faces resistance from parents and certain political currents; it gives rise to many debates in the teaching profession.



The communication will examine the role of Dottrens in the implementation of experimental pedagogy in Geneva, it will analyze the controversies it has aroused and the main arguments raised.

### **La Pédagogie Expérimentale Face Au Conservatisme Scolaire (Genève, 20e Siècle)**

En 1916, Claparède demande que les instituteurs reçoivent une formation scientifique, qu'ils « s'initient aux méthodes de la psychologie nouvelle » afin qu'ils « entreprennent, dans les milieux scolaires, le complément d'investigations indispensables à l'édification de la pédagogie de demain ». Il s'agit donc d'imaginer une pédagogie expérimentale et d'engager les futurs enseignants dans un processus réformateur.

De même, dans les années 1920, Robert Dottrens développe de multiples arguments visant à convaincre les autorités scolaires et les enseignants que le développement d'une pédagogie expérimentale est la condition d'un enseignement plus efficace. Nommé directeur de l'école expérimentale du Mail en 1928, il devient le principal promoteur de la réforme pédagogique à Genève pendant plus de vingt ans, formant des générations d'instituteurs.

Mais l'idée de pédagogie expérimentale rencontre des résistances chez les parents et dans certains courants politiques ; elle suscite de nombreux débats dans le corps enseignant.

La communication examinera le rôle de Dottrens dans la mise en œuvre de la pédagogie expérimentale à Genève, elle analysera les controverses que celle-ci a suscitées et les principaux arguments mobilisés.

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Archives du BIP aux Archives de l'État de Genève

Mémorial du Grand Conseil

### **Innovation and Reform in Curricular Management: A Pedagogical Process in Portugal in the Transition of the 20th to the 21st Century**

Maria João Mogarro (Universidade de Lisboa), Filomena Rodrigues (Universidade de Lisboa)

Current public policies place curricular management at the core of the Portuguese educational system, alongside with inclusion and citizenship education. However, flexible curriculum management was an innovative project that marked education in the late 20th century and its implications continued over the following years. In Portugal, in the end of the 1990s, there were several significant initiatives in educational policy led by the Ministry of Education. These initiatives aimed for innovation and change in schools and professional practices. With this study we intend to revisit, reflect and understand the

meaning of this process in the dynamics of innovation of the Portuguese educational system. With this purpose, we analysed legal documents, national reports, school documents and reports, witnesses' points of view and scientific literature on the topic.

In 1997, the Ministry of Education's Project of Participated revision of Primary and Lower Secondary Education Curricula has truly x-rayed education. They wanted to find solutions for the failure of 1989 curricular reform. Findings recognized that the curriculum was still divided into school subjects, students had a heavy school timetable and there was a lack of articulation between the different school levels. The core national curriculum presented many design and foundation problems, contrasting with the international guidelines which privileged the principles of learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. New challenges were thus set for the school for all and the inclusion policies that aimed to combat school failure and dropout.

Subsequently, the Project Curriculum Flexible Management (CFM) was developed. This project has played a central part in changing the educational system. It conceived the curriculum as a project and a process. CFM was initiated in the school year of 1997/98 and it involved 184 schools in the following years. The project had a national dimension, placing its centrality in the work developed in and by the schools. At the same time, support teams were gathered. They were coordinated by higher education institutions that accompanied and scaffolded schools, following formative plans, and produced theoretical documents and support materials for teachers. Within this Project's scope, many schools and teachers experienced and planned curricular management strategies to adapt the national curriculum to the real contexts of each institution and its students. The curriculum thus assumed a strong local dimension, which translated into powerful tools for schoolwork, such as the Schools' and Classes' Curricular Projects.

At a defining moment for the history of education in Portugal, the Project CFM intended to produce structural changes and aimed for a new curricular paradigm of teaching professionalism, student and school. The CFM also represented a new paradigm of innovation/change, promoting new attitudes, such as comprehension, collaboration and reaffirmation of democratic values. The dependency that characterized the schools' situation vis-à-vis the administration shifts to a new perspective, centred in dialog and development of consensus, in a top-down and bottom-up dialogical play, intertwining innovation and reform processes.

### **Innovation et Réforme dans la Gestion du Curriculum: Un Processus Pédagogique au Portugal dans la Transition du 20e au 21e Siècle**

Les politiques publiques actuelles placent la gestion des programmes d'études au cœur du système éducatif portugais, parallèlement à l'inclusion et à l'éducation pour la citoyenneté. Cependant, la gestion flexible des programmes d'études était un projet innovant qui a marqué l'éducation à la fin du XXe siècle et ses implications se sont poursuivies au cours des années suivantes. Au Portugal, à la fin des années 90, plusieurs initiatives importantes en matière de politique éducative étaient menées par le Ministère de l'Éducation. Ces initiatives visaient l'innovation et le changement dans les écoles et les pratiques professionnelles. Avec cette étude, nous entendons revisiter, réfléchir et comprendre la signification de ce processus dans la dynamique d'innovation du système éducatif portugais. Dans ce but, nous avons analysé les documents juridiques, les rapports nationaux, les documents et rapports scolaires, les points de vue des témoins et la littérature scientifique sur le sujet.

