



education and nature

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Book of Abstracts



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1.1 SYMPOSIUM HOW NATURE IS GIVEN NAMES: THE INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCE OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE POST WORLD WAR TWO YEARS (1/3)

HOW NATURE IS GIVEN NAMES: THE THEORIES AND METHODS OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AS CULTURAL PROJECTS

Chair: Thomas S. Popkewitz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Discussant: Lynn Fendler (Michigan State University), Noah W. Sobe (Loyola University Chicago)

How Benchmarks and “Scientific Evidence” Becomes Possible to Think “the Nature of People and Society”: The Post WW II American Educational Research and Development Centers (English)

Thomas S. Popkewitz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

The massive US social welfare reforms in the post-World War years of the Great Society and War on Poverty mobilized the social and education sciences to engage in massive social reforms. This paper examines the epistemic principles that organized the research that formed in a national-wide reform for elementary school children’s learning developed at The Wisconsin Center for Research and Development (R&D) for Learning and Reeducation, one of the seven federally centers to assist the state reform efforts to increase social mobility and equity. It considers the principles generated about the nature of people and the processes of change in the Research & Development Center’s research on mathematics and reading education, and the psychologies of learning. Examined are the inscription of system’s thought with cybernetics that focused on “output-optimizing”, “knowledge utilization”; and which methodologically entailed an empiricism that focused on process and communication patterns.

The paradox of the epistemic framing of the nature of the child in educational research is discussed: system theory inscribed principles of stability as models about models of change about an anticipated future; there was a comparative style of reasoning that (re)visioned the early 20th century Social Question of changing urban populations considered as deviant. The epistemic changes are related to research today about what counts as practical and useful knowledge in research about benchmarks and reforms based on scientific evidence.

Comparative Education Research at the Border between History Inquiries and Social Sciences in Sweden 1960-2006 (English)

Rita Foss Lindblad (University of Borås), Sverker Lindblad (University of Gothenburg)

Comparative education research evolved between the humanities and the social sciences as formulated in case studies or variable studies (Nóvoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2007) and as different epistemological streams (Epstein, 2008). Boundary work (Gieryn, 1983) institutionalization controversies are vital in order to capture this field of study. We analyze comparative education institutionalization in the Swedish welfare state after WW2. Following Nowotny et

al, 2003) this development is regarded as tandem processes in welfare state education and research (Foss Lindblad & Lindblad, 2016)

We ask: from what positions and with what arguments are the contradictions in comparative education research displayed and how is it institutionalized over time. The chosen period begins with the making of the comprehensive school reform in Sweden in 1960 ends with the closing of the Swedish institute of international education in 2006. Material used for the analysis are national and supranational policy documents, biographies, interviews and research evaluations.

Three findings are presented here: Firstly, comparative education in Sweden started with traveling tales, was reformulated as cases within education history research and was to a large extent replaced variable studies based on international large scale assessments in the 1970s. A Swedish Institute of International Education was established by the government in 1971 based on international comparisons and assessments and its assumed potential for effective educational change. However, the institute closed down by Stockholm University in 2006. Secondly, international comparisons were emphasized as a governing tool after the restructuring of education at the time that the IIE was closed. Thirdly, this institutionalization and de-institutionalization was framed by policy changes in research as well as in education. Today the field of comparative education contains positions in history of education and in variable studies, but its intellectual organization is weak and so is the critical impact on public educational discourses.

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A “Return to Nature” via Design. Experiments in Tactile and Visual Pedagogies, 1950s-1970s (English)

Inés Dussel (CINVESTAV)

This paper explores the emergence of tactile and visual pedagogies in the 1950s-1970s as a “return to nature”, understood as a new mobilization of the senses in education. It will analyze the works of Bruno Munari (Italian, 1907-1998) and Matthias Goeritz (Germany-Mexico, 1915-1990) as two designers and educationists who proposed paths to knowledge that went beyond intellectual cognition and involved the senses. Munari developed ‘tactile workshops’ in the 1970s, mostly in Italy but had followers in Europe, USA and Latin America.

Goeritz, a member of the Bauhaus who left Germany in 1936 and lived in Mexico since 1949, run the Visual Education Workshop at the National University of Mexico for almost four decades. Their works present a particular embodiment of what “nature” is and about how children learn.

In the paper I will look at their works under the light of their conceptualization of knowledge, the sensorial, space, and pedagogy, trying to analyze their participation in the new governmentalities that emerged during the Cold War. The traces of these pedagogies are evident in today’s digital media pedagogies, that privilege touch and sight over other senses. A reappraisal of the post-war design pedagogies might help understand these assemblages, and discuss how nature and the sensorial was mobilized to produce a new understanding of human nature and learning.

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Data Redundancy: A Postwar Fever of Archiving the Naturalness of the Comparable Others (English)

Junzi Huang (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

From 1950s to 1970s, dozens of universities in the U.S. joined together to create the program of HRAF (the Human Relations Area Files), aiming at building large data of the classification of mankind for future sociological and anthropological study. The organization attracted funding for the potentialities the style of data building showed during World War II: A series of handbooks of “civil affairs” especially of people in Pacific islands and Asian countries were completed within an insanely short period of time with the support of the military; meanwhile, the series of handbooks were said to play an important role in military actions in that area. The wholesale style of anthropological and sociological investigation was already proliferating in missionary journals and recorders in early twentieth century for the practicality of urban planning and the epistemic fever of knowing “others”. Social sciences specifically marked down “behavior” “spirit” “ethnicity”, etc. as the epistemic indicators of human nature manifested in different societies. The re-emergence of the style of large, practical data building in postwar years, however, indicates different deployment of knowledge to meticulously process the science of the naturalness of “Others”.

The paper studies the statements emerged in the transition governed by the epistemic economy of knowledge especially in East Asia, especially on how modes of interrogation study “mankind” as a particular “species” with its biological, anthropological and sociological varieties immersed in the society. Furthermore the paper argues that it is not by establishing the data of human behaviors that social sciences are able to conduct the comparative study

of mankind and societies. The data are not dormant volcano waiting for the explosion of hermeneutics of societal subjects, rather, it was within the politics of *comparison* that the data of specific targeted populations are thus possible to be recognized, observed, collected and accounted for.

1.2 PREFORMED PANEL TRANSLATING THE EDUCATED SELF:

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING BILDUNG IN NORWAY, ENGLAND, AND JAPAN, 1850-1975

'Bildung' as a self-reflexive norm: democratization in Norway 1850–1975 (English)

Ingerid Straume (University of Oslo)

The current interest in theories of bildung (author, 2013) as well as its poststructuralist critics (Masschelein & Ricken, 2003) can be seen to indicate that the concept of bildung operates as a “self-reflexive norm” (Koselleck, 2002). According to this notion, ongoing debates about what “really” counts as bildung, and whether a certain educational practice corresponds to bildung ideals are reflections of the essential indeterminacy of the concept – and it is this indeterminacy that enables a society to renew itself through deliberations upon what education, or bildung, ought to be. Thus in a larger perspective, discussions about educational ideals, norms etc. reflect a society’s ability to question and renew its own institutions and imaginary significations (Castoriadis, 1987). Historical examples include the co-birth of democratic politics and philosophy in Greek antiquity, where paideia was a constant, public concern; Germany’s “golden age” around 1770- 1830, whose philosophies of Bildung were integral to the creation of the educational systems of Northern Europe, and the democratization of the Scandinavian nation states. In the smallest and most rural of these, Norway, the notion of bildung [danning] fuelled processes of popular, non-elitist enlightenment – a bildung from below – which resulted in a consolidation of social classes which has been characterised as a “bildung compromise” (Slagstad, 2003) that facilitated political stability and a high level of trust. After a relatively long silence, bildung reemerged in the years following of 1968 and the critique of positivism and scientism. In all these cases, it can be argued that self-reflexivity in educational questions are connected to political institution-making which in turn connects to the question of bildung.

Keywords: institution-making, self-reflexivity, anti-elitism, Scandinavia, democratization

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Women's letters as 'Bildung-like' instruments in Victorian England: a Foucauldian reading of Wilhelm von Humboldt's educational concept (English)

Meritxell Simon-Martin (Roehampton University)

Bildung is a controversial German neo-humanist term that, as conceptualised by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), proposed a whole new educational project: to bring all the potential contained within each person to full expression as a means towards social progress. Bildung is the object of renewed attention in theories of education today. While it is contested for its classist and sexist bias, it is also reconceptualised as a powerful tool to counterbalance market-oriented instrumentalist uses of education. Seeking to contribute to these debates from the perspective of the history of education, my current research project puts into play a critical reading of Bildung to explore personal correspondence as educational instruments for middleclass women in the context of nineteenth-century England. Persuaded of its potential as a thinking tool, analysing letters as Bildung-like tools is an original way of exploring epistles as sources of informal education for literate women in Victorian England. Focusing on the theoretical framework of this research project, this paper will put forward the Foucauldian reading of Bildung I explore. Understanding Bildung as a power apparatus (Masschelein and Ricken 2003), my suggestion is that the epistolary gebildet self of the Victorian ladies under study is not only an effect of power but also a relais of power as well as the result of resistance. On that account, these epistolary gebildet selves are articulated within dominant (gendered) discursive regimes; concomitantly, they contributed to circulating oppressive assumptions about certain social categories; nonetheless, simultaneously, they are the result of an agentic re-appropriation and challenge of circulating discourses (including on bourgeois femininity) that reveal a feminist epistolary self-development.

Keywords: Humboldt's Bildung, Foucault, Victorian England, letters, informal education, epistolary self-development, power, resistance/agency, feminism

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Masschelein, Jan and Ricken, Norbert (2003) "Do We (Still) Need the Concept of Bildung?" *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 35, 2, pp.139–154.

Life-Writing, "Education Science" and Social Justice: Reevaluating Modern Japanese Education and the Seikatsu Kyoiku Ronso through the Concept of Bildung, 1918-1952 (English)

Patrick Shorb (Akita International University)

Historians (e.g. Lincicome, 1995; Duke, 2009) have long noted the influence of German educational thought on modern Japanese education; but such research has tended to dwell on its impact on specific pedagogical methods (e.g. the Herbartian "5-Step Method"). Bildung-like discourses concerned with "moral cultivation" (陶冶), have tended to be placed within indigenous Neo-Confucian or Zen Buddhist traditions (e.g. Nakauchi, 1970; Yamamoto, 2014). When juxtaposed with later waves of "scientific" discourses from America in the 1920s, 1940s and 1960s, moreover, such emphases on normative morality have tended to be dismissed as reactionary. This presentation problematizes these assumptions by looking at the multi-dimensional influence of German bildung-concepts on the largest grass-roots educational movement of prewar Japan, the so-called "Life Writing Pedagogy Movement" (生活綴り方運

動, hereafter LWPM). First, this presentation will explore how bildung discourses influenced prewar Japanese practitioners. Drawing upon the scholarship of translation studies (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1997), it will look at how specific German discourses were reconstituted in new ways: i.e. Japanese constructions of lebensphilosophie during the 1920s, the social justice theories of Marxist educators during the Great Depression, and the hermeneutics of Wilhelm Dilthey in the mid-1930s. Second, it will explore how these influences led the LWPM to break with the influential “Education Science” movement (led by Tomeoka Kiyoo and Kido Mantaro) during “Life Education Debate” (生活教育論争) of the late 1930s. Finally, it will look at the legacy of this split between bildung-inspired practitioners and “scientificist” academics. During World War II, German-informed practitioners resisted Japanese wartime education policies more consistently than American-inspired “scientific” scholars. Ironically, it was the intellectual descendants of Dilthey –not Dewey—that proved the most dogged proponents of social justice and subjective autonomy in the postwar Japanese curriculum.

Keywords: Bildung, Japanese education, writing pedagogy, Wilhelm Dilthey, lebensphilosophie, Life-Writing, “Education Science,” Sasaki Ko, Kokubun Ichitaro, Tomeoka Kiyoo,

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1.3 PREFORMED PANEL EDUCATION AND THE NATURE OF BUSINESS

Chair: Anne Berg (University of Uppsala), Michael Geiss (University of Zurich)

Vocational education and the changing nature of agriculture: the case of Sweden’s rural domestic economy schools for women (English)

Gustav Berry (University of Uppsala)

Vocational education helped change the nature of agricultural business in the 20th century. The dominant view in the historiography of agricultural education is that formal instruction became a necessity as farming grew increasingly reliant on machinery and scientific management of land, crops and cattle. However, this does not help explain why agricultural education took such a multitude of forms and was called upon to serve such a range of problems in the age of modernity. In the light of recent work in rural history and the history of education, there is reason to revise our understanding of the history of agricultural education. Furthermore, there is a need to expand empirically on this object of study. By investigating

the case of Sweden's education in rural domesticity the history of women's agricultural education – a previously overlooked phenomenon – can be brought to the fore, opening up for a new inquiries and a re-reading of the established narrative. Rural domestic education can be understood as one of many attempts to govern the rural, an increasingly problematic arena in industrialised Europe, a locus for state interventions and the social and technical engineering of different experts. With the farm house and its social, moral and economic values at the centre of attention, rural domestic education attracted much political interest as well as large numbers of female students. What was the purpose of this schooling and how was it related to the (re)production of the modern economy and different problems facing the rural milieu? By studying the rationale of rural domestic education as it was framed by different actors holding stakes in it – the state, the professions, social classes and interest groups – this paper seeks to engage in a discussion on how this educational endeavour can be understood.

Economies of the body: a capitalist approach to vocational education and professional orientation at the beginning of the 20th Century (English)

Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg), Frederik Herman (Northwestern University of Applied Sciences and Arts)

This paper looks at the role of the Luxembourg steel industry in experimenting with psychometric techniques in professional orientation and vocational training as a way of “naturalising” industrialisation and mechanisation through focusing on the nature and economy of the human body and senses. In Luxembourg, psychometric techniques were first employed in the psycho-physiological laboratory of the Institut Emile Metz, a vocational school founded by industrialists in 1914, and accompanied by various other forms of educating the body (e.g., modern gymnastics). As the capitalist sphere of production threatened to give rise to economic risks and social conflicts, and to decontextualise human experience, one of the biggest challenges faced by industrialists was to “naturalise” and “normalise” the relationship between bodies, minds, and machines. Within this context, the human sensory capacities were perceived as important mediators of body-machine interrelations and facilitators of embodied relations in a mechanised world. Indeed, Luxembourg industrialists imagined the human body, its functions and senses, as a prototype perfectly suited for naturalising and normalising capitalist ways of production. As a result, reform initiatives in vocational education and professional orientation aimed at enhancing the workers' attachment to the “technosphere,” in the process blurring the notions of a “natural” (read: close) and “unnatural” (distant) relationship to the sphere of production.

The paper examines how capitalist approaches to vocational training were not only based on improvised variations of traditional practices, tools, and devices of craftsmanship, but simultaneously combined with psychometric, science-based training, and related ways of subjectification to establish embodied relations with the “technosphere.” It is argued that sensory learning processes were key elements of capitalist economies of the body, as they were not only considered to generate monetary profit, but also to evoke intimacy and feelings of ownership rather than alienation.

Technical education and regional development: technical secondary schools as nodes for industrial development in Sweden 1850-1900 (English)

Fay Lundh Nilsson (University of Lund), Per-Olof Grönberg (Luleå University of Technology)

In Sweden, one solution to the regional demands in today's industry has been to establish technical colleges all over the country. This situation is in part similar to the mid-19th century, when the lack of qualified workers for the growing industry led to the establishment of regionally based technical secondary schools in southern and central Sweden. The aim of this paper is to highlight the often overlooked role of this medium-level technical education for regional recruitment of technicians. Out of four technical secondary schools, established during the 1850s, we have chosen two schools, the one in Malmö and the one in Borås, for a thorough study based on a variety of biographic and demographic sources. We investigate the students' migration patterns to and from the schools as well as the career patterns among the graduates, answering questions such as: How large were the schools' student catchment areas? To what extent did the graduates stay in the regions upon graduation? To what extent did the education at the technical secondary schools meet the demands of the regional industry? To what degree did the graduates become regionally important entrepreneurs and innovators?

Collective skill formation and the nature of business associations: a comparative historical analysis of Switzerland and Germany (English)

Patrick Emmenegger (University of St. Gallen), Lukas Graf (Hertie School of Governance), Alexandra Strebler (University of St. Gallen, Swiss Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training)

Switzerland's political economy is characterised by a high level of decentralised cooperation. This is particularly obvious in the case of the collective governance of the renowned Swiss skill formation system. The cornerstone of this system are the so-called "Organisations of the world of work (OdA)" – i.e. employer or trade associations, occupational associations, crafts association, and a variety of mixed associations – in charge of developing the wide range of Swiss vocational training programs. The notion of OdA is key to an understanding of the collective governance of Swiss vocational education and training – and, arguably, of why the Swiss coordinated market economy differs from the German one. This paper delivers the first in-depth account of the OdA landscape, based on an extensive database of the relevant 160 Swiss OdA and their key organisational features. We find that OdA represent a highly differentiated associational structure reflecting the long Swiss tradition of private interest government. In the historical part, we show that OdA are organised around occupations and economic sectors in complex ways: as hybrid associations, they express cooperation both within capital (inter-employer collective action) as well as between labour and capital (cross-class collective action). While the empirical analysis focusses on the Swiss case, we refer to evolution of the German vocational training system as a shadow case. Thus, we can show that the Swiss associational structure is far more diversified than the German one. Furthermore, unlike the literature on the German case of collective skill formation would suggest, Switzerland illustrates that a strong role of labour unions is not necessarily required for a collective training system to flourish. We conclude that OdA serve as an "institutional glue" that enables cooperative capitalism in a strongly decentralised system, helping us to understand better the low conflict nature of Swiss capitalism.

Making managers in Europe after 1945: a conceptual framework (English)

Anne Berg (University of Uppsala), Michael Geiss (University of Zurich)

When former Trotskyist James Burnham announced a „Managerial Revolution“ taking place in the early 1940's, a process that in his view would end capitalism, this revolution had already been in play for some decades at the company level. Management and leadership as a special professional task to be performed became more and more important since the firms where growing and hierarchical formal structures were implemented. As the different staff positions had to be legitimised, this change asked for a profound training of the members of middle and higher management. Although there have been a lot of predecessors, management education became a well-known issue after 1945 in Europe and the rest of the industrialised world. Some of the business schools where just special departments within the universities and higher education institutions. Others where founded as stand-alone institutes or even just belonged to one major company. But how can this process be understood? In economics and economical history, there has been a lot of research on the emergence of management education in the 20th century. What is still missing is a comparative conceptual discussion of the different findings. In our paper we will try to map the main findings about the history of management education following two conceptions usually applied. First, the diffusion of management education has been described as a form of Americanisation after the Second World War, focusing on the transmission of ideas and programs in a transnational perspective. The other strand has had a state versus market perspective, underlining the specific national milieus that promoted the rise of different kinds of management education systems in Europe. In our paper we will offer a rereading and thus a new conceptual framework for understanding the development and functions of management education in industrial society, merging and transcending the current dominant views on the subject.

1.4 PREFORMED PANEL NATURE AS A PROPAGANDISTIC ICON DURING TOTALITARIANISMS.

TRACING TRANSNATIONAL SEMBLANCES AND DIFFERENCES SHOWN IN VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS

Chair: Eulàlia Collell demont (University of Vic - UCC)

Discussant: Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham)

Nature as an Educator of the New Soviet Man (English)

Iveta Kestere (University of Latvia)

The key concept of the Soviet pedagogy was creation of all-around perfect human being called a 'New Soviet Man.' To accomplish this task, seven strict directions of communist upbringing were set for the Soviet pedagogues, namely, intellectual, atheistic, moral, patriotic, aesthetic upbringing, as well as upbringing for productive labour and physical training (Ilyna, 1964). The objective of my paper is to reveal how nature was involved and used in the entire seven directions of communist upbringing and how nature became a pedagogical tool of creation of perfect New Soviet Man. Main sources of my study are the Soviet textbooks and pedagogical press.

Fabricating a Modern Fascist Nature. Visual Representations of the Bonifica integrale in Italian Educational Films and Documentaries in the 1920s and 1930s (English)

Anne Bruch (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research)

In May 1924, the first effort to implement the fascist national programme for bonifica integrale (integral reclamation of land and forest) was accomplished. The so-called 'lex Serpieri' included not only a strategic restructuring of nature for agrarian purposes (drainage of marshes, reforestation, as well as irrigation) but also institutional innovations in health and education. Apart from the actual improvements in living and sanitary conditions (e.g. elimination of malaria-infected anopheles mosquitoes in the Pontine Marshes in Lazio), the ambitious and cost-intensive scheme aimed at three intentions according to the fascist ideology. Therefore it was portrayed by official information channels as a determined mission for creating an 'ideal' fascist landscape for the 'ideal' fascist citizen. Furthermore, by 'cultivating' the natural landscape, the fascist regime believed that Italy would enter the 'modern age' after a challenging state-formation process, regenerate her international standing, and bring the Italian economy on the same level with other industrialized countries. And finally, the programme was seen as a project to promote national unity and identity.

From the very beginning of Mussolini's regime, fascist propaganda was disseminated via cinematography. It was seen as the ideal propaganda instrument ("la cinematografia è l'arma più forte", Mussolini), and correspondingly a large quantity of educational films, documentaries, and newsreels was produced by the state owned Istituto LUCE (L'Unione cinematografica educativa) and screened in schools, cinemas as well as leisure and recreational institutions. These films had the task not only to inform but also to educate the Italians about the landscape changes intended by the fascist ideology.

In my paper I would like to address two different aspects of nature and education in fascist Italy. Firstly, I analyse the various discourses and representations that were attached to the remodelling of modern fascist landscapes in Italy and her colonies. And secondly, I examine the different narratives, visual representations, tropes and didactical methods that were used in educational films to disseminate the fascist vision of an ideal nature and ideal citizen in Italy and its colonies.

The Nature as a pedagogical icon (English)

Raquel Cercós (University of Barcelona), Eulàlia Collelldemont (University of Vic - UCC)

From the very first productions by the No-Do (Noticiarios y documentales cinematográficos españoles), concretely, the No-Do. N.3 from 18.01.1943 we can see the representation of nature as a privileged educative context. In it, we can see a wild countryside that requires from youth an attitude balancing between survival and improvement. Formative actions shown are those corresponding in developing strategies and physical ability competences that address as much to the physical condition as to the moral dimension of the body. Regarding to the body dimension it is made clear that the intention is forming strong enduring bodies. Whereas to the moral dimension, we observe that in the aspect of sacrifice as well as in that of group spirit. In this paper, we get deep into No-Do representations to remark the continuity of this natural scenery, which became a symbol and icon of Francoism.

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1.5 PREFORMED PANEL LEARNING DOMINION OVER NATURE -

FORMS OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL LANDNAHME IN THE LONG 19TH CENTURY

The Nature of the Turks and the Soil of Turkey (Deutsch)

Ingrid Lohmann (Universität Hamburg)

By the 19th century, the old stereotype of Turks as barbarous hordes from innermost Asia (hence, as the ignoble savage) begins to recede. It is replaced by a greater focus on modernisation and reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire which some commentators even compared to the Prussian liberal reforms of the early 19th century after the defeat to Napoleon. This view extended into the educational establishment. There were also instances of Germans trying to found agrarian settlements – a form of external Landnahme that was projected e.g. in Macedonia and Western Anatolia. In contemporary literature on the subject, these projects are justified with the argument that Christians, but not Muslims ('Orientals'), are capable of efficient agriculture and can thus economically valorise "desolate" (verwahrlost) lands through productive labour. This is complemented by the idea that certain regions of "Homeric geography" are rightly part of the West and not of 'Turkey' (though the partial belonging of the country to Europe is conceded in some texts).

Educators played a significant role in this transformation. They developed new patterns arguing the legitimacy of subjecting territories of the Ottoman Empire – which was initially almost untouched by capital relationships, but increasingly indebted first to Britain and France, later also to Germany – to a semicolonial regime of resource exploitation. It was their task to justify events with concepts such as 'moral conquest'. German enthusiasm for an expanded economic and educational cooperation with the Ottoman Empire accordingly rose after 1900 with the project of the Baghdad railway – a project in which both German industry and the Deutsche Bank were strongly involved.

The focus of this contribution will be specifically on the share of the educational establishment to this process in the formation of the German Empire. It traces the change in constructions of 'Turkey' and 'Turks' in, among others, the proceedings of the *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Assembly of German Philologists and Educators) and the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (German Oriental Society). At the centre lie the discourse connections between a) classical Greek antiquity as an educational asset, b) the regions of "Homeric geography" as natural and ideational resources, and c) the idea that the

territories and this cultural area 'properly' belongs to the West, to Humanism, to Christianity, to Europe, ultimately: to Germany.

Pioneers of Culture Bound for Nature Overseas: The Deutsche Kolonialschule in Witzenhausen (1898-1944) (Deutsch)

Sylvia Kesper-Biermann (Universität Hamburg)

The focus of this contribution is the Deutsche Kolonialschule in Witzenhausen. It was founded in 1898 to train farmers in methods to cultivate Germany's colonies. The curriculum required a three-year full-time course on site, and about 650 young men graduated before 1914. Classes continued unchanged after the loss of Germany's colonies, and demand remained high as the school cast itself as a "university of Germanism abroad" and a "colonial educational institution". By the time the school closed for good in 1944, it had produced 2,300 graduates.

The contribution will use the example of the colonial school to explore both a concrete example of external Landnahme and the relationship between culture and nature in two respects: First, Landnahme here means literal colonisation as the school gave its graduates the theoretical and practical skills needed to farm in the colonies. Thus, we must look into what knowledge and skills were imparted in order to render nature in Germany's 'overseas' economically useful. Secondly, we must explore the relationship between nature and culture, between the civilised and the primitive that is expressed in the curriculum. Germany's colonial farmers were sent overseas not only to bring practical knowledge, but also as 'pioneers of culture' (Kulturpioniere) bringing German culture in its entirety into a distant land they imagined in an untouched natural state.

Forming Landscapes, Industrialising Life-Worlds: Environments of Education and Socialisation for Children in Industrial Settings of Imperial Germany (Deutsch)

Carola Groppe (Helmut-Schmidt-Universität/Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg)

This contribution focuses on the changes in the environments people worked and lived in industrialised Germany after 1890 and their significance for the definition of nature in educating families. Germany had gone from a collection of mostly agrarian territories to a fully industrialised nation state whose cities, factories, pace and noise increasingly dominated the lives of its population. In this context, it will analyse the pedagogical importance of publicly re-organising nature as a space of recreation in opposition to work and urban living. The impact of this reorganisation on education in families within the social structures of imperial Germany will be explored in contrasting examples from bourgeois entrepreneur and working-class backgrounds. The later years of the Kaiserreich not only saw the building of numerous municipal parks, they were also the time in which more remote destinations were made accessibly by technologies such as steamships or cable cars and advertised as treasures of German culture. Parents of all social classes agreed that their children should come to know 'nature', be it in the city park, the zoo, or a trip to the Rhine valley. This artificial 'nature' was thus also intended as an environment in which to socialise children and educate families. Children were to be taught to appreciate 'nature' and identify 'German landscapes', but also – especially in the case of working-class children – experience 'nature' as it was integrated into the urban periphery as a playground. Families of all social backgrounds sought to bring up

their sons and daughters in a 'natural' environment unspoiled by technology that was diametrically opposed to the reality of their lives. This exemplifies a distant attitude towards technological modernity that cuts across all class boundaries: The modern world might be welcomed as progress, but it needed to be compensated more than actively shaped.

Reconquering Nature through "Rhythm": Concepts of Body and Movement at the Turn of the 19th Century (Deutsch)

Esther Berner (Helmut-Schmidt-Universität/Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg)

Industrialisation and technological development at work and of the living environment created considerable changes to the perception of the human body at the turn of the 19th century. The recodification of the body in the late 19th century was driven especially by developments in physics, physiology, and psychophysiology, but also in psychology. Anson Rabinbach uses the phrase "human motor"[4] to describe the dominant model used to interpret the body and its motion. Descriptions and depictions in this vein spread across a wide variety of discursive fields from labour and economics to art, leisure and education. The contribution explores the quest for new – natural – conceptions of body and movement in reaction to this mechanical model.

Critics of capitalism and modern civilisation (Siegfried Kracauer) regarded the aesthetic of human motion evident in the emerging entertainment and leisure industry (chorus line dancing, films, hygienic gymnastics etc.) as analogous to division of labour in capitalist production and subject to similar premises of segmentation and standardisation. Other aspects of their analysis and critique were the sensory overload of modern urban life, the speed of transportation, and their impact on the nervous disposition of the individual (Georg Simmel). A central reference point in this discourse which was strongly influenced by the tenets of contemporary German Lebensphilosophie, was a deliberate contrasting of Takt (a musical cadence or steady beat) and Rhythmus (rhythm, conceived of as natural). This fits seamlessly with a long series of similar dualism posited at the time (Gemeinschaft vs. Gesellschaft, Seele vs. Geist, Kultur vs. Zivilisation, Rausch vs. Wille etc.). Natural movement following a primal rhythm (Urrhythmus) could only be found in children and in primitive cultures, but it could be recovered through educational and therapeutic measures that counteracted the privations of civilisation. The overarching discipline of body and movement that was imposed at the time emerged from films and modern media, but also from a plethora of private schools teaching gymnastics and dance, from musical, theatrical and gymnastic mass performances, but also from broader measures implemented by educational authorities. This discourse-specific body of knowledge and practices of subjectivisation is the focus of this contribution. It aims to 1) expand the theme of body concepts beyond the familiar focus on the Progressive Education movement and Lebensreform ideas and 2) to reflect the critique of civilisation that has been interpreted in a variety of ways in the context of an internal Landnahme.

[1] Rosa Luxemburg, Die Akkumulation des Kapitals. Ein Beitrag zur ökonomischen Erklärung des Imperialismus (1913), in: Gesammelte Werke 5, Berlin 1981.