En 1997, le Projet de Révision Participative des Programmes d'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire Inférieur du Ministère de l'Éducation a véritablement radiographié le système d'enseignement portugais. Ils voulaient trouver des solutions à l'échec de la réforme des programmes de 1989 et lutter contre l'échec scolaire et l'abandon.

Par la suite, le projet de Gestion Flexible du Programme d'études (GFP) a été développé. Ce projet a joué un rôle central dans le changement du système éducatif. Il a conçu le curriculum comme un projet et un processus. Le GFP a été lancé au cours de l'année scolaire 1997/98 et a concerné 184 écoles les années suivantes. Le projet avait une dimension nationale, plaçant sa centralité dans le travail développé dans et par les écoles. Dans le même temps, des équipes de soutien ont été rassemblées. Ils ont été coordonnés par des établissements d'enseignement supérieur qui ont accompagné et échafaudé des écoles, conformément à des plans de formation, et produit des documents théoriques et du matériel de soutien pour les enseignants. Dans le cadre de ce projet, de nombreuses écoles et enseignants ont expérimenté et planifié des stratégies de gestion des programmes pour adapter le programme national aux contextes réels de chaque établissement et de ses étudiants. Le programme a donc revêtu une forte dimension locale, ce qui s'est traduit par de puissants outils pour le travail scolaire, tels que les projets d'école et de classes.

À un moment décisif de l'histoire de l'éducation au Portugal, le Projet GFP avait pour objectif de produire des changements structurels et visait un nouveau paradigme du curriculum, de la professionnalisation de l'enseignant, d'étudiant et de l'école. Le GFP a également représenté un nouveau paradigme d'innovation / changement, promouvant de nouvelles attitudes, telles que la compréhension, la collaboration et la réaffirmation des valeurs démocratiques. La dépendance qui caractérise la situation des écoles vis-à-vis de l'administration passe à une nouvelle perspective, centrée sur le dialogue et le développement du consensus, dans un jeu dialogique de haut en bas et de bas en haut, entretenant processus d'innovation et de réforme.

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### **Marie Rist and New Education Networks in France in the Second Half of the 20th Century: between Conservatism and Reformism?**

Fabienne Serina-Karsky (ISP-FE Institut Catholique de Paris)

The aim of this communication is to highlight the actors and networks involved in the reform of progressive educational practices emerging from the New education movement. After the Second World War, New education is entering a new age in France marked by a renewal not only of the

frameworks of thought and their authors, but also of the educational practices that stem from them and which are rooted in schools that will mark their era (Gutierrez, Besse, Prost, 2012). New new schools' were created by women practitioners and activists of a new education in which they placed their hopes for school reform, even though the Debré Act of 31 December 1959 was to be a significant factor in the perpetuation of these schools, which were henceforth to be able to associate with the State (Poucet, 2002).

The founders of the new schools of the latest generation, trained by such personalities as Émilie Brandt, Roger Cousinet and François Chatelain, and Renée Lebel in Lyon, applied in their schools a new education in which they believed and in which they were involved in various movements. Activists for children's causes, they organize themselves into networks, which themselves often rely on other, more visible networks. As far as the new education is concerned, this is the network maintained by the NEF[1] at the international level, or that of the New Education at the national level, which Cousinet extended, with Chatelain's help, after 1945, within the French New School. The Montessori movement was organized at the international level, while in France the Freinet movement and the GFEN[2] participated in the creation of multiple organizational and confluent networks, each of which constituted a unit in its own right.

From public and private archives, we propose to follow more particularly the path of Marie Rist, founder of the Ecole nouvelle d'Antony, who forged links and mobilized various networks at the confluence of New education, Protestantism, and kindergartens, before participating in the creation in 1969 of the ANEN[3], which from then on federated the new schools. Her involvement in these various networks will enable us to question the tension between the conservatism of the principles of new education enacted by the early pedagogues to which the new schools refer, and the reformism induced by the school field and the practitioners of their time (Rist, 1983).

[1] New Education Fellowship

[2] French Group of New Education

[3] National Association for the development of New Education

### **Marie Rist et les Réseaux d'Education Nouvelle dans la Seconde Moitié du XXe Siècle : entre Conservatisme et Réformisme ?**

Cette communication a pour objectif d'éclairer les acteurs et les réseaux qui participent à réformer les pratiques éducatives progressistes issues du courant de l'éducation nouvelle. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, l'éducation nouvelle entre dans un nouvel âge marqué en France par un renouvellement non seulement des cadres de pensée et de leurs auteurs, mais également des pratiques éducatives qui en découlent et qui prennent source dans des écoles qui vont marquer leur époque (Gutierrez, Besse, Prost, 2012). De « nouvelles écoles nouvelles » sont créées par des femmes praticiennes et militantes d'une éducation nouvelle en laquelle elles placent leurs espoirs pour réformer l'école, alors même que la loi Debré du 31 décembre 1959 va constituer un facteur non négligeable dans la pérennisation de ces écoles qui vont pouvoir désormais s'associer avec l'État (Poucet, 2002).