[2] „Die Ausdehnung des Kapitalismus erfolgt im Medium der Zeit, außerhalb wie innerhalb nationaler Gesellschaften, sektoral, feldspezifisch, und sie erfasst unterschiedliche Produktionsweisen, soziale Gruppen, Lebensformen und selbst die

Persönlichkeitsstrukturen.“ Klaus Dörre, Landnahme und die Grenzen kapitalistischer Dynamik. Eine Ideenskizze. Berliner Debatte INITIAL 22.4 (2011), 56-72.

[3] Dörre a.a.O.

[4] Anson Rabinbach, The Human Motor. Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity, Univ. of California Press 1992.

1.6 PANEL TEACHING NATURE AND THE SCIENCES (1)

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

The Exact Sciences and Excursions for Reinforcing „Love of the Homeland“ – Nature Classes at the Gordon College of Education (English)

Nirit Raichel (Kinneret Academic College, Gordon College of Education), Orit Oved (Beit Berl College)

The Hebrew Teachers Seminary was established by the 'Hebrew Reali School of Haifa' in 1947 with the 'Teacher's Seminary of the Labor Movement' opening in Haifa in 1950. In 1953-1954, the Ministry of Education forced the merger of the two seminaries. This study focuses on the nature studies at the resulting new seminary, which was named the 'Gordon College of Education'. The study is based on analysis of content of various archival documents, including protocols, curricula, and correspondences. We will use this content to examine, through the prism of "entangled history", the nature studies curriculum employed from the 1950s until the mid-1980s, focusing on the transfer and adaption of educational frameworks from Europe and the USA to the different actors at the College (directors, lecturers).

The teaching of nature studies at the seminary/Gordon College of Education, was expressed in two primary ways: firstly, teaching and studying content from the exact sciences, such as physics, biology, and chemistry, with an emphasis on laboratory use, and secondly, going on field trips and excursions to gain familiarity with Israel's flora and fauna. Beginning in the 1960s, nature studies focused on field trips that highlighted love of the homeland and familiarity with the scenery of the Land of Israel in three concentric circles around the student's life. The first circle consisted of the immediate environment (scenery and nature in close vicinity to the school); the second circle was getting to know the geographic region where the school was situated (Haifa and Mt. Carmel), and the third circle was the entire country. During this period, the College's management and coordinators of the nature studies curriculum linked the trip's destination and content to the humanities content of the teacher training program – including Bible studies, history, geography, and Jewish festivals – with

emphasis on the nationalist aspect and integrating a bond for love towards the land and its scenery.

The teachers who supported teaching nature studies as one of the exact sciences also encouraged their students to participate in this program, emerging from the realization that the state needed adults with scientific professions to build and develop the land.

The teacher training was directed at shaping a patriotic graduate who would use nature studies to strengthen the bond between the students and their land.

'A Subject Second to None': Nature Study in Australia, 1900-1920 (English)

Dorothy Lynette Kass (Macquarie University)

Nature study was a new subject, introduced to elementary school curricula throughout the English-speaking world in the 1890s and the early 1900s. Part of the broader educational reform movement known as "New Education", the subject was supported by a considerable body of theoretical and practical literature. Educators spoke enthusiastically of "the nature study idea" and its practice as "the nature study movement". Subject matter introduced plant, animal, and geological studies to even the youngest children in elementary schools. Methodology involved study from actual nature, achieved by taking children out of doors and providing opportunities for them to use their senses of sight, hearing, touch and smell. Learning would be active, encourage questioning and reasoning, and replace passive rote learning.

This paper explores the introduction of nature study to Australian schools, with the state of New South Wales providing a case study. Australia in 1901 was a newly constituted nation, a federation of the former self-governing colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania. Although the provision of education remained the responsibility of the states, educators, politicians and others gave much attention to the learning necessary for the children of a new democratic nation. Interest in Australia's unique fauna, flora and landscape was heightened in the context of defining the new nation. Scientists and naturalists were not only enthusiastic about educating young Australians about their unique environment, but many were also concerned about that environment. To the perceived need for natural science in schools, they added a conservation ethic.

A study of the introduction and practice of nature study in Australian schools reveals that the subject had much in common with its realisation in other countries. Australian educators participated in the vibrant transnational exchange of ideas, policies, and practices characteristic of this period. Specific environmental, socio-economic and political contexts, however, point to local factors that could affect the subject's realisation in different nations around the globe.

Fröbel y la enseñanza de la botánica. El caso de la Escuela Modelo de los Jardines de la Infancia de Madrid (Español)

José Pedro Marín Murcia (University of Murcia), José Martínez Ruiz-Funes (University of Murcia)

El trabajo que aquí presentamos parte del estudio del jardín que Fröbel propuso y puso en marcha en Bad Blakenburg en 1838 para poder entender la propuesta que se hizo en la Escuela Modelo de los Jardines de la Infancia de Madrid en 1879. A través de la descripción del jardín, desde el punto de vista de la botánica, analizaremos la intención didáctica de la propuesta original y las modificaciones que tuvo con su aplicación al contexto español. Estudiaremos por un lado aspectos como la introducción del trabajo productivo en la educación de los más pequeños, la metáfora que representa el crecimiento de las plantas respecto al ciclo de la vida o la responsabilidad individual y colectiva así como la configuración y composición florística del jardín.

La recepción del modelo inicial froebeliano en España sufrió distintas modificaciones y adaptaciones, en el caso del jardín estas modificaciones se aprecian en la forma, la composición y por tanto en la intencionalidad didáctica de la propuesta. La recepción en España presenta semejanzas y diferencias con el original que deben analizarse en el contexto en el que se produjo, además las diferencias en la interpretación del método marcarán la aplicación del modelo en este país y las posteriores reinterpretaciones que del mismo se fueron haciendo a lo largo de los años.

Para llevar a cabo el trabajo haremos un análisis histórico documental de las fuentes primarias de ambas propuestas. En cuanto al jardín de Bad Blakenburg utilizaremos la descripción que del mismo aparece en el semanario de Fröbel y las alusiones a la botánica que se hacen en la Autobiografía, en la Educación del Hombre y la compilación que de las obras de Fröbel elaboró Lange, su editor. En el caso del jardín español utilizaremos las referencias que hizo Mariano Carderera en el Diccionario de educación y métodos de enseñanza (1856) y la exhaustiva explicación del método que llevó a cabo Pedro de Alcántara en el Manual Teórico Práctico de los Jardines de la Infancia (1879). Haremos un análisis de estos documentos para dar cuenta de las semejanzas y diferencias que se aprecian en ambas propuestas.

A través de este estudio pretendemos poner de manifiesto que la transformación que se produce en la interpretación de una determinada concepción pedagógica. El contexto de recepción puede modificar no solo las formas, sino también los ideales que sustentan la concepción pedagógica original.

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Naturaleza y educación: programas TIC en los 80 y el desarrollo de contenidos curriculares de temática ambiental (Español)

Cristian Machado Trujillo (Universidad de La Laguna)

A partir de los años setenta se suceden una serie de hitos que potencian el desarrollo de múltiples programas que fomentaban el uso del ordenador como herramienta didáctica. En primer término, aparecieron los llamados micro ordenadores (el personal computer tal y como lo conocemos), que se presentaron como una herramienta al servicio de las escuelas y los hogares, siendo más accesibles al público en general por tener ahora un coste asequible y unas dimensiones reducidas en comparación con los anteriores ordenadores. Por otro lado, ante el fracaso de las máquinas de enseñar y los modelos de enseñanza programada que también se aplicaron a los primeros programas con ordenadores (bajo la fórmula de la Enseñanza Asistida por Ordenador) auspiciados por los enfoques conductistas (que tanto se exploraron en los 50 y 60), los postulados de la nueva psicología cognitiva propusieron nuevas fórmulas de desarrollo que pretendían ir más allá de los modelos clásicos de estímulo y respuesta, ya muy cuestionados (Ferster, 2014; Simon, 1985; Delval, 1985).

Desde finales del siglo XIX, el uso de tecnologías se fue introduciendo en el currículum gracias a las propuestas de J. Dewey (Zuga, 1997; Raizen, 1997), pero con las posibilidades de interacción y representación de los nuevos ordenadores, se manifestó una sinergia que potenció el uso de metodologías progresivas, cuestión justificada también desde el nuevo soporte teórico ofrecido por la psicología cognitiva. La promesa tecnológica comenzó a hacerse realidad, y, desde múltiples sistemas educativos nacionales, comienzan a lanzarse programas relacionados con la alfabetización digital y el uso de TIC en el aula. Desde 1978, el informe elaborado por S. Nora y A. Minc titulado *La informatización de la sociedad*, exponía con rotundidad que tras el debate sobre los ordenadores había muchos intereses y se abrían nuevos espacios, redefiniendo la propia naturaleza humana. A pesar de ello, voces desde la historia de la tecnología, exponen que tales herramientas no son foráneas, sino que se han desarrollado en un contexto cultural, y, por ende, no han sido generadas de forma aislada, por lo que son una propia extensión de nuestra naturaleza (Nye, 2006).

Este debate se abrió paso en el terreno educativo a través de diferentes programas y, específicamente, con la aparición de la asignatura de Tecnología como obligatoria en el currículum de múltiples países en la década de los 90. Esta asignatura además viene a aportar una dimensión muchas veces olvidada en las ciencias, que se refiere al saber hacer, a promover la actividad y, en definitiva, a toda una pedagogía paidocentrista (Zuga,1997). Los primeros programas TIC usaron como justificación (entre otras) que estas facilitan el contacto con el entorno del alumnado, acercando de forma significativa las realidades relacionadas con los contenidos educativos. De igual modo, la construcción curricular de la asignatura de Tecnología también dio fundamental importancia al entorno, desarrollando contenidos medioambientales y acerca de la sostenibilidad (Hallström, Hultén & Lövheim, 2014). Por tanto, en las sociedades digitales los programas TIC han fomentado la introducción de contenidos curriculares en relación a la naturaleza.

1.7 PANEL NATURE AND PEDAGOGIES (1)

Chair: Kira Mahamud Angulo (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

Instituciones educativas con un método naturalista en Betanzos a principios del siglo XX (Español)

José Manuel Domínguez García (UNED)

En esta ponencia se presentan dos instituciones educativas de Betanzos (A Coruña) en las que, al menos en parte, se ponen en práctica ideas pedagógicas naturalistas sobre la educación: el Instituto Libre Municipal y las escuelas elementales graduadas “García Hermanos”, de finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX.

El considerar la naturaleza como base de toda pedagogía tiene su precedente en el epicureísmo y el estoicismo de la Grecia clásica, pasando por el humanismo naturalista de Leonardo, Campanella o Giordano Bruno. Para Comenio, “aprender es una cosa naturalmente placentera” y a la que, en mayor o menor medida, aspiran todos. Similarmente, para Pestalozzi, si se respeta la naturaleza de cada alumno se obtendrán espléndidos resultados, “sin golpes, sin rigor y sin coartación”. Para Rousseau en Emilio, el primer deber del educador es desarrollar la naturaleza humana mediante experiencias importantes, las cuales vienen de la naturaleza, de las cosas y de los hombres. La relación educativa fundamental es la relación entre el individuo y ambiente natural y se trata de una relación activa. “Actividad”, aprender haciendo en un ambiente educativo, será también la palabra clave de la Escuela Nueva, partidaria de una pedagogía naturalista centrada en el alumno y en su desarrollo natural.

La ponencia trata de ver cómo se concretan estas ideas pedagógicas en dos instituciones educativas de Betanzos: un Instituto Municipal de Segunda Enseñanza, de 1871, y las escuelas elementales graduadas “García Hermanos” de 1914.

El Instituto Libre y Municipal estuvo influido por la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y las ideas “higienistas”: admite alumnos de ambos sexos, promueve la investigación científica, la metodología intuitiva y la participación del alumno en las actividades de aprendizaje. En palabras de su Director, el médico Joaquín García Sánchez (1902), en el instituto “la intuición representa un papel primordial en la enseñanza. Hacer que los alumnos observen la naturaleza, que trabajen todo aquello que no esté exclusivamente reducido al campo de la

teoría, que discurren sobre los datos adquiridos y formulen luego su pensamiento, bien de palabra, ya por escrito”.

Las escuelas elementales “García Hermanos” fueron unas escuelas graduadas, inauguradas en 1914 por el “indiano” Juan García Naveira. El hecho de que tuviesen un completo museo escolar (con aparatos de Física y Química, Agrimensura y Agricultura, barómetros, partes del cuerpo en escayola, figuras geométricas, animales disecados, mandíbulas de ballenas, colecciones de monedas, billetes de banco, ...), numerosos altorrelieves en los patios de recreo y un parque enciclopédico (“El Pasatiempo”), hacen que en las mismas hubiese una preocupación por una visión intuitiva de la enseñanza.

La Ponencia, en la que se aportarán gráficos y fotografías procedentes del Archivo Municipal, responderá a este índice:

1. Introducción: significado de una educación naturalista
2. El Instituto Libre de Betanzos
3. La escuela graduada García Hermanos
4. La red escolar rural y urbana en Betanzos a comienzos del siglo XX
5. Conclusiones

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Para una didáctica natural. Las redacciones mensuales ilustradas de la Montesca y de Rovigliano como herramienta para una enseñanza objetiva (Español)

Dario De Salvo (University of Messina)

El Archivo Único de la Región Umbria de Solomeo de Corciano (que actualmente está situado en Ponte S. Giovanni di Perugia) guarda, en la espera de un probable traslado a Villa Montesca, sesenta cajas, pertenecientes a la antigua Obra Pía Regina Margherita y denominadas Fondo Franchetti (AOPRMFF), que contienen la compleja y polifacética actividad pedagógica, educativa y social de los Barones Alice Hallgarten (1874-1911) y Leopoldo Franchetti (1847-1917).

Esa actividad educativa se fundamenta, en particular, en la creación de las dos escuelas rurales de la Montesca (1901) y de Rovigliano (1902), dedicadas a la educación gratuita de los hijos de los campesinos de Umbria.

El amplio patrimonio documental sobre la actividad didáctica, sobre el método adoptado y sobre los resultados alcanzados nos permite reconstruir minuciosamente la vida escolar de la Montesca, toda centrada, desde la observación de lo que ocurre en la naturaleza, en la enseñanza objetiva, que, más que a la transmisión de un «saber nocionista» apuntó a la adquisición de un más moderno «saber hacer». Saber hacer que para los hombres coincidía con la vida de los campos y con la gestión de una finca, mientras para las mujeres coincidía con la atención del hogar y el cuidado de los hijos.

De ahí la exigencia de planificar programas pormenorizados a través de los cuales cada maestro impartía el programa ministerial, pero adecuándolo a la clase en que lo desarrollaba.

Para tener una idea clara de cómo estaba organizada esa didáctica de la tierra, consideramos paradigmáticas las composiciones de los escolares en las redacciones mensuales ilustradas, que los especialistas de historia de la educación conocen como los sujetos del mes.

Estas composiciones, de marcado carácter interdisciplinario, sintetizaban, a partir de la observación de un fenómeno natural, lo aprendido en las aulas, o sea nociones de diferente tipo como jardinería, cultivo del huerto, dibujo, lectura, producción escrita y oral, sobre todo ciencia y botánica.

La hermosa mansión de la Montesca fue también el lugar donde la joven María Montessori escribió su opus magnum. En efecto, la publicación del volumen *Il metodo della pedagogia scientifica applicato all'educazione infantile nelle Case dei bambini*, Città di Castello (Pg), Lapi, 1909, se debe a la financiación de los cónyuges Franchetti. Lo revela la misma autora que, en la primera edición de la obra, escribirá: A la gran dama y Baronesa Alice Franchetti-Hallgarten y al Barón Leopoldo Franchetti, Senador del Reino, dedico este libro que por ellos fue querido y gracias a ellos hoy toma vida, bautizando en la literatura científica las Casas de los Niños.

Palabras clave: Escuela; Naturaleza; Enseñanza objetiva.

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The entomologists of knowledge: the little “Fabre of Portomaggiore“. An elementary active school experiment in Italy in the 1920s (English)

Francesca Borruso (Università Roma Tre)

This presentation/speech/essay focuses on the analysis of an elementary school experiment based on an activist inspiration and realized between 1920 and 1924 in Ferrara, Italy by Rina Nigrisoli, a young teacher, with the local working classes children. The history of this innovative educational adventure has come to us through the meticulous handwritten description that the same Rina Nigrisoli wrote down in the pages of her teaching diary, still preserved in the Historical Museum of Didactic at the Roma Tre University and published in 2011.

The project of a "new school", inspired foremost by the well-known "serene school" theorized by the Sicilian philosopher Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, takes shape in an experiment that was innovative and decidedly significant for that historical period. That school, from the very beginning, put at the centre of the educational process the enhancement of the relationship with Nature – following first the Rousseoian and then the activist teachings – and the relationship with pets, which were a stable presence within the school and the object of care by the children themselves with a pedagogical aim. The school garden, in this way, populated by swallows, peacocks, guinea pigs, chickens, the dog Gulù, the goat, and fishes – "our unaware companions" according to the definition by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice – made children experience the responsibility of a care relationship with all its emotional, ethical, and intellectual implications.

Within that project, grounded on activist thoughts and background, childhood is seen as an age when the intellectual processes are closely intertwined with the activity and the physic and psychic dynamism of the child. As a result, the school is deeply transformed and becomes capable to enhance the children harmonic growth in every aspect of their life. Thus the following themes do emerge: promotion of children spontaneity and freedom; an educational planning starting from the children interests and needs; the importance assigned to the nature of man in his various declinations, from original natural goodness according to the Rousseau's definition to the human need to express himself in contact with nature and with the surrounding world; anti-notionism and anti-intellectualism, that is the elimination of mnemonic, repetitive, dogmatic practices; the importance assigned to the methods of teaching; the trust on the social value of education as a tool for social promotion; the reference to the psychology of the evolutionary age as a field of knowledge essential for understanding the children's needs and learning processes. The purpose of my presentation/speech/essay is above all to highlight the innovative character of the experiment by that young teacher, who had a marked pedagogical vocation, who understood the relationship with nature not only as a way to enhance the experience of the natural world, but also as an opportunity for each student and pupil to make experience as architect and protagonist of knowledge. From the depiction of her experience it is possible, moreover, to raise questions on the contemporary reality marked by invasive and progressive urbanization processes and by an alienating distance from the rural environment and the natural world.

Keywords: rural school, activism, nature, education.

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The Pedagogical Magazine Mineira „Revista do Ensino“ of 1932: aspects of the appropriation of the proposal Centers of Interest (English)

Juliana Chiarini Balbino Fernandes (University of Sapucaí Valley)

This article aims to investigate the presence of the pedagogical proposal Centers of Interest in Brazilian primary education. The period of this investigation will be the year 1932, period of effervescence the educational renewal movement, Escola Nova, in Brazil. This movement considered education as the axis of the pedagogical question of reasoning for feeling, from rational to psychological, from knowledge to pedagogical processes, from commitment to interest, from discipline to spontaneity, from quantity to quality. As sources for this study, the Revista do Ensino were circulated in the year 1932 in the state of Minas Gerais, being: nº 65-67; nº68-70, nº71-73; nº74; No.75; No.76; No.77; nº78. The study proposed here will be carried out through the lens of the history of appropriations, in such a way that the analyzes

were based on Chartier (1991) for the observation of indications of appropriations of the proposed Centers of Interest in the Revista do Ensino. Centers of Interest, according to Decroly, should respond to the concerns and attend to the motivations of the students, because from the observation and association of abstract and concrete ideas it would be possible to arrange the information in sets of knowledge. It was observed that the Revista do Ensino nº71-73 shows that the teaching of the basic notions of aritmética must obey a logical seriation, considering the interest and the experience of the children. Arithmetic work should not be limited to the time it is intended for, but it covers every quantitative aspect that arises in other disciplines. The Revista do Ensino nº 75, shows that Decroly is linked to these three mottos: educational games, Centers of Interest and Globalization. The Centers of Interest are founded on the need of the child. In view of the child's need for expression (by word, drawing, writing, etc.), Decroly has devised a complete method that respects the spontaneous tendencies of children. The Revista do Ensino nº 76 explains that Decroly's work and pedagogy are within the concept of unity, which concentrates all cultural work: the associated lessons subordinated to Centers of Interest. The feeling of unity is established in observation, association and expression, which coordinate a whole program of cultural activities, concentrating it around a central idea. In the other volumes of the Revista do Ensino there is no evidence of the pedagogical proposal Centers of Interest. This study allows admitting that there are indications of appropriations of the proposed Centers of Interest in the intricacies of the articles studied. In this new teaching proposal, the student should be the center and develop activities of experimentation observation and manipulation, in order to understand the concepts studied, which is in line with the discourse of the author of the articles analyzed in Revista do Ensino nº 71-73; 75 and 76.

Key words: Revista do Ensino, Centers of Interest, Primary Education.

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1.8 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL IDEA (1)

Chair: Jane Weiß (Humboldt University Berlin)

The Japanese idea of nature underlying the education of children in the early modern era (English)

Yosuke Hirota (Fukuyama City University)

My presentation concerns the Japanese idea of nature underlying the education of children in the early modern era (Edo period; 1600 - 1800). The several previous studies have stated that the Japanese intellectuals in those days had the idea of nature harmonized with human beings mainly under the influence of Chinese Confucianism. It has been also said that traditional Japanese assumed human and nature interacted unlike the Western view which disposes nature against human and civilization. Such ideal Japanese views of nature were formulated afterwards by philosophers of modern Japan, especially T.Watsuji(1889-1960). A representative political scientist, M.Maruyama(1914-1996) also formulated the early modern idea of nature against act of man as a source of Japanese modern political dynamics. It can't be denied that the concept of nature had been important as a focus of intellectual thoughts until the Japanese modern times. However the new aspect of the Japanese idea of nature has eventually been found in recent research trends, for example in the studies of T.Screech which show the nature opposed to human and the human invasion to nature.

On the basis of Japanese diverse digestions of idea of nature, I would like to show how the Japanese idea of nature entered into educational thought until the Japanese early modern times. On this presentation I pick up a typical educational thought in Edo period and distill the concrete form of education. The educational thought and practice in Japan in those days were derived from Confucianism. One of the methods in elementary reading lesson was 'Sudoku', plain reading through repeating over and over until the texts were recited by memory. Japanese educational thinkers, like Kaibara Ekken(1630-1714), extracted the principle of body-centered study from Sudoku. The current studies of Japanese educational history explain that this method is considered to be the way to accord with the human nature, so called the 'somaticizing' of knowledge. According to the research on his text by M.Tsujimoto, children learned the rhythm of words infiltrating into the body rather than the meaning of words through this Sudoku-method, which was a way to harmonize the body as the inner nature with the spirit which wishes to control it. Of course this Sudoku has the similarities with the text reading and teaching in the Christianity. I think there are similarities and differences between Japanese Sudoku and Christian reading on the point of the attitude for nature. I would like to compare them to find the new perspective to the concept of nature.

In this presentation, I also introduce the contemporary practical examples of kindergarten education that follow such traditional Japanese cooperative education and emphasizes the importance of Sudoku method. With the introduction of today's educational practices, in this presentation I try to clarify the historical form of education suitable for traditional view of nature in Japan.

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Marcus Tullius Cicero's Ecophilosophy of Education (English)

Victoria Pichugina (Russian Academy of Education), Yana Volkova (RUDN University)

One of the issues most vividly reflected in the writings of ancient thinkers was the problem of comparing, correlating and combining man and nature (in all the diversity of aspects of the former and the latter). The Roman philosopher, politician and orator Mark Tullius Cicero was no exception. In his writings, Cicero's desire to relate the nature of statehood, the nature of man, the nature of law and the nature of society is supported by numerous references to Classical Greek texts. In Cicero's works, education is regarded as a special institution protecting the state and the individual. In proposing and establishing this original idea, Cicero pieces together the practices that existed among the Classical Greek thinkers and his own contemporaries. He, in fact, shaped the field that we can now call the ecophilosophy of education. Cicero views education as a necessity, a need and a duty.

Education as a necessity. Asking himself a favorite question of Greek philosophers and mentors what virtue is, Cicero associates it with the necessity to materialise one's educational opportunities (Cic. Off, I.VI.15). For Cicero, a virtue is both an action and a potency to action; a set of dispositions that are systematically and continuously exposed in different life situations and rely on the knowledge of philosophy, history, jurisprudence, literature and rhetoric. Having outlined this set of subjects for study, Cicero begins a philosophical survey of the history of Greek education, trying to find examples of those who educated themselves and others precisely according to this "curriculum". In particular, Cicero reminisces about Socrates and makes a very controversial hypothesis about the ways and means of introducing a person to knowledge. He argues that nature, which contains a great many of arts and sciences, cannot be mortal. It finds its immortality in the man whose nature is constantly pushing him to search for new knowledge (Cic.Sen, I.XXI.77).

Education as a need. Cicero was solving the problem of the role of education in human life by relating the categories "the expedient" and "the useful" both at the state level and at the level of a particular person. Under extremely troubled political circumstances, Cicero argues that the state structure is not a constant (Cic.R. I.XLIV.68). Changes may result in a decline or a revival, but the state can be called "alive" only when the old is replaced with the new and these changes can be qualified as expedient and useful. Something similar happens to a person who feels life only when it changes. The nature of man, backed by the nature of society and law, allows him to see the expedient in the useful and vice versa. However, this ability is not granted to a person by birth, it is acquired through education in the course of time. Cicero saw education as an institution protecting the man, creating all conditions for his self-development, self-knowledge, self-improvement and, in particular, for self-preservation.

Education as a duty. Comparing the expedient and the useful, Cicero defines education as a duty imposed upon everyone and requiring great devotion. In "De officiis", addressing his son, Cicero makes it clear to his compatriots that they need to reconsider the mission of education

and understand that it is necessary for "life", but not for special moments in life. At present, we can say that Cicero strove to substantiate the selective function of education, which represents it as a regulating core principle in cultural space. His assumption that people are united into a "natural society" (Cic. Off. I.XVI.50) resembles a modern collective ecophilosophical interpretation of culture.

Cicero's legacy is an experience of an ecophilosophical interpretation of modern education, which he views simultaneously as a necessity, a need and a duty to carefully create himself through others.

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Ganzheitliche Entwicklung durch Naturerfahrung – neue Akzente in der ungarischen Pädagogik zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen (Deutsch)

Beatrix Vincze (Eötvös Lorand University)

Der Beitrag nimmt zwei ungarische Reformschulen in den Blick, die als Vermittler der europäischen Reformpädagogik gelten können. Sie folgten der Intention, durch die Neue Erziehung bessere (neue) Bürger für die neue ungarische Gesellschaft zu erziehen. Die zwei ausgewählten Schulen zeigen sowohl gemeinsame als auch spezifische Charakterzüge: die Familienschule (1915-1943) in Budapest, gegründet von Márta Nemes-Müller, und die Gartenschule in Újszeged (1936-1938), gegründet und geleitet von Erzsébet Dolch (Dombrádi).

Es geht um die Frage, inwieweit diese Schulen die ganzheitliche Entwicklung der Kinder im Rahmen der Volksschule fördern konnten. Die Schulgründerinnen Nemes-Müller und Dolch waren durch die Reformkonzepte von Ovide Decroly, Maria Montessori und den amerikanischen praxisorientierten Reformpädagogen (u.a. J. Dewey) stark beeinflusst. Den Erzieherinnen gelang es, in ihren Schulpraxen mit der Schaffung einer natürlichen und naturnahen Umgebung eine besondere Form des Schüler- und Handlungsorientierten Unterricht zu verwirklichen.

Im Lehrprogramm der Familienschule bauten die Unterrichtseinheiten als Lebenseinheiten (Familienleben, Hausbau auf dem Lande, geographische Orientierung in der Stadt/Wirtschaft, Verkehr, Handel, Berufe, Bevölkerung, Stadtteile) aufeinander auf. Nemes-Müller war der Meinung, dass die in der Familienschule gegründete neue Lebensform (neue Schule) auch der Erneuerung der Gesellschaft dienen könnte. Das Lernen sollte eine Quelle der Harmonie und des Glücks sein. In methodischer Hinsicht wurden in der Schule erstmals in der ungarischen Pädagogik die Lerninhalte durch Projekte verwirklicht.

Die Gartenschule von Újszeged nahm sich an der Familienschule ein Beispiel, und setzte sich die Selbständigkeit der Lernenden zum Ziel. Die vielseitige Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit wurde durch eine familiäre Umgebung (Familienhaus mit Garten am Ufer des Flusses) und durch kreative, lebensnahe Aktivitäten (Gartenarbeit, Kooperation, Körperübung) gefördert. Die Gartenschule kann als eine Forschungsschule betrachtet werden. Sie unterhielt enge Kontakte zum Pädagogisch-Psychologischen Institut von Szeged. Der Lehrstuhl für Psychologie unter der Leitung von D. Várkonyi Hildebrand machte die modernsten Strömungen (die Theorie von Freud, Piaget, Jung und Adler) an der Universität und an der Pädagogischen

Hochschule für Bürgerschullehrer populär, und förderte die empirischen Untersuchungen in der Lehrerbildung. Die staatliche Übungsschule („Handlungsschule“) mit dem Leiter D. Kratofil (1933-1944) setzte die neuen reformpädagogischen Ansätze (Schüleraktivität, Erlebnispädagogik, Gruppenarbeit) praktisch um. Die Traditionen der ungarischen Pädagogik wurden mit den neuen Reformversuchen in Übereinstimmung gebracht. In der methodischen Zeitschrift „Handlungsschule“, die Kratofil redigierte, wurde über die „guten Praxen“ aus dem In- und Ausland berichtet.

Folgende Forschungsfragen konnten weiter geklärt werden: 1. Welche Gemeinsamkeiten haben die Reformprogramme mit der in dieser Zeit blühenden Lebensreformbewegung? 2. Wie weit passen sie sich der offiziellen Schulpolitik an (d.h. dem Konzept der Erstarkung des Volksunterrichts in Ungarn, um Kulturnation bleiben zu können)? 3. Welche Naturbilder werden in den Reformschulen vermittelt? 4. Konnten diese Reformansätze im 20sten Jahrhundert während der kommunistischen Zeit weitergeführt werden? (Gibt es eine Kontinuität oder nicht?)