Les fondatrices des écoles nouvelles de la dernière génération, formées auprès de personnalités telles Émilie Brandt, Roger Cousinet et François Chatelain, ou encore Renée Lebel à Lyon, appliquent dans leurs écoles une éducation nouvelle en laquelle elles croient et pour laquelle elles s'impliquent au sein de différents mouvements. Militantes de la cause des enfants, elles s'organisent en réseaux, qui prennent eux-mêmes souvent appui sur d'autres réseaux plus visibles. En ce qui concerne l'éducation nouvelle, il s'agit du réseau entretenu par la LIEN[1] au niveau international, ou de celui de la Nouvelle

éducation au niveau national, que prolonge Cousinet, avec l'aide de Chatelain, après 1945, au sein de l'École nouvelle française. Le mouvement Montessori s'organise quant à lui au niveau international, tandis qu'en France le mouvement Freinet et le GFEN[2] participent à créer de multiples réseaux organisationnels et confluents, dont chacun constitue une unité à part entière.

A partir de fonds d'archives publics et privés, nous proposons de suivre plus particulièrement le parcours de Marie Rist, fondatrice de l'École nouvelle d'Antony, qui tisse les liens et mobilise divers réseaux à la confluence de l'éducation nouvelle, du protestantisme, et des jardinières d'enfants, avant de participer à la création en 1969 de l'ANEN[3] qui fédérera désormais les écoles nouvelles. Son implication dans ces différents réseaux nous permettra d'interroger la tension entre le conservatisme des principes de l'éducation nouvelle édictés par les pédagogues de la première heure auxquels se réfèrent les écoles nouvelles, et le réformisme induit par le terrain de l'école et les praticiens de leur temps (Rist, 1983).

[1] Ligue internationale de l'éducation nouvelle

[2] Groupe français d'éducation nouvelle

[3] Association nationale pour le développement de l'éducation nouvelle

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## **02-SES 28: BOOK LAUNCH OF THREE NEW BOOKS**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Timothy Alec Allender (University of Sydney)

### **Book Launch of Three New Books**

ISCHE Global Histories of Education Book Series

Timothy Alec Allender (University of Sydney), Diana Gonçalves Vidal (University of Sao Paulo), Linda Chisholm (University of Johannesburg), Christian Ydesen (Aalborg University), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)

Note: Please remember book proposals for this excellent book series published by Palgrave Macmillan can be sent to the series editors by consulting the following website:  
<https://www.ische.org/publications/book-series/>

### **Reimagining Teaching in Early 20th Century Experimental Schools**

Alessandra Arce Hai (Federal University of São Carlos), Helen May (University of Otago), Kristen Nawrotzki (Pädagogische Hochschule in Heidelberg), Larry Prochner (University of Alberta), Yordanka Valkanova (Canterbury Christ Church University)

### **Women, Power Relations and Education in a Transnational World**

Christine Mayer (University of Hamburg), María Adelina Arredondo López (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

### **Education and Development in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa: Policies, Paradigms, and Entanglements, 1890s–1980s**

Damiano Matasci (University of Lausanne), Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo (University of Coimbra), Hugo Gonçalves Dore (University of Coimbra)

**WEDNESDAY June 23      4:00 - 5:30**

#### **01-SES 29: SWG 7\_2: THE EDUCATIONAL CONSERVATISM IN THE FACE OF PROGRESSIVE CONCEPTIONS**

SWG 7 Panel (French)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): André Désiré ROBERT (université Lyon 2), Frédéric Mole (Université de Genève), Joaquim António de Sousa Pintassilgo (University of Lisbon)

### **Reception to Freinet Pedagogy in Portugal (From the 30s to the 70s of the 20th Century)**

Joaquim António de Sousa Pintassilgo (University of Lisbon)

This communication aims to reflect on the contribution of Freinet pedagogy to the construction of a progressive pedagogical tradition in Portugal. We will seek answers to the following questions: What were the main moments in the reception of this pedagogy? Which educational actors are linked to it? What institutional contexts made it possible? What appropriations have been made of this heritage? And what support has made its circulation possible? To this end, we have delimited a time period from the 30s of the 20th century, when there was a first moment of reception, to the 70s of the same century, which corresponds to the initial phase of the Modern School Movement (MEM) which, at that time, took Freinet pedagogy as its main source of inspiration. This timescale is contemporary, to a large extent, with the existence of the so-called Estado Novo, the Portuguese authoritarian regime led by Salazar, and to the predominance, in the educational field, of Catholic and conservative pedagogy. The final phase of this long period coincides with the revolution of the 25th of April 1974, which made possible the process of democratization that had begun. Thus, the appropriation of Freinet pedagogy appears, in general, as a form of resistance, developed in the educational field, by protagonists linked, in most cases, to the political opposition to the authoritarian regime. In the first of these moments Álvaro Viana de Lemos, one of the main promoters of New Education in Portugal, contributed to the

dissemination of "Freinet techniques", via the press and school correspondence. After a period of apparent neglect, it is in the 50s, with Maria Amália Borges Medeiros, that we can observe their rediscovery, particularly in the context of a different school created then, with an inclusive vocation (in particular for students with sight problems), the Helen Keller Centre. It is in the 1960s that we can find, with Sérgio Niza, the activities, experiences and networks that will lead to the recognition and later institutionalization of the Modern School Movement, and the publication of its Bulletin. It is also in this phase of transition from the 1960s to the 1970s that we see translations of the first works by (or about) Freinet and his presence in educational libraries, together with works linked to institutional pedagogy, also inspired by this tradition, or associated with other alternative currents such as those concerning non-directive pedagogies. In this analysis, we will take into account the contributions and concepts of Cultural History and transnational approaches and will use as sources; the press and other publications in the pedagogical field, translations and some educational archives.

### **Réception de la Pédagogie Freinet au Portugal (Des Années 30 aux Années 70 du 20e Siècle)**

Cette communication vise à réfléchir sur la contribution de la pédagogie Freinet à la construction d'une tradition pédagogique progressive au Portugal. Nous chercherons des réponses aux questions suivantes: Quels ont été les principaux moments de l'accueil de cette pédagogie? Quels acteurs éducatifs y sont liés? Quels contextes institutionnels l'ont rendu possible? Quelles appropriations ont été faites de ce patrimoine? Et quel soutien a rendu sa circulation possible? À cette fin, nous avons délimité une période allant des années 30 du 20e siècle, quand il y a eu un premier moment de réception, aux années 70 du même siècle, ce qui correspond à la phase initiale du mouvement des écoles modernes (MEM) qui, à cette époque, a pris la pédagogie Freinet comme sa principale source d'inspiration. Cette échelle de temps est contemporaine, dans une large mesure, avec l'existence du soi-disant Estado Novo, le régime autoritaire portugais dirigé par Salazar, et à la prédominance, dans le domaine éducatif, de la pédagogie catholique et conservatrice. La phase finale de cette longue période coïncide avec la révolution du 25 avril 1974, qui a rendu possible le processus de démocratisation. Ainsi, l'appropriation de la pédagogie Freinet apparaît, en général, comme une forme de résistance, développée dans le domaine éducatif, par des protagonistes liés, dans la plupart des cas, à l'opposition politique au régime autoritaire. Dans le premier de ces moments, Álvaro Viana de Lemos, l'un des principaux promoteurs de la Nouvelle Éducation au Portugal, a contribué à la diffusion des «techniques Freinet», via la presse et la correspondance scolaire. Après une période de négligence apparente, c'est dans les années 50, avec Maria Amália Borges Medeiros, que l'on peut observer leur redécouverte, notamment dans le cadre d'une école différente créée alors, à vocation inclusive (notamment pour les élèves ayant des problèmes de vue), le Centre Helen Keller. C'est dans les années 1960 que l'on retrouve, avec Sérgio Niza, les activités, expériences et réseaux qui conduiront à la reconnaissance puis à l'institutionnalisation du mouvement des écoles modernes et à la publication de son Bulletin. C'est également dans cette phase de transition des années 1960 aux années 1970 que l'on voit les traductions des premiers ouvrages de (ou sur) Freinet et sa présence dans les bibliothèques pédagogiques, ainsi que des ouvrages liés à la pédagogie institutionnelle, également inspirés de cette tradition, ou associés à d'autres courants alternatifs tels que ceux concernant les pédagogies non directives. Dans cette analyse, nous prendrons en compte les contributions et les concepts de l'histoire culturelle et des approches transnationales et nous utiliserons comme sources la presse et autres publications dans le domaine pédagogique, les traductions et quelques archives pédagogiques.

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### **School as the Showcase of the Invention of French Conservative "Republicanism"**

Yann Forestier (CAREF, Centre Amiénois de Recherche en Education et Formation)

The French public debate on education is driven by representatives of an ideological spectrum known as « republican ». Their discourse denounces « pedagogues » or « pedagogists », presented as responsible for the deviation of today's school far from the old model of the traditional « republican » school.

However, in the 19th Century, the republican founders of the French secular, free and compulsory school used to champion the ideas and principles now vilified by today's « republicans ». And they did it in the name of republican values.

By questioning the « republican » characterisation of the recent « republican » denunciation of « pedagogism », we go back to the origins of this conservative appropriation of a progressive denomination. As a matter of fact, because of the limited politicisation of its specific issues, school appears as a privileged ground for the making of an ideological position. By exploring new political orientations, the « republican » option has known a considerable posterity in the last decades.

### **L'école, Laboratoire de l'Invention d'un "Républicanisme" Conservateur à la Française**

La mouvance idéologique dite « républicaine », qui anime en France le débat public sur l'école, est fondée sur un discours de dénonciation de « pédagogues » ou « pédagogistes ». Ceux-ci seraient coupables d'entraîner l'école massifiée à l'opposé du modèle ancien de l'école « républicaine ».