Mittels weiterer deskriptiver und vergleichender Analysen der Dokumente (Monographien, Studien über frühere historische Forschungen, Schuldokumente und Zeitschriften) könnten weitere Einsichten gewonnen werden, die insgesamt das Bild der ungarischen Reformpädagogik erweitern und bereichern würde.

1.9PANEL 'NATURE' AS DEEP CHARACTERIZATION (1)

Chair: Sabine Krause (Universität Koblenz-Landau)

On the „Nature“ of the „Choice“ Movement in American Educational Policy in the 1980s (English)

Luxi Chen (Beijing Normal University)

Focused on the rebuilding of the public school system that emerged in the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the research studied the power redistribution in the school system, especially its expression in policy texts. The process is actually the production and reinterpretation by the neoconservatives and traditionalists of the mainstream symbol of the texts of educational policies—"Choice" in the 1980s. Starting from questioning and exposing the low efficiency crisis of the "one best system", i.e., the public school system, the neoconservatives and the traditionalists criticized direct democratic control and hierarchical bureaucracy structure in modern public schools and proposed the "bottom-up" reform and rebuilding scheme, or the realization of the "Choice". They proceeded to concretize abstract symbol of "Choice". The neoconservatives believed that the schools controlled by professional authority had the highest efficiency and the "Choice" was to authorize authority to teachers, while the traditionalists thought that the schools controlled by the market had the highest efficiency and the "Choice" was to authorize authority to market. During the process of shifting from the inexplicable to explicable, although there emerged conflicts in ideology between the neoconservatives and the traditionalists, they compromised in writing the policy texts, when the "charter school" became one of the most highly recommended plans of school reform. While conducting the text design of the "charter school", both the neoconservatives and the traditionalists tried to incorporate professionalization and marketization. They introduced the competition mechanism of the market and the concept of "consumer" to the public schools

while guaranteeing public funds and actualizing professional autonomy in schools, thus realizing the combination of professionalization and marketization. In this way, they completed the whole production process of the symbol "Choice" in their text compromise and got fully prepared for its entry into the field of symbol transmission. As a result of this, the policy texts and text symbol "Choice", proposed in the "School Choice Movement", were reduced to political tools for the two groups of ideology to beautify themselves. When the abstract "Choice" was materialized into specific policy texts, the original idea and concept of "Choice" were completely lost and were replaced by the value and the interest that the neoconservatives and the traditionalists desired. The "School Choice Movement" became an elaborately designed and inevitable "political performance".

Education and the Nature of Postwar Modernity: The U.S., Puerto Rico, and Cold War Era Education (English)

Lauren Lefty (New York University)

This paper will explore the role of education as a key battleground in the debate over the nature of postwar modernity during the Cold War, particularly in the Western hemisphere. Using Puerto Rico as a case study, it will demonstrate how the United States' Cold War modernization theory found its way into the educational programming of its development aid programs, first in its colony Puerto Rico under the development scheme Operation Bootstrap, then in Latin America more broadly through the Alliance for Progress. It will also explore how Puerto Ricans and other Latin Americans negotiated and fought back against the North Americans' vision, using educational spaces to define the nature of modernity on their own terms. Ultimately, it considers the role of educational spaces as entryways into world-historical debates for statesmen as well as everyday citizens alike.

During the Cold War, both the United States and Soviet Union believed they possessed the blueprints to postwar modernity. While the Soviets offered a Marxist interpretation of history and a communist political model, the Americans turned to capitalism and modernization theory as the best path to future prosperity. In many ways, education programs, as part of larger development aid projects, became some of the leading forums to share those blueprints with the developing, decolonizing, and perilously non-aligned "Third World." Through literacy campaigns, teacher training initiatives, community education programs, and educational film and television, educational spaces became premier tools to win "hearts and minds" across the Global South. Consequently, educational spaces also became some of the leading spaces to debate the very terms of modernity—what it would entail, who would define it, and what did and did not stand in its way.

This paper will explore the role of education as a key battleground in the debate over the nature of postwar modernity during the Cold War, particularly in the Western hemisphere. Using Puerto Rico as a case study, it will demonstrate how the United States' Cold War modernization theory found its way into the educational programming of its development aid programs, first in its colony Puerto Rico under the development scheme Operation Bootstrap, then in Latin America more broadly through the Alliance for Progress. Far from a story of all-powerful imposition, however, this paper will also explore how Puerto Ricans and other Latin Americans negotiated and fought back against the North Americans' vision, using educational spaces to define the nature of modernity on their own terms. This occurred in the realm of high politics with the Puerto Rican Governor and his fellow statesmen, as well as with

everyday parents, teachers, students, and administrators from the vantage of the school house.

Through research completed in the Archivo Nacional de Puerto Rico, and the Archive of the Puerto Rican Diaspora in New York, as well as through other presidential archives and oral histories, I will zoom in to specific educational programs of the late 1940s through the 1960s to demonstrate how these debates played out and to what end. In Puerto Rico, this negotiation can be seen through the government led programs of the Division for Community Education (DIVEDCO), curricular policies, and Operation Serenidad, as well as the writings of prominent intellectuals, the protests of teachers and citizens, and the educational organizing of community-based organizations both on the island and in the mainland diaspora.

While this paper will focus specifically on U.S.-Puerto Rican and U.S.-Latin American relations, it nonetheless engages important themes relevant to all historians of education. What is the role of education in debates regarding the nature of modernity? How have schools and educational spaces been employed in those discussions? And how does a focus on schooling challenge diplomatic histories that analyze these dynamics without the crucial voice of everyday citizens?

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The Nature of Elementary Teachers in Ireland (1830s-1920s): From ,feckless and impoverished' to ,respectable' (English)

Thomas Kevin Walsh (Maynooth University)

The nature of the teacher/educator and the qualities he/she brings to the classroom has always been a keen source of interest to national governments and education systems. This nature is of crucial importance in relation to the daily interactions between the teacher and students and the attitudes, dispositions and values informally communicated in the intimate teacher-pupil relationship.

This paper critically examines from a range of historical educational documents the desired nature of elementary school teachers in Ireland between the 1830s and the 1920s. As the title implies, based on analysis by McGee (1982), there was a transformation of the role, nature and status of the elementary school teacher in Ireland during this period. This transformation began following the establishment of the national system of education in 1831 when there was a quest among the State and Church authorities to elevate the moral character of teachers, which had been perceived as 'morally dissolute and politically subversive' under the Hedge School system (Dowling, 1935). In a colonial climate of regular rebellion, the State was anxious to promote civility and loyalty among the populace and understood the critical role of teachers and schools in achieving this objective (Harford, 2009). Similarly, in a climate of denominational hostility, all churches saw the value of instilling religious allegiance in children, and by extension, to their parents and families (O'Brien, 2013). While the State and churches may have agreed on little during this era, they

were united in their desire for loyal and conservative teachers who would instil similar values in their pupils.

To advance this objective, the selection, training, recruitment and management of elementary teachers became hotly contested in Ireland from the mid-1800s to ensure their nature corresponded to the desires of the churches and State. There were a number of formal and informal entry criteria to training colleges and the daily lives of trainee teachers was strictly regulated (Parkes, 2016). As time progressed, the desirable attributes were articulated in a range of policy documents. One of the earliest of these was the 12 Practical Rules for Teachers published by the Commissioners of National Education in the 1840s and which teachers were bound to follow. The various curricula developed during the period, most notably in 1900 (Commissioners of National Education, 1901) and in the 1920s (National Programme Conference, 1922; National Programme Conference, 1926), articulated a strong concept of the desired nature of the elementary teacher who was to be imbued with the right to educate young children.

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The Nature of Knowledge Production – Editing The International Encyclopedia of Education 1984 and 1995 (English)

Christian Lundahl (Örebro University), Franziska Primus (Humboldt University)

Encyclopedias often claim to be collections of facts. Facts are usually perceived as naturally given or 'unconstructed by anyone' (Latour & Woolgar 1979/1986). But producing an encyclopaedia is not an independent and objective editorial process. By choosing, which also is socially and institutionally embedded, topics and authors and by structuring i.e. the whole compilation along sections the encyclopaedia is not only formally shaped. By doing so the conditions are put together which influence in various ways the social process of the

encyclopaedia's formation and therefore the social construction of knowledge. The editorial process underlies constant changes and is very much influenced by its editors' perspective. But in order to maintain the illusion of objectivity facts are presented as given and unbiased, a 'god trick' as Haraway (1988: 581) puts it.

Taking this into account helps to deconstruct the myth of naturally given objectivity and the traditional centrality of the male scientist's perspective (central critique of feminist theory - overview i.e. in Crasnow et al. 2018). Torsten Husén (1916-2009), one of the two editors-in-chief of The Encyclopedia of International Education (IEE) (1984, 1995) and one of the founding 'fathers' of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), can be seen as an important influential male perspective of international relevance in the field of education in the 20th century.

In his archive regarding the IEE we encountered Barbara Barrett. As the publisher's managing editor she plays an important role in the production of both IEE editions. By not being part of the list of references, which are essential support of knowledge claims in academia (Latour 1987), she seems to be a forgotten female knowledge worker in the field of comparative education. Theoretically based on the 'practice turn' within the sociology of knowledge (Camic, Gross & Lamont 2011) this paper aims - by using the IEE as an example - on the one hand to show how facts are socially constructed. On the other hand it attempts to emphasize the role of female knowledge workers like Barrett in the network of knowledge producers, who might be mentioned in a preface, but are rarely acknowledged further.

The archive offers 3852 pages of correspondence between the editors-in-chief, the publisher's staff like the managing editor, section editors and commissioned authors. Hereby it allows detailed insights in the social process of the IEE production. Not only by numbers - 447 pages of correspondence which are explicitly related to Barbara Barrett by the archive label - the fundamental role of the managing editor in the process becomes apparent but also through closer reading. By applying the Qualitative Content Analysis (Schreier 2012, 2014) it is possible to show a pattern of Barrett's influence and give qualitative insights in the way she was administratively, socially and content-related involved in knowledge production. We present a picture of her role throughout the editing and publication process to identify a rather hidden kind of knowledge work as a fundamental part of the joint effort to collect, produce and share knowledge.

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1.10 PANEL NATURE AND GENDER (1)

Chair: **Joyce Goodman (The University of Winchester)**

Geometry and Female Nature in the Greek Classroom (19th to Early 20th Centuries) (English)

Polly Thanailaki (Independent Researcher)

The question of incompatibility of the female nature in Mathematics achievement generated a lot of discussion in Europe and in the USA during nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Feminist historians remarked a lack of harmony in the aforementioned fields while women were not perceived as the persons who were able to receive schooling of a higher level. The ‘biological’ difference that differentiated men from women appeared in many books of the period under-study, hinting at women’s intellectual inferiority. In Greece the situation was a similar one.

The present conference paper explores the subject of Geometry in the Greek female primary, secondary, as well as higher secondary schools (Normal Schools) mainly during the second half of nineteenth to early twentieth centuries probing on the educational reforms that defined the teaching of the subject. My research proved that female students received only the basics in Geometry-if not any at all—because the educators appointed by the Greek state to make the draft, considered female nature as incompatible to the study of the field. Moreover, Geometry was not valued as a subject of primary importance for girls because female education was mainly oriented to the teaching of foreign languages and of home economics in order to be equipped with ‘useful knowledge’ in order to become good spouses and mothers.

The research is based on archival sources, Geometry textbooks and school curricula while its main target focuses on the gendered inequalities existing in the Greek schools during 19th to early 20th centuries.

Key words: Education, Female nature, Geometry, Gendered inequalities.

**“A winter picnic is a glorious tramp in the woods, with a big camp fire at noon.”
Challenging medical discourses of fragile femininity in girls’ school stories (English)**

Stephanie Moira Spencer (University of Winchester), Nancy G. Rosoff (Arcadia University)

This paper explores the role that nature plays in the genre of the girls' school story in the US and UK between 1910 and 1960. The wider research from which this paper is drawn examines the genre as a form of informal education for girls and young teenagers into the construction of a middle-class femininity that transcends national borders. This is not to suggest that the books created a "timeless gender universal" (Giulia Calvi, 2010:652) with stereotypical characters that bore little resemblance to real life and changed little over the course of two world wars and their aftermath. Encounters with nature and the natural world, with all its unpredictability, provided the context for heroines to escape the comfort of their homes, or the constraints of their boarding schools and exhibit their capacity for initiative, quick thinking, and independence. Jessie Graham Flower (Josephine Chase), Dorita Fairlie-Bruce and Elinor Brent-Dyer created imaginary worlds where the reader could envision herself in the role of their heroine as she faced packs of wolves (Grace Harlowe) or endured fog at sea in a small boat (Dimsie Maitland). Nature also teaches weaker characters valuable lessons if they act impetuously, ignore warnings and have to be rescued from freezing lakes and mountain ledges. Unlikely as the readers were to face these perils in their own lives, these adventures served to create respect or admiration for their characters as role models in their performance of work and friendship in their daily lives.

In addition to the drama that extreme weather conditions offered to the authors of these stories, activity outside the classroom also provided informal lessons in keeping and getting fit and healthy. There is no room in the stories for girls from the 1910s onwards to exhibit the frail femininity that G Stanley Hall identified in *Adolescence*, first published in 1904. They manage school work, organised games and become leaders in their communities, finding a balance between work and healthy exercise that ensures physical and mental well being. In the series books that took their characters from school and college through to adulthood many, but not all, the characters fulfill expectations of marriage and motherhood. Part of the rationale given by Brent-Dyer for establishing the Chalet School in the Tyrol is the health-giving properties of the alpine air for her sickly twelve year old sister, Joey Bettany. By the end of the series Joey had produced eleven children, her healthy outdoor lifestyle helping her to retain the figure and energy that are the envy of her peers.

The paper begins with a brief discussion of the use of fiction as a resource for researching girls' informal education. It then highlights Willystine Goodsell's 1923 critique of Stanley Hall et al, before offering some examples from the series books of how the unpredictability of nature provides the vehicle whereby the action of fictional heroines challenged contemporary medical discourses of fragile femininity.

Educar las “diferencias naturales” de los sexos. Argumentos y debates sobre el modelo coeducacional en el pensamiento pedagógico (Argentina, inicios del siglo XX) (Español)
Santiago Zemaitis (Universidad Nacional de La Plata, CONICET)

“Escuela coeducativa”, “modalidad mixta”, “coenseñanza”, “educación simultánea”, “modelo coeducacional”, “enseñanza coeducativa”, han sido algunos de los términos a partir de los cuales se han planteado en el debate pedagógico desde finales del siglo XIX y con mayor

énfasis en los primeros tramos del XX, las posiciones y argumentos de defensa sobre una modalidad pedagógica que incluyera tanto a varones y a mujeres en las mismas instituciones educativas. Los análisis actuales sobre esta historia, muestran que, mientras para algunos, la agrupación conjunta de ambos sexos en una misma aula, es un beneficio ligado a la historia de las reivindicaciones feministas por la igualdad, otros observan que la expansión y sostén de esta modalidad ha respondido más bien a factores de tipo económico (Gordillo, 2014). Si bien, ya desde finales del siglo XIX han sido mayores los argumentos y posturas a favor de esta modalidad, nos interesa tensionar con nuestro análisis ambas explicaciones, no para dejarlas de lado, sino para poder profundizar y explorar bajo qué argumentos y fundamentos ideológicos, actores del debate pedagógico (como Juan Manuel Estrada, Juana Manso, Raquel Camaña, Víctor Mercante, Rodolfo Senet, entre otros) se han pronunciado y posicionado en torno a este formato. Evidenciaremos al menos tres posiciones diferenciales: a) la coeducación como sistema que asegure la igualdad entre ambos sexos, b) la coeducación como agrupación física de varones y mujeres, pero con un tipo de educación respete las “diferencias naturales” entre los sexos, y c) la educación coeducativa, como un artefacto que haría peligrar tales diferencias “naturales”, asumiendo un temor al “contagio de los géneros” (Tin, 2012). Las fuentes sobre las cual nos basaremos son las principales obras y artículos de los/las autores/as antes citados/as, como así también otros escritos sobre este tema en revistas académicas de educación de inicios del siglo pasado.