Or les fondateurs républicains de l'école laïque, gratuite et obligatoire, ont été au XIXe siècle les meilleurs défenseurs, au nom des valeurs de la République, des idées et des principes pédagogiques vilipendés par les « républicains » d'aujourd'hui.

En interrogeant la qualification « républicaine » de l'actuel discours de dénonciation, on remontera aux origines de cette appropriation conservatrice d'une appellation progressiste. L'école est en fait le terrain privilégié, du fait de la faible politisation des enjeux qui lui sont propres, de la construction d'un positionnement idéologique qui, en explorant de nouvelles orientations politiques, a connu, ces dernières décennies, une postérité considérable.

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### **The Concept of "Appareil Idéologique d'Etat", A Concept Promoting Or Discouraging Progressivism In Education?**

Xavier Riondet (Université de Lorraine)

In a first "ideological assessment" of the 1980s, the militant review *Les Cahiers pédagogiques* wondered what differentiated a "teacher on the left" and a "teacher on the right". Some contributions commented with irony: "The teacher on the left was for a time the one who did the same job as the teacher on the right (selection, grading, exercise of authority, etc.) but by denouncing him after 5pm! Then the one who hoped / sought to teach differently before 5pm! [...] ". In these extracts, the teacher on the left was far from this emancipated figure confronting his words and his way of life. The teacher on the left saw certain things, but did not compare this look with his existence and his practice. Moreover, the review asked a fundamental question: "Does a 15-year-old student make a difference between a teacher who fucks him at the door to have peace and who is on the right, and a teacher who fucks him at the door to enforce a law and who is left? In fact, in the 1980s, the critical work of the 1970s seemed to have discouraged some educational activists from their progressive action in the educational institution. Among these works, the Althusserian work *L'Ecole capitaliste en France* by Baudelot and Establet occupied an important place.

Following various communications on the relationship between Althusserian Marxism-Leninism and the French Communism on the question of progressivism in education (Riondet, 2018, 2019), this communication wishes to address the history and the reception of one of the concepts which emerged within the "Schools" group, a collective of intellectuals who worked around Althusser to think freshly about educational and school issues. Indeed, the concept of « Appareil Idéologique d'Etat » (AIE) was created in this context by Althusser himself. When his collaborators took up the idea of school "form" in Marx's *Capital*, Althusser sought to take advantage of another work by Marx to exploit the idea of "state apparatus" by feeding on other references, like Gramsci and the question of cultural hegemony, or like Machiavel. This communication aims to return to the genealogy of this concept from Althusser's archives but also to identify the reception of this concept among communists, Marxists, but also educators. This concept was often perceived as the decisive piece of a thought consecrating the determinism of social agents and criticizing their alleged progressiveness. What was it really like?

### **Le Concept D' « Appareil Idéologique d'Etat », Un Concept Favorisant Ou Décourageant Le Progressisme en éducation ?**

Dans un premier « bilan idéologique » des années 1980, la revue militante des *Cahiers pédagogiques* s'interrogeait sur ce qui différenciait un « prof de gauche » et un « prof de droite ». Certaines contributions commentaient avec ironie : « Le prof de gauche a été un temps celui qui faisait le même boulot que le prof de droite (sélection, notation, exercice de l'autorité, etc.) mais en le dénonçant

après 17h ! Puis celui qui a espéré/cherché à enseigner autrement avant 17h ! [...] »[1]. Dans ces extraits, le prof de gauche était loin de cette figure émancipée confrontant ses paroles et son mode d'existence. Le prof de gauche voyait certaines choses, mais ne confrontait pas ce regard avec son existence et sa pratique. D'ailleurs, la revue posait une question fondamentale : « Est-ce qu'un élève de 15 ans fait une différence entre un prof qui le fout à la porte pour avoir la paix et qui est de droite, et un prof qui le fout à la porte pour faire respecter une Loi et qui est de gauche ? » De fait, dans les années 1980, l'œuvre de travaux critiques des années 1970 semblait avoir découragé certains militants pédagogiques de leur action progressiste dans l'institution scolaire. Parmi ces travaux, l'ouvrage althussérien *L'Ecole capitaliste en France* de Baudelot et Establet occupait une place importante.

A la suite de différentes communications sur les rapports entre le marxisme-léninisme althussérien et le Parti Communiste Français sur la question du progressisme en éducation (Riondet, 2018, 2019), cette communication souhaite aborder l'histoire et la réception d'un des concepts qui émergea au sein du groupe « Ecoles », collectif d'intellectuels qui œuvra autour d'Althusser pour penser à nouveaux frais la questions éducatives et scolaires. En effet, le concept d'Appareil Idéologique d'Etat (AIE) a la particularité d'avoir été créé dans ce contexte par Althusser lui-même. Là où ses collaborateurs reprenaient chez Marx dans le *Capital* l'idée de « forme » scolaire, Althusser cherchait à tirer profit d'une autre œuvre de Marx pour exploiter l'idée d' « appareil d'Etat » en se nourrissant d'autres références, comme Gramsci et la question de l'hégémonie culturelle, ou comme Machiavel. Cette communication se propose de revenir sur la généalogie de ce concept à partir des archives d'Althusser mais également de cerner la réception de ce concept chez les communistes, les marxistes, mais aussi les éducateurs. Ce concept fut souvent perçu comme la pièce déterminante d'une pensée consacrant le déterminisme des agents sociaux et critiquant leur prétendu progressisme. Qu'en était-il réellement ?

[1] In *Les Cahiers pédagogiques*, n° 194, Bilan idéologique, mai 1981, p. 14.

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## **02-SES 29: ISCHE EDUCATION AND PANDEMICS ARCHIVE**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)

### **ISCHE Education and Pandemics Archive**

Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Inês Félix (Umeå university), Lilli Riettiens (University of Cologne), Ami Kobayashi (University Landau), Rafaela Silva

Rabelo (University of São Paulo), Yver Melchor (Loyola University Chicago), Stefanie Kesteloot (University of Luxembourg)

The impetus to historically preserve experiences in times of COVID-19 is accompanied by an urge to imagine how life will continue after this disruptive crisis. It has therefore been said that the current crisis and its documentation mark a clear-cut historical shift that will be analysed by future historians. This shift will most probably also bring about methodological and technological changes that affect our ways of working as historians of education. The establishment of an ISCHE web archive on education and pandemics represents an opportunity for historians of education from around the globe to participate by contributing content and sharing URLs. In addition, the ISCHE Education and Pandemics Archive will encourage us to reflect on new ways of studying the past and imagine how present and future research should or will be carried out. During this event a group of ISCHE members working on this initiative since February 2021 will introduce the ISCHE Education and Pandemics Archive to the participants of ISCHE 42 – also to encourage response and future collaboration.

### 03-SES 29: SWG 1\_1: CHALLENGING TIMES: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

SWG 1 Research Workshop (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Lajos Somogyvári (University of Pannonia), Marisa BITTAR (Federal University of São Carlos), Thérèse Hamel (Université Laval)

#### **Observatory for the History of Education: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges**

This workshop defines itself as an event of brainstorming, a shared place to give inputs to a newly founded SWG and continue our predecessors' work (Hofstetter, Picard, Fontain & Huitric, 2014)– we will take theoretical, methodological issues into consideration, collect ideas and work together. Our main goal is to go beyond single cases and establish possible common frameworks for further analyses; discuss and reflect our terms, ideas and concepts, related to the History of Education. According to Koselleck (2006) historians should explore and unfold their notions and language used, creating semantics of the past to understand our present and future (2004).

The focus points and topics will be the following:

##### Internationalisation

In the academic sphere there has been a strong requirement to internationalise our work as teachers and scholars – do we understand the same under this umbrella concept? On what levels and in which contexts can we evaluate and interpret this need of cooperation in the HoE? There is a broad historical scale from micro to global (de Vries, 2019), including local, regional and transnational directions (Fuchs & Eugenia Roldán, 2019), vertical and horizontal views, differing above and below between localities, countries, continents and so on. This kind of thinking affect cultural and linguistic issues too: by causing similarities and differences in translating national or international systems of education, we make constructions about how to teach and research the HoE.

##### Institutionalisation

Universities, journals, organisations/societies and conferences has been in the focus of mapping, observing the field of HoE, with describing courses, contents and syllabus the discipline looks at itself

and reflects its own development and place in education sciences. Different volumes (Paedagogica Historica, 2012; Popkewitz, 2013; History of Education Quarterly, 2013; Espacio, Tiempo y Educación, 2016) expressed this growing interest, articulated the sense of crisis, and the need of rethinking the positions of not just the historians of education, but all members of the humanities – in teacher training and (expanding our boundaries) in the whole academic-research sphere.

#### Social impact

If our theoretical basics, methodologies within the science are being reframed, a definite question arises about the roles, functions and meanings of HoE in the everyday life. What are the relevant points and possible benefits of our study for the societies and communities? The contemporary debates about past, memory and identities give a unique opportunity to make different arguments and discourses transparent, showing the complex nature of historical-social realities. The title of the conference can be seen from this viewpoint as topographies of hierarchy and hegemony, the above and below of a discipline, social group, institution, geographical location etc.

All of these questions connected with some uncertainties and multiple meanings of widely known phrases, which has got several geographical and historical dimensions. Each topic will be linked with a short, thought-provoking introductory presentation; then a period of activity, involving the audience in it; at the end conclude what we have got and what we are curious for.