Sugeriremos como supuestos que, por un lado, recorrer las argumentaciones sobre la coeducación permite visibilizar los rasgos heteronormativos en el discurso pedagógico moderno; y por otro, que los debates sobre dicha modalidad se inscriben en argumentos que constantemente están aludiendo al modos de entender la sexualidad, la educación sexual de los escolares y una forma particular de entender las relaciones (desiguales) entre los sexos.

,Natural’ Spaces in Girls’ Industrial Education in Surrey, 1879 - 1914 (English) **Catherine Grace Quartermaine Freeman (University of Greenwich)**

The Princess Mary Village Home for Little Girls, (PMVH), was established in 1870 by Mrs. Meredith in the Surrey village of Addlestone. Following her work with women who had been in prison, she turned her attention to their daughters, seeking to save them from hereditary crime. To do this, she created a village of purpose built cottages, a school, infirmary, chapel and shop based around a village green to create a “different moral atmosphere”. [1] The registers for the school tell us that the girls came from urban areas, the “city of destruction” as Mrs Meredith referred to the Spitalfields area of London in her 1882 publication, *Nellie, Or Seeking Godly Pearls*, quite different from the space she created.[2]

Mrs. Meredith sought to create the ideal community, manipulating space and employed women as “true English country Mother[s]” in order to take the destitute child from the urban setting to create respectable girls and therefore women. Her fear was that the girls, “if not taken from their environment [i.e. prison or crowded cities], they would certainly grow up to recruit the ranks of our waif population”. [3] In so doing, she was creating a new natural space for the girls: new in that the girls were previously unaccustomed to such living conditions, new in the approach to industrial schooling and a new environment more akin to nature with open spaces.[4] By this method, Mrs Meredith ensured that her charges could form a home with “habits of thrift and tidiness”, thus ensuring the opposite would be alien.[5] Using PMVH registers, annual reports and writings of the PMVH and Mrs. Meredith, I shall

address these issues by first considering the topography of the school, then Mrs. Meredith's references to both urban and non urban spaces and finally the curriculum both formal and hidden provided at the school.

[1] Thomkinson, E. M. 1887. *The World's Workers*. Sarah Robinson, Agnes Weston, Mrs. Meredith. London: Cassell and Company Ltd. P. 109.

[2] Meredith, Mrs. 1882. *Nellie: Or Seeking Godly Pearls*. London: James Nisbet & Co. P.42

[3] Meredith, Mrs. 1900. *The Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Princess Mary Village Homes for Little Girls, Addlestone, Surrey*. [Document] Surrey History Centre. 2591/1/15 P.1

[4] Meredith, Mrs. 1878. *The Seventh Annual Report of the Princess Mary Village Homes for Little Girls, Addlestone, Surrey*. 1878. London: Yates and Alexander. [Document] Surrey History Centre 6699/1 P. 7

[5] Ibid.

1.11 PANEL NATURE - CURRICULAR AND INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS

Chair: Pablo Toro Blanco (Universidad Alberto Hurtado)

The Teaching of Drawing in the Curriculum in the Normal School of São Paulo - Brazil (Empire and Beginning of the First Republic): The Importance of the Observation of the Environment for Drawing Education (English)

Silvia Maria Oliveira (Universidade Estadual Paulista „Júlio de Mesquita Filho“ -

Unesp/Marília), Cintia Lima Raphael (Universidade Estadual Paulista „Júlio de Mesquita Filho“ - Unesp/Marília)

In this paper we present partial results of the master's research, in development, whose main objective is to investigate, locate and analyze the curricula of the Normal School of São Paulo, focusing the teaching of Calligraphy and Drawing in the Normal School of São Paulo teachers training. The Normal School of São Paulo - Brazil was considered, during its period of existence and functioning, a model in its twofold sense: as a modeler of teacher training and as a model to be followed by others teacher training institutions, first in São Paulo, and later in several regions of Brazil. The object of the investigation is, therefore, the curriculum of the Normal School of São Paulo in the teaching of Drawing, more precisely, the question of the Drawing of Observation having as its location the external space of the Normal School of São Paulo, in the male and female section, starting from the date of the creation of the Discipline of Drawing 1888 - 1934. The corpus of the investigation is constituted by material published in several formats, mainly in the format of books and manuals for teachers, in which it is believed to contain the concepts, contents and privileged theoretical references in the discipline in study, concerning the training of teachers. Based on this research proposal, the following guiding questions emerged: what are the contents prescribed for Drawing for the male and female, centrally, for the teaching of Observation Drawing, focusing on the observation of the environment for the improvement of the drawing technique, in the Normal School of São Paulo, during the period in focus? How were Observation Drawing classes held? What was the objective of the classes held outside the Normal School of São Paulo? The hypothesis that we have for these questions is that it is believed that the differentiations regarding the methods and the knowledge to be taught to the teachers in the Teaching of

Drawing are justified by virtue of the existence of methods like the intuitive one. The theoretical-methodological framework that bases the investigations is constituted by the theorizations of: Ana Mae Barbosa, on the Teaching of Art; by Márcia Hilsdorf Dias and Carlos Monarcha, on the history of the Normal School and the History of Education; and Jane Soares de Almeida, on curriculum. So far, we have as partial results, based on the analysis of the material researched, that the Teaching of Drawing assists in the constitution of the teacher training, remembering that the study of the environment brings an education about the nature observing and identifying characteristics and the specificities of the environment, besides the education of the look.

Keywords: History of Education. Teaching of Art - Drawing, Normal School of São Paulo, Nature.

Entre censura y desnaturalización. La teoría de la evolución en el currículo escolar chileno durante el siglo 20 (Español)

Patricia López-Stewart (Universidad Alberto Hurtado)

La enseñanza de la teoría de la evolución en las clases de ciencias naturales ha sido -y es aún- en muchos países controversial. La influencia de ideologías conservadoras asociadas a ciertos sectores políticos y eclesiásticos ha sido determinante en la censura y distorsión de su enseñanza en el aula. Por ello, su inclusión en los currículos escolares no sólo fue tardía, sino que, en muchos de ellos, con insuficiente rigurosidad y presentada como si esta no estuviese sustentada en evidencias. La teoría de la evolución, formulada por Darwin en 1865 y complejizada posteriormente a la luz de los nuevos avances en la explicación de mecanismos de la herencia y la constitución del material genético, son indispensables para acercarse a la comprensión de fenómenos naturales. Es considerada, por lo tanto, una teoría clave para que una persona pueda considerarse científicamente alfabetizada (Atkins, 2003; Harlen, 2010). Desde otra perspectiva, las ideas asociadas a la teoría de la evolución tienen implicancias políticas adicionales. Por ejemplo, conceptos considerados claves de la teoría de la evolución como „selección natural“ y „sobrevivencia del más apto“, pueden potencialmente legitimar argumentos en favor del racismo y de la opresión (Paul, 2003; Salvucci, 2016).

Esta ponencia problematiza el tratamiento de la teoría de evolución en la escuela desde una perspectiva político-histórica. Específicamente se investiga cómo se dirimió el contenido conceptual de aquella teoría en los currículos de ciencias naturales de las escuelas chilenas durante el siglo 20. Se parte del supuesto que la tematización de la teoría de evolución configuró una de las controversias curriculares más encendidas del siglo 20 en Chile. El objetivo es analizar cómo ideologías conservadoras sustentadas por actores políticos y eclesiásticos influyeron en la definición del currículo nacional del Ministerio de Educación. Tesis principal es que tal intervención se tradujo en el veto de la teoría y/ o en su “desnaturalización”, es decir, en la sustracción de sus fundamentos esenciales. La controversia será reconstruida a través del análisis de reformas curriculares conducidas por gobiernos democráticos radicales, democratacristianos, socialistas y socialdemócratas de 1925 a 2007, aludiéndose además a las reformas propiciadas por la dictadura cívico-militar (1973-1990). Se utilizan como fuentes de análisis currículos de ciencias naturales, textos escolares y publicaciones periódicas.

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¿Cómo enseñar la historia reciente? La naturaleza del conocimiento sobre la Dictadura Cívico Militar en la formación de profesores de historia. Estudio de casos, Santiago de Chile (1990-2002) (Español)

Mabelin Garrido (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)

El objetivo de esta investigación es comprender las representaciones que elaboraron los profesores de Historia en torno a la historia reciente (Dictadura Cívico-Militar) y los factores que ayudan a su entendimiento durante su formación universitaria en la década de 1990, como las políticas con respecto a la Formación Inicial y el contexto de Reforma Curricular.

La investigación se enmarca en el campo de la Historia de la educación, considerando los cruces que se dan entre las políticas públicas respecto a la formación inicial de profesores en universidades, las reformas establecidas y la historia social de los sujetos. A nivel metodológico, se optó por una investigación cualitativa considerando el enfoque biográfico. Esta última perspectiva nos permitió re-construir las vivencias de seis profesores de Historia que ingresaron a tres universidad tradicionales de Santiago entre 1989 y 1998.

Desde el enfoque propuesto en esta investigación, la formación de profesores no ocurre solamente en los espacios de instrucción formal, sino también en espacios de socialización que otorgaron vivencias particulares a los profesores en formación, y que impactaron directamente en la manera en que se construyeron como profesores y en las representaciones sobre la historia reciente que enseñan. De esta forma, se caracterizó la experiencia de estos profesores en espacios institucionales y sociales, entendida como "una historia del sujeto" (Scott, p. 31), considerando las identidades que ella produce.

Si nos remontamos a los inicios de la Transición a la Democracia, podemos identificar algunos hitos relacionados con la necesidad de reformular la enseñanza de la Historia en general, y las convulsionadas últimas tres décadas (en particular) a las nuevas generaciones de chilenos en un contexto de reconciliación democrática (Reyes, 2003), como la incorporación de la historia reciente en el marco curricular chileno de enseñanza secundaria en 1998. Este hecho generó un acalorado debate político e historiográfico en los medios de comunicación, sobre la plausibilidad y la conveniencia de enseñar la historia reciente en las aulas (Toledo y Gazmuri, 2010).

Las principales conclusiones de la investigación apuntan a que las representaciones elaboradas por profesores de Historia en torno a la historia reciente se caracterizan por relevar emociones personales y juicios de valor, ya que a pesar de ser profesionales

especializados en una disciplina, su posicionamiento con respecto a la Dictadura Cívico-Militar está más relacionado con una esfera vivencial. Esto se explica porque las políticas sobre Formación Inicial y formación institucional en las universidades, no abordaron la enseñanza de la historia reciente con un posicionamiento crítico a nivel teórico e historiográfico, a excepción de algunos profesores formadores y académicos que incorporaron de forma autónoma estas temáticas, aunque si se incorporó su enseñanza en el currículo escolar. Por lo tanto, la naturaleza del conocimiento que los profesores de Historia construyen sobre la Dictadura Cívico Militar proviene desde espacios informales.

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Blindness is natural (English)

Renana Kristal (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Life with disabilities? Is the life of people with disabilities an exception or a natural part of humanity?

Throughout history disability has been perceived as a medical defect and people with disabilities have been categorized as abnormal and unnatural. The use of these categories and concepts divides the population into two groups - a 'normal' group and an abnormal group with negative connotations. People with disabilities, as abnormal people, were placed in institutions designated for them and excluded from society

In recent decades we have witnessed a pragmatic, theoretical and political change in the conceptualization of the phenomenon of disability in the Western world. The prevailing perception in Western countries, which views disability as a specific, essential and medical issue, is replaced by a dynamic perception that views disability as a multifaceted social phenomenon that is shaped by historical, social, educational and political factors.

This study examines the way in which the educational institution for the blind in Jerusalem dealt with the exceptional identity of the blind child. The study focuses on the way in which the children of the institution for the blind in Jerusalem were educated in the first half of the 20th century to accept the disability as an additional component of their identity, rather than as an element that defines them as unnatural or inferior. This study also examines the way in which the institution tried to undermine social perception and exclusion.

Chair: Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Universidad de La Laguna)

State Reformed Examinations of Chinese Schools in Postwar Singapore (English)

Ting Hong Wong (Sociology Institute Academia Sinica Nankang)

This paper examines the endeavors of the Singapore government to reform examinations in Chinese middle schools from the late-1950s to the mid-1960s. In the late-1950s, when Singapore underwent decolonization and the ruling authorities sought to cultivate a new national identity shared by all ethnic communities, Chinese middle schools, which enrolled about a third of students at the secondary level, continued to advance a sectional and China-oriented worldview. The only state-operated examination for such establishments—the Senior Three Middle School Examination—was ineffective in modifying the content taught in these schools, for excelling in that test would not bring about attractive opportunities in higher education and employment. To rectify this situation, the People’s Action Party (PAP), which came into power in 1959, launched two state-run tests for students of Chinese schools—the Middle Four Exam (MFE) and Senior Middle Two Exam (SMTE)—in 1961 and 1963, respectively. The official syllabi of these two exams carried less content about China. To ensure that these examinations would be a powerful device regulating the pedagogic activities of Chinese schools, the state authorities decreed that students progressing from the junior middle to the senior middle division in these institutions must first pass the MFE. The PAP also allowed high performers on the SMTE to be eligible for admission to the University of Singapore, and it forced Nanyang University—a private university catering for students graduated from Chinese middle institutions—to accept students solely according to their scores on the SMTE. This paper analyzes the causes, resultant conflicts, and consequences of these state reforms of examinations.

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Nature as an educational tool and content in the first Hungarian reform schools (Deutsch) Natasa Fizel (University of Szeged)

In Hungary, the first active or new schools were founded in the first half of the 20th century based heavily on the works of Ovide Decroly. The New School of Emma Domokosné Löllbach (1915-1949) as well as Márta Müller's Family School (1915-1943) both operated in Budapest. The third Hungarian reform school, the Garden School was founded in Szeged in 1936 by university professor Hildebrand Várkonyi, but because of the struggles of the era it only had a four-year lifespan. The concept of László Nagy, an educator, child psychologist and pioneer of the Hungarian pedagogy movement had a great impact on all three schools. One of the fundamental aspects of the first Hungarian reform schools was their location, that is, being in the nature, the healthy fresh air and away from the clamor of the city and downtown. The New and the Family School opened their doors in the mountains in Buda, while the Garden School did so near the river Tisza.