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**THURSDAY June 24                      2:00 - 3:30**

**01-SES 31: SWG 5\_1: INSIDE THE INSTITUTIONS. GROWING UP IN OUT-OF-HOME CARE IN POST-WAR EAST- AND WEST EUROPE**

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Jeroen J.H. Dekker (University of Groningen), David Niget (Université d'Angers), Els Dumortier (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), Aurore François (UCLouvain)

### **The social participation in the reforms of educational services in Italy, France and the Soviet Union (1968-1980)**

Dorena Caroli (University of Bologna)

The purpose of this article is to investigate one of the main phases of transformation of childcare services after the Second World War on the basis of a plurality of sources (periodicals, theoretical treatises and archival documents). In fact, even before the emergence of the movement of 1968, there was a movement of social participation in the management of educational services for preschool children, which can be considered a unique phenomenon in the history of these institutions. The adoption of the comparative method dealing with Italy, France and the Soviet Union shows that social participation was a global phenomenon, visible in Italy and France; even in the Soviet Union the so-called “Thaw” implied some mechanisms of greater democratization in the management of educational services for children. In all countries these institutions were conceived as services for the working woman, although the role of social and political participation also implied a new way of life in the neighborhoods of the city, at the local level, aiming at developing a new socialization culture for children. Indeed, in France one can observe the birth of a social movement that conceived these institutions as a real space for socialization for very young children and for the involvement of parents in the educational processes. In Italy, following the promulgation of Law 1044 of 1971, the management of day nurseries was decentralized, with small State funding and greater local investments. Also in the Soviet Union during the period of the “Brezhnev Thaw”, although there was a constant contradictory attitude of the regime towards the family, the nursery school faced with the fading “of the collective myth”, the differentiation of educational services (which connected nursery schools and kindergarten in 1959) and new educational practices in daily routine. The main hypothesis of this work is that, beyond the 1968 protest movements, the need of a new pedagogy appropriate to the children aged 0-3 spread internationally, by rethinking the relation between private / public education, the role of parenthood, the institutional set-up of services for children, as common and uneven traits (or places) of the transnational circulation that has characterized these particular educational spaces unceasingly.

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- 2) Ferrari, M., *Asili nido e scuole dell'infanzia nel primo trentennio della Repubblica italiana tra proposte educative e disposizioni normative*, in G. Zago (a cura di), *L'educazione extrascolastica nella seconda metà del Novecento. Tra espansione e rinnovamento (1945-1976)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017, pp. 63-84.
- 3) Caroli, D., *Day nurseries and childcare in Europe, 1800-1939*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

### **Insights Into The Placement of Young Girls Through Personal Files (1970-2000): Reflections On The Case Of A Swiss Canton**

Rebecca Crettaz (University of Geneva)

This presentation is part of the project "A coercive protection? Assessing child protection norms and decision-making in the age of children's rights (French-speaking Switzerland, 1960s-2010s)", currently underway within the National Research Program 76 of the Swiss National Research Foundation. Based on the analysis of personal files, the paper aims to shed light on the decision-making processes of civil or criminal proceedings (1960-2000) in the field of child and youth protection in the context of the Wallis canton. The presentation will focus on young girls taken in by authorities who, when they pronounced a placement measure, had to deal with both lack of suitable places, but also with gendered issues specific to young girls (particularly in connection with their sexuality). What was the type of profile that determined authorities to seek an institutional placement? Was it possible for the young persons concerned to escape these measures, and how? How did families position themselves in the (multiple) decision-making processes leading to a placement (accommodation, resistance)?

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### **Early Childhood Education in Care Institutions in Portugal (19th and early 20th centuries).**

Margarida Louro Felgueiras (University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Sciences Education, CIIE), Rosa do Céu Basto (Science and Technology Foundation, FCT, doctoral student scholarship)

In the history of education, childhood was a relatively forgotten field of historiography in general (Ariès, 1996). Only from the 1970s, with the work of Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, Early Childhood Education in Portugal (1977), early childhood education began to gain prominence in Portuguese historiography. Some studies focused on the knowledge of female education in religious schools but did not focus on the issue of education dedicated to children at social risk. The Luso-Brazilian project "Childhood and its education (1820-1950): materials, practices and representations" (Fernandes & Faria Filho (org.), 2002-2004) and the Childhood History Museology Researchers Network (RIHMIE) are examples of this new look and the constitution of a new work area (Fernandes & Vidigal (coord.) 2005), (Fernandes, Lopes & Faria Filho (org.), 2006), Faria Filho (org.), 2004). In Portugal, the work of Rogério Fernandes (1994) brings a significant set of data on colleges, nursing homes, shelters, seminars and other institutions dedicated to the reception, protection and education of children in neglect and poverty during the 18th and 19th centuries. Also in the field of history, Sá & LOPES (2008), developed studies on the action of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy) in Portugal and the custody, protection and education of abandoned and marginalized children. Recently, the work

coordinated by Inês Amorim (2018) addressed the protection and education of children in nursing homes and institutions of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia of Porto. In the 19th century, charitable institutions were developed, whose purpose is no longer essentially to collect and protect orphans, abandoned and vagrant children but to care about their education, in order to integrate them later in the labor market and socially.