The method of my research is the analysis of primary and secondary sources. As primary sources I used the heritage of the leader of the Garden School, Erzsébet Dolch – letters, pictures, notes. The background literature of my research includes *The Pedagogy of the New School* by Erzsébet Áment (2005), *Modern Questions in Education* by Emma Domokosné Löllbach (2005), *Life and Educational Work in the Family School* by Márta Müller (1936), and *Theoretical and Practical Manifestations of the New Education* (1938).

Following the practice of Decroly, Reddie Cecil, Lombardo Radice and the Agazzi sisters, in the new schools nature was not only a tool for the mediation of knowledge but was also regarded as a physical environment and natural historical knowledge played an increasingly important role in the curriculum. The reason of existence was given to civic schools that were started in line with the Act on Public Education of 1868 by more and more overwhelming demand for the acquisition of natural historical and pragmatic knowledge among the citizenry. Besides the application of new, child-focused educational methods, the nature-centered system of reform schools fitted perfectly into this newly arising social expectation. In most of the reform pedagogical theories, the importance of the empirical exploration of the world, the principle of encouraging children to not be satisfied with facts presented to them by others but to strive to orient in the world through their own experiences, researches and observations receives a lot of attention. All three schools share the characteristic of placing emphasis on the love of nature, the utilization of the cycle of nature in education together with highlighting the significance of natural observations, for example through the exploitation of things found in nature. The treasures of nature (stones, leaves, fruits, etc.) were used in various types of activities such as counting, drawing or story writing.

After the brief introduction of the first three Hungarian reform schools I also devote attention to the utilization of nature as a physical environment in educational processes and to projects in which empirical learning in nature manifests during acquisition of natural historical knowledge.

Private School Development in England and Germany: Legacies of the past and Nature as a legitimizing concept (English)

Rita Nikolai (Humboldt-Universität Berlin)

In most OECD countries, schooling in primary and secondary education is provided by public institutions. Nevertheless, in the last few years in many OECD-countries we have seen a boom in 'private' schools (especially of government-dependent private schools) and as well new arrangements for financing private schools (Verger, et al. 2016, Author). Since 2010, England has seen a rapid expansion of government-dependent academies and free schools run by private, not-for-profit trusts registered as companies and funded directly by central government (Author, West 2015). Since the 2000s, Germany has also experienced a significant rebound in private government-dependent schools, in particular at the primary level (Author). The rising share of pupils in private schools isn't associated necessarily with the privatization of financing. The majority of private school receives a substantial financing by the state: Whereas in England the state fully finance academies and free schools, the German Ersatzschulen get 60-90% of their costs subsidized by the state. It remains an open question what factors drive the expansion of government-dependent private schools and in how far supporters of the private schools expansion use nature as a legitimizing concept in political debates against the perceived decay of values and discipline as well as a request to support child-led interests and activities.

The argument of the paper explains the strong financial role of the state for government-dependent private schools with critical junctures in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Compared to other European countries England is a laggard in the development of a public school system (Green 2013). It was not before 1870 for primary education and 1902 for secondary education, that public schools were established. The mind-set (or cognitive path dependency) that schools are better run by private providers with a strong school autonomy and the Nimbus of old private schools such as Eton or Winchester is still influential today, wherever conservative or left politicians. In Germany, the Weimar Constitution of 1919 established the financial responsibility for Ersatzschulen that is still in action under the German Basic Law Art. 7 and which affect private schools politics (Author). The paper also argue, that especially in England the expansion of government-dependent private schools is driven by argumentations of school politicians for more values, strict codes of behaviour and high disciplinary standards which help pupils to become self-directed learners. The paper is adopting a historical-institutionalist approach (Mahoney 2000, Pierson 2004) of arguing that the historical legacy of past decisions in the 19th and 20th century is influencing the actual decisions in private school politics. The paper also examines the ideational foundations of policy positions, preferences and strategies. The content-analyse use secondary literature, expert interviews with school politicians, media coverage and parliamentary documents (in Germany for the Laender Baden-Wuerttemberg and Berlin).

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The Child as a Voucher? The Marketization of the Swedish Preschools (English)

Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University), Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

Swedish early childhood education has gone through a tremendous expansion since the 1970s. This massive expansion coincided with some significant changes in how early childhood education was conducted. Apart from a “schoolification” of the content in Swedish early childhood education (from primarily being a kind of day-care into more of a preschool education) the sphere of early childhood education also went through a significant change in how preschools were organized and funded. The latter process can be described as a marketization of Swedish preschools, which is one of the main focuses of the research project “The First Choice: The Expansion of Preschool, its Marketization and Increased Importance for Families’ Educational Strategies” (<http://www.edu.uu.se/research/shed/projects/firstchoice/>)

In this paper we will examine the emergence of the conditions for a Swedish preschool market by analyzing three different political decisions in the 1980s, 1990s and the 2000s, which included a ban on profit-making preschools (1984), a waiver of the ban (1991), and the introduction of a kind of childcare voucher that allows Swedish parents to freely choose preschool for their children (2009). The study is based mainly on analyzes of parliamentary debates, but it also makes use of the extensive newspaper debate in connection with the decisions in parliament.

Our paper will focus on how the nature of preschool children and their education was discussed in these debates. Our paper will be guided by the hypothesis that the marketization of the preschool sector also implied changing visions of children and their education, whereby children were portrayed as rational agents responding to their environment, and as economic resources that enables an efficient resource distribution of the Swedish government’s resources.

1.13 PANEL AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Chair: Stefan Johann Schatz (Humboldt University Berlin)

Nature and Education in Brazil: North American Immigrants to Santa Bárbara d’Oeste and Americana, State of São Paulo, Brazil, and the Evidences of a Non-Formal Technical Education in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries (English)

Renato Kraide Soffner (UNISAL)

This qualitative and bibliographical research studied the relationships between North American immigration to Brazil, in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the development of surrounding communities. We considered not only the scientific understanding of local nature from a historical point of view, but also the premise that

specific communities have survival as well as social needs. Therefore, the knowledge transfer of agricultural techniques, through a non-formal educational model offered by the Americans, has proven to be of great interest. By non-formal education we are referring to education that is autonomous and independent from the official legislation (PARK et al., 2007). Soon after the American Civil War, many Southerners emigrated to Brazil. According to Mesquida (1994) and Jones (1967), some of these immigrants settled near the cities of Santa Bárbara d'Oeste e Americana, State of São Paulo, circa 1866. They introduced new crops, including rattlesnake watermelon and pecans, and improved carts and use of draft animals (DAWSEY & DAWSEY, 1995). Local communities were provided a non-formal agricultural education, in a period of production decay caused by sugarcane. The technical knowledge and expertise of the Americans gave birth to an economical revival that was very important to the local economy and society. Mesquida (op. cit.) and Harter (1985) cite Colonel William Hutchinson Norris, the first immigrant to settle in Americana, who dedicated himself to the cultivation of cotton by employing innovative techniques to work the soil and increase the production of the land (p. 42). Just like many other settlers, he soon started instructing the neighboring communities in agricultural processes: first on cotton, then on local varieties of coffee and sugarcane. Among the innovations brought to Brazil by the Americans are the moldboard plow, a wedge formed by a curved steel plow blade that turns the soil into a furrow. Another influential American was Robert Lee Ferguson, who oversaw the "model farm" associated with a famous agricultural college of the region - Escola Superior de Agricultura Luiz de Queiroz (ESALQ). According to ESALQ (1976, 2001), the college was born as an Agricultural School. Luiz Vicente de Souza Queiroz, one of the republican farmers of the time, decided to prepare his own farm, São João da Montanha, in Piracicaba – State of São Paulo, to become an agricultural college (essentially practical studies, with little theory although offering the necessary research opportunities). It seems Ferguson played an important role in this enterprise, since he provided the professional synergy between theoretical and practical competencies, in addition to technological innovation. Concluding, the relationship between nature, society, and education in the history of specific communities seemed interesting enough to justify the research presented here. Non-formal practices are credited with the advancement of local communities learning capacities, influencing nature conditions.

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The Educational Fields: An explorative study into educational practices within the (agricultural) reform school of Ruiselede, Belgium (English)

Sarah Van Ruyskensvelde (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

In 1872, Aldemar C. Vandercruyssen first published ‘The boy of Ruiselede’, a fictional, romantic story about Karel, a former pupil of the agricultural colony of Ruiselede. In spite of Karel’s impeccable moral behavior and the esteem he enjoyed within the local community, his past as a pupil of a reform school continues to overshadow his future. Especially his future father-in-law, a local farmer, has many prejudices about Karel. In an attempt to make him change his mind, the local baron – who supports Karel’s case – arranges a guided tour in the colony of Ruiselede. Karel’s father-in-law is impressed by what he sees:

“The reform school was established in the midst of a bare plain and pine wood. These have subsequently been wiped out, and today, the institution encompasses hundreds of acres of land that, previously, produced almost nothing, but has been revalued as a result of persistent courage and labor.” (Vandercruyssen, 1903, 69)

The transformation of nature in this quotation is, perhaps, a metaphor for the moral re-education process of delinquent youths that took place within the agricultural colonies that were established across Europe in the course of the 19th century. This paper discusses the educational praxis within the agricultural colony of Ruiselede (Belgium), roughly between its establishment and the middle of the 20th century.

The institution first opened in 1844 as an *école agricole*; a facility for minor boys that were either convicted for begging or vagrancy, or were orphaned (De Vos, 2017, 21). A research into these non-formal educational practices is relevant, especially in the light of the dominant focus of existing Belgian scholarship on macro-level developments. In spite of the fact that the emergence and development of reform schools is a well-studied topic in Belgian history, most studies focus on the legal context (e.g. De Vos, 2017), on the level of political decision-making (e.g. Van Landschoot, 2008), or approach the subject from a criminological perspective (e.g. Christiaens, 1999). In contrast to Dutch research (e.g. Dimmendaal, 1998; Bultman, 2015), Belgian historiography has neglected the everyday reality in these facilities. By investigating the archive of the reform school of Ruiselede that includes a wide variety of sources (such as educational reports, sources about penitentiary labor, and pictures), this paper aims to investigate how these institutions aimed to re-educate young delinquents by means of agricultural labor.

As a result, the institution in Ruiselede presents an interesting case-study to investigate the place of nature as an educational setting and practice. Especially from 1873 onwards, the *école agricole* in Ruiselede included a number of industrial crafts in its ‘educational project’ (Van Landschoot, 2008, 190), and organized ‘apprenticeships’ at local farms. As such, the fields became the educational setting where the successful reintegration of children at risk in an urbanized society, inflicted by social problems, was being prepared. The work on the fields

became a tool for moralization: the rural character of these institutions was put central in the civilization offensive of the child at risk, as manual labor in a natural setting was supposed to result in an honest (professional) life (Van Landschoot, 2008, 190).

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Feel the breeze of the sea to calm down the spirit – The Colónia Agrícola of S. Bernadino (1912-1921) (English)

Cláudia Pinto Ribeiro (University of Oporto)

This proposal intends to study a public welfare institution for boys with educative special needs – the Colónia Agrícola of São Bernardino – inaugurated at 5th of October 1912, in a small village by the sea, in the centre of Portugal.

Installed in an old convent with horrible conditions of inhabitability, the Colónia welcomed thirty-five boys who, due to their bad behaviour and “abnormality”, were carefully chosen for what should be the “end of the line”. After being in several institutions, it was expected that the stay in these premises allowed the rescuing “to the miserable way of living in the capital [Lisbon] of those who, because of their conditions, couldn’t reach a proper situation” (Silva, 1917, n.º 48, p. 1-2), due to their physical disability or intellectual and moral incompetence, expecting that in the midst of nature they would become trained workers who would be able to earn their own livelihood.

Seeking the analysis of correspondence exchanged between the Colónia and other public and private entities, pictures, news from the daily press from Lisbon and the newspaper from the Colónia, *O Agricultor*, we intend to recognise the innovative spirit of this institution: a tailor-made school for the limitations and the abnormality of the other, in order to free them from the dependence and the prejudice.

The methodology chosen for this investigation was based on the analysis of the content of the sources, intending to answer to the specificities of the documents and the subject of this working plan, trying to avoid the use of an excessive formalist methodology.

In this proposal for a trip by the sea, we invite the reader to visit the cloisters of São Bernardino, to breathe the breeze of the sea that invades their rooms, to take the measure of the boys' uniforms while they do their works in the workshops, or while they go through the vineyards with the baskets full of grapes. Let us feel the weight of loneliness when it is lived among others. Let us watch the other till we experiment their nudity, without being covered by veils, at the mercy of curiosity... And let us know how it feels the bitterness of punishment and the joy of compliment, when one or the other rescue us from the anonymity.

By following this path, we intend to do the portrait, more or less clear, of the Colónia Agrícola of São Bernardino, remembering its trajectory, in order to frame its creation in a) the identification of a kind of educative special needs denoted by a specific group of children and b) the separation of the boys from the big city, focus of corruption of the soul and behaviour, by taking them to a rural region, far from everything, expecting that the connection with nature would regenerate these "pieces" that jam the machine.

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Education, Nature and Agriculture: “A Revista de Educação” (The Education Magazine) (1921-1923) and the formation of citizens in the First Republic of Brazil (English)
Angélica Pall Oriani (Universidade de São Paulo)

This article aims to understand and analyze the articles published by the Journal of Education that deal with the importance of agriculture and the tillage for the formation of Brazilian society. The Journal of Education was an educational journal that had the intention of discussing the educational issues that circulated in the 1920s and contributed to teacher training. The journal was published by the professors of the “Escola Normal de Piracicaba” (Regular School of Piracicaba), in the state of São Paulo / Brazil, between 1921 and 1923, and had only five fascicles, which circulated in some Brazilian states and some Latin American countries. Professor Lourenço Filho was one of the main editors and creators of the Journal. The analysis is based on the study of the materiality, periodicity and content of the Journal of Education. The theoretical-methodological reference is based on a set of studies of Cultural History, especially on the premises of Roger Chartier, Michel de Certeau and Marta Maria Chagas de Carvalho. This referential takes the form of its materiality as a cultural object, focusing on the practices that produce it and on the uses that are made of it. Thus, the printed matter must be analyzed from the perspective of its production, distribution, as editorial strategies correlated with the uses that are prescribed to it, and also as a device of pedagogical normalization and as a material support for school practices. For the accomplishment of this research the following methodology was applied: search and mapping of the printed matter; scanning; organization of the material; reading; selection and analysis of content analysis of characteristics of materiality, periodicity, organization, dissemination and distribution of the printed matter. The analysis of pedagogical destination forms contributes to the rescue of elements of the History of Brazilian Education, since they reveal the emergent political and cultural transformations in certain moments and places, and the pedagogical tendencies that formed the teachers. With the publication of periodicals and books, it is not intended to disclose only professional claims or social class struggles, but also a set of ideas about education, school and educational policy. The Journal of Education published articles and lyrics that deal with the importance of agriculture and nature for the country's development. It also published pictures of students of the Model School in gardens cultivated by them. This thematic relates to the nationalist ideals spread at a time that longed to form a productive society that values the national wealth and sought to fix the population in rural areas to avoid their migration to the cities. In addition, the cultivation of land would have educational value, since it would contribute to the physical, intellectual and moral development of the child by developing a moral disposition to work. Therefore, we conclude that the Journal of Education was an important vehicle in the dissemination of nationalist

ideas that sought to form a new mentality in citizens changing their habits and that the creation of the Journal of Education, the selection and publication of articles functioned as pedagogical normative devices and as material support for school practices.