This communication aims to briefly present the educational differentiation according to social strata, verified in institutions created by philanthropists, in the Porto region, in charge of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia. From the archive documentation, photographs, spaces, furniture and reports of the Directors and Purveyors, we can identify different educational proposals, according to the level and social destiny of the boarder children. Some girls from the local bourgeoisie, as orphans, were affected by the risk of poverty, so education should guarantee a return to their original social class through marriage; others were poor or abandoned and the purpose was to discipline them for and for work. We verified the existence of an education guided by strict religious standards until 1910 and after 1926. In the period of the 1st Republic(1910-1926) the education was guided by pedagogical-hygienist norms, with the valorization of physical education and body care. However, Catholic religious education would prevail in those institutions to this day. Educational differentiation according to social class was made at the level of institutions and their educational proposals; within each, the existence of student categories deepened this differentiation.

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#### **02-SES 31: SWG 1\_2: HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TRANSITION: PROFESSIONALISATION AND NETWORKING**

SWG 1 Research Workshop (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Thérèse Hamel (Université Laval), Lajos Somogyvári (University of Pannonia), Marisa BITTAR (Federal University of São Carlos)

#### **Trends in Associated Activities of Pedagogical Historians in the Baltic States**

Dalia Survutaitė (Vytautas Magnus University)

The decreasing popularity of pedagogical history all over the world (Campbell, Sherington, 2002) encouraged researchers representing a small research community in the Baltic states to unite (Soblis, 1938) analysing relevant issues of education and training. Educational history as a uniting area of interest and teaching served as a cornerstone of such collaboration. In the second half of the 20th c. pedagogical historians started joining into research groups. The meetings of such groups became continuous and were held in Tallinn, Estonia (1973, 1977, 1982); Vilnius, Lithuania (1980); Daugavpils (1975, 1978, 1981) and Riga, Latvia (1989). Prominent researchers initiated collaboration of Baltic pedagogical historians and organised conferences.

After the restoration of independence in each Baltic state in 1990 pedagogical historians continued traditions of their long-standing activities also bringing new members together. The meetings held in Jaunpili (1991, Latvia), Tallinn (1992, Estonia), Riga (1993, Latvia) are well-known.

Turning to pedagogical ideas and their implementation not only purposefully highlights the positiveness of novation and nurtures it but also fosters a targeted development of the state and prevailing culture. Paraphrasing I. Kestere (2014), explanation and interpretation of educational history facts will become useful for society as well as interesting. The analysis of publications in "History of Education", (Raftery, Crook, 2012), "Paedagogica Historica" (Dekker, Simon, 2014) shows that pedagogical historians tend to constantly return to methodological discussions and international research (Droux, Hofstetter, 2014) on relevant topics in pedagogy considered in many countries.

The researchers in educational history, elaborating on the past phenomena, more accurately identify the origins of the current scientific ideas. I. Stonkuvienė (2016) notices that the research on the link between the present educational science, pedagogical thoughts and educational science that followed the humanist trend in pre-occupation period in Lithuania (1918-1940) has been still relevant. It is also important to investigate and evaluate the development of the school in the soviet period, evolution of science of education and training and factors that resulted in deformation of its traditional trend.

The focus is laid on the activities of pedagogical historians in the Baltic States after the restoration of their independence. The contribution of the researchers in educational history from the three states, i.e. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, to development of research on the theory of pedagogy is analysed.

Following the methodological approach of documentary research, the sources of annual reports of pedagogical historians' activities, archival data of association, personal participation diary were analysed. The data were processed using the inductive version of qualitative content analysis.

It is assumed that pedagogical historians from the Baltic states have preserved and continued a long-standing tradition of nurturing educational history as culture.

It can be concluded that research in pedagogical history conducted through joint efforts in the three Baltic States over the two decades of independence have expanded the area of comparative pedagogy, enhanced the visibility of educational science (pedagogical history) of the Baltic States and, thus, have improved understanding of educational phenomena and processes as well as a possibility of ensuring sustainability of education quality.

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#### **THURSDAY June 24                      4:00 - 5:30**

##### **01-SES 32: GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Panel Session (English)

Chair(s) and Discussant(s): Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg), Diana Gonçalves Vidal (University of São Paulo), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV)

#### **THURSDAY June 24                      6:00 - 8:00**

##### **ECR SPECIAL EVENT 03: ECR MINGLE**

To cap-off the ISCHE conference, we offer one last social opportunity for early career researchers (ECRs) to connect, network, and reflect on the previous two weeks of presentation and discussions. This celebratory event will take place in Gather.town, where participants will be able to share drinks, stories, and ideas in a simulated [beer garden/rooftop party] space.

The event is created and chaired by the current members of the ISCHE ECR THINKERING INITIATIVE (<https://www.ische.org/ecr-thinkering-initiative/>):

Inês Félix (Umeå university), Josefine Wähler (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin//DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education), Arnis Strazdiņš (University of Latvia), Fanny Isensee (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Jona Garz (Humboldt-University Berlin // University of Zurich),

Chelsea Rodriguez (University of Groningen), Lilli Riettiens (University of Cologne), Franziska Primus (Örebro University), Daniel Töpper (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Lisbeth Matzer (LMU Munich)

For questions regarding the event contact [er-ische42@ische.org](mailto:er-ische42@ische.org)