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1.14 PANEL BACK TO NATURE? IDEAS, MILIEUS AND PRACTICES

Chair: Michèle Hofmann (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

The use of network theory in the researches of life reform movement: a systematic review and methodological considerations (English)

Zoltán András Szabó (Eötvös Loránd University)

As a widespread phenomenon, life reform movement (LRM) consists of a heterogeneous group of streams, which were mostly born in the last decades of the 19th century and the early 20th century. However, these movements share a common feature: they connected with natural lifestyle. The various links in and between the LRM's groups of different sizes encourage the analysis of this movement with the help of computer-aided network analysis, and the research field itself can be examined this way. All the more so, because – despite its popularity in social sciences and particularly in education – network analysis has not become a strong component of the LRM's approaches.

Because of this, the aim of my theoretical and methodological lecture is to examine the topic of LRM from the viewpoint of network theory. The presentation can be divided into two main parts: in the first half, I would like to present the overlaps between the topic (life reform movements) and the chosen approach (network theory) in the biggest international educational databases. According to the movement's impact on German-speaking areas, the literature was written mostly in German, but materials in other languages can be found as well. Based on the analysis of the theoretical background (especially educational databases and thesauruses, like the FIS Bildung Literaturdatenbank or the Educational Resources Information Center) in the second half of the presentation I try to give some methodological suggestions for the analysis of the LRM from the meta- to the micro-level.

The possible primary sources vary according to the level of analysis: from the elements of the above-mentioned educational databases to contemporary documents. With the help of a previously developed tripartite (agent-structure-content) model, these items can be analysed in a coherent manner. The main presented methods of the lecture are the following: social network analysis, citation network analysis, co-authorship analysis and content analysis.

In spite of the several possible network theory analogies, at the present time, it is hard to find connections between the field of life reform movements and the methodological toolkit of network analysis in the examined educational databases. The lack of this approach in this particular field of educational research justifies the need for further examinations and the development of a conceptual model.

Les activités éducatives en lien avec la nature dans le scoutisme français: Des objectifs pédagogiques aux pratiques réelles, une approche socio-historique (Français) Olivier Chaïbi (ESPE-UPEC Paris Est-Créteil)

Mouvement d'éducation populaire fondé en 1907, le scoutisme s'est majoritairement développé dans le monde entier auprès de jeunesse urbaines. Toutefois, un des principaux objectifs du mouvement a toujours été d'emmener les jeunes dans la « Nature ». Cette dernière occupe une place privilégiée dans l'imaginaire et la pédagogie des scouts : le livre de la jungle a souvent été une référence pour les louveteaux, tandis que de nombreuses progressions, tant pour les filles que pour les garçons, se font à travers la « forêt ». Régulièrement renouvelées en fonction des évolutions sociales, les pratiques pédagogiques des mouvements scouts, qu'ils soient laïques ou religieux, progressistes ou traditionnalistes, s'inscrivent tous dans la « nature ». Le scout doit savoir l'habiter et y vivre. Elle est à la fois un lieu de recueillement, méditation ou prière et un lieu d'activités (jeux, constructions, randonnées, etc.)

En dehors des études globales ou des synthèses sur le scoutisme, qui oscillent souvent entre histoire institutionnelle et récit nostalgique, les monographies sur le mouvement traitent davantage de ses dimensions politiques ou religieuses. La place de la nature dans les activités des scouts et guides permet néanmoins d'interroger les valeurs pédagogiques qui lui ont été attribuées au cours du XXe siècle par de nombreux animateurs de mouvements de jeunesse. D'une approche plutôt militariste et religieuse au début du XXe, à l'approche écologiste et citoyenne au début du XXIe, la « nature » est restée pendant un siècle le lieu de réalisation d'une utopie communautaire pour plusieurs millions de jeunes. A travers leurs revues, leurs guides, leurs carnets d'instruction, mais aussi leurs chants ou leurs prières, les scouts témoignent à la fois d'une sanctuarisation de la nature au XXe siècle par les éducateurs, tout en contribuant à définir des pratiques éducatives et/ou de loisir dont s'inspirent un grand nombre de mouvements de jeunes.

Notre étude s'appuie sur le dépouillement et l'étude de progressions pédagogiques (épreuves, badges, carnets d'activités en lien avec la nature) et une enquête par sondage réalisée auprès de 775 guides et scouts durant l'été 2016. Notre étude montre que la place de la nature dans la pédagogie varie selon les âges des jeunes et les périodes historiques, mais qu'en dépit des distinctions opérées entre les mouvements et les sexes, les pratiques des filles et des garçons, comme les pratiques des mouvements religieux ou laïcs sont de plus en plus homogènes. Enfin, nous montrerons qu'un grand nombre d'anciens scouts ou guides

déplorent au final une mauvaise connaissance de la nature dans le scoutisme par rapport aux objectifs affichés !

School in the landscape: locus studii and the Nature in the Late Middle Ages (English)

Aleksandr Rusanov (National Research University Higher School of Economics)

The paper will be dedicated to the late medieval ideas of place for the ideal schools and its relation to the natural conditions and objects. Though the first universities and their locales are often observed in context of urban spaces these ideals were important elements of their juridical status and educational practices during the XIII-XV cc.

The most famous manifestation of this tradition (that was based on the Greek and Latin examples) is the description of ideal school in "Rhetorica novissima" of Boncompagno de Signa (1235). This treatise underlined that the house of scholastic should be built in solitude and in the fresh and pure air ("Domus scholastice discipline in libero et puro aere construatur". Cf: Bibliotheca Iuridica Medii Aevi / Gaudenzi A. (ed.), vol. II. Bologna: P.V. Olim, 1892. Vol. II, p. 288. (8.1.20.)) Ideas of special natural conditions and solitude as a necessary attribute of locus studii was used in many medieval legal texts. For example, citations from Boncompagno's Rhetorica can be found in the 31st title of the Second partida of Alfonso X the Wise (the King of Castile and León in 1252-1284). Later they were elaborated in the works of Bolognese jurists of XIII–XIV cc.: Odofredus (d. 1265), Henricus of Segusio (Hostiensis, d. 1271), Baldus (1327–1400), Bartolus (1313–1357).

Further, it should be noticed that the use of such concepts can demonstrate how the nature were interpreted by the medieval intellectuals not only as an object for the philosophical and theological analysis but also as a stage where the educational practices are realized. And this stage could give not only patience but also some "instruments" for the studium. Boncopagno writes that the school should have at least three windows. So nearby trees, gardens and landscapes can be contemplated for strengthening of memory. ("Due autem vel tres fenestre taliter disponantur, quod magister interdum et maxime in ameno tempore valeat exteriores partes, arbores, hortos, et pomeria intueri, quoniam in visione rerum delectabilium memoria roboratur..." Cf.: Ibidem).

1.15 PANEL THE SCIENTIZATION OF NATURE

Chair: Fabio Pruneri (University of Sassari)

Measuring Nature(s) - Merging Notions of Attainment and Age in the U.S. Discourse on Gradation, 1830-1920 (English)

Fanny Isensee (Humboldt University Berlin)

In most contexts relating to the study of 'nature' and its conceptualizations, the term itself is used in the singular form. However, there are instances where different 'natures' come into conflict with one another. One of these instances can be located in the mid-19th century, when the U.S. school system saw the emergence of gradation as a new concept of classifying and grouping pupils (Tyack, 2003). With the establishment of graded classrooms we can observe a shift in the underlying principle that determined the allocation of pupils. Before, attainment was the key factor in assigning school children to a specific group. Now, age gained a more prominent role as a criterion for grouping pupils and eventually even became

superior to the attainment level category. This merger of the notions of age and attainment, that eventually came to define an ideal model of progressing through school all pupils were measured against, serves as the focal point of this paper.

The concept of gradation denotes that children are sorted according to their age and skill levels and placed in corresponding school grades. Throughout their school career pupils are promoted from one grade to the next higher grade with the underlying assumption that similar attainment levels correspond with similar age. Hence, gradation entails a specific notion that ascribes certain abilities to a distinct chronological age thereby applying a uniform template to all school children that makes their differing 'natures' more manageable. Here, arguments that stress the economy and efficiency of this grouping method are favored over more individualistic approaches.

The discourse on gradation in the U.S. was shaped and manifested itself on different levels, e.g. through model schools such as Philbrick's Quincy School in Boston (1848), Henry Barnard's widely received publication *Gradation of Public Schools* (1856) and William H. Well's influential *Graded Course of Instruction* (1862) first implemented in Chicago. The key proponents of gradation served as superintendents, commissioners of education, presidents and members of teacher associations and editors of renowned educational journals and hence held pivotal positions for furthering the dissemination of gradation. In the beginning, this discourse took shape in educational periodicals and subsequently gained normative status in educational encyclopedias. Against this backdrop, the paper examines the emergence of 'age' as the basis for gradation and how this category replaced other methods of sorting pupils. Furthermore, the presentation argues that the concept's initial development took place in the school administration sphere (Kiddle & Schem, 1877) and that its solidification is recorded in educational encyclopedias (Monroe, 1911-1913), which can be characterized as systematic collections of canonized educational knowledge. The examined materials and sources consist of educational periodicals (Russell's *American Journal of Education*, *American Annals of Education*, *Mann's Common School Journal*, *Connecticut Common School Journal* and *Barnard's American Journal of Education*) and encyclopedias (Kiddle & Schem, 1877; Fletcher, 1899; Monroe, 1911-1913) as well as additional sources that shaped the discussion on gradation, such as Well's (1862) and Philbrick's (1885) works on the gradation of schools.

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Classification of Children with Learning Problems in the Early 20th Century in the United States (English)

Ryo Yoshii (Fukuyama City University)

From the end of the 19th century, school administrators and teachers faced several challenges in the United States. Urban school enrollment increased rapidly because of newly enforced compulsory education laws and restrictions on child labor. Furthermore, there was a population shift from rural to urban areas and immigration was prevalent because of changes in the industrial structure. In this new era, public schools were charged with socializing and educating those children who for various reasons, could not be taught in regular classes. Various labels such as slow learner, dull, laggard, backward, and borderline (In this study, I use the term “backward” as an encompassing term) were employed to describe children who exhibited no clear disabilities such as feeble-mindedness, blindness, or deafness but experienced difficulty adapting to regular classes. Ellis (2013) noted that multiple causes for retardation were explained in the 1910s, but by the 1920s low native intelligence had become practically the only cause of retardation and learning problems as a result of the newly developed science of intelligence and the proliferation of IQ tests. Although intelligence tests had been introduced, it was difficult to compile a clear diagnosis and classification of such children. Under these circumstances, America’s leading proponents of diagnosing and classifying children tried to explain the complicated causes of the “backward” by utilizing various examinations and attempting education outside public schools. These included Maximilian Paul Eugen Groszmann (1855–1922) who established his own private school for atypical children in the state of New Jersey in 1900, Lightner Witmer (1867–1956) who established his own private psychological clinic in the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 and John Edward Wallace Wallin (1876–1969) who ran a psycho-educational clinic for feeble-minded and backward children in the St. Louis Board of Education in 1914. All three were interested in backward children and tried to return them to regular classes through appropriate care and education. The aim of this study was to clarify the perceptions (inclusive of educational possibilities) and classification methods for feeble-minded and backward children, as well as how to cope with classified individual children. The focus of this study was the period from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The main materials employed in this study were the proponents’ writings, the Annual Reports of the Board of Education (especially, Philadelphia and St. Louis), “The Psychological Clinic” and “Exceptional Children.” In this study, the causes of backwardness were revealed as those classified as a child’s nature and social causes. In other words, the cause of a child's backwardness was to be found within the child, environment, and social milieu as well as a combination thereof. Among the proponents, it was commonly recognized that it was difficult to explain the complicated causes of backwardness by merely employing an IQ score.

Furthermore, the criteria for distinguishing the feebleminded from the backward were ambiguous. In this study, it is demonstrated that the proponents continued to seek ways to adequately determine a child's individual needs.

Ellis, Jason. "'Inequalities of Children in Original Endowment': How Intelligence Testing Transformed Early Special Education in a North American City School System." *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2013): 401-429.

Psychology and the nature of education. A history of attention in Belgian primary education 1900-1950 (English)

Nele Reyniers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), Pieter Verstraete (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

In the field of education there is a profound impact of psychological theory and practices (Bruman, 1996; Gleason, 1999; De Vos, 2014). Apart from the fatal attraction of the discipline of psychology on educational research (Croizet, 2013; Ramaekers & Suissa, 2013), psychological discourse also impacts upon concrete educational contexts. Several examples can be found within the existing literature, such as the emergence of child guidance centres (Bakker, 2006; Stewart, 2011), the establishment of school psychological services (Farrell, 2009), intelligence testing (Richardson & Johanningmeier, 1997), and the mental hygiene movement (Cohen, 1983). One of the possible outcomes of this overall presence of psychology in education is the insertion of psychological discourse into the nature of education, regarding psychological categories as natural categories for instance (Danziger, 1997). As Danziger (1997) rightly claimed, psychological concepts have long been part of ordinary life and discourse before they became part of psychological discourse. In this way, psychological concepts are cultural constructs with specific historical roots. To support his argument, Danziger (1997) gave the examples of several psychological categories, such as 'intelligence', 'motivation', 'personality' and 'attitude'.

This project aims to apply Danziger's critical analysis to the emergence and spreading of psychological language in education by studying the concept of 'attention' in Belgian primary education. It will do so by studying the concept of 'attention' and focusing on the language used in education to describe this concept. The main research question is: 'To what extent and how has attention been psychologized in Belgian primary education between 1900-1950?' The studied time period runs from 1900 to 1950, for research has abundantly demonstrated that it was in this period that psychology was institutionalized and gained ground in Western society as a whole (De Vos, 2012; Goodey, 2011; Smith, 2013; Vidal, 2006). The focus of this project is on one educational actor in particular, the teachers. The project focusses on teachers because some scholars pointed towards the belief at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that teachers lacked knowledge about psychological matters, such as mental hygiene, mental disorders etc. (Bakker & de Beer, 2009). Two Belgian journals written by and for teachers between 1900 and 1950 will form the source materials of this study: *Journal des instituteurs* and *Moniteur des instituteurs et des institutrices*. By studying those two journals, this project will analyse how teachers thought and wrote about attention in order to trace back psychological discourse within their interpretations. The analysis of the teachers' discourse and their preference for or resistance to psychological theory and practices, will be used to nuance the idea that psychology colonized education and educational settings. Up till now, this interpretation is rather

common in the existing literature on the influence of psychology in education, i.e. psychologization in education (Bakker, 2006; Stewart, 2011; Farrell, 2009; Richardson & Johanningmeier, 1997; Cohen, 1983).

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Discipline Measures in Schools – The Clash of Physical Punishment and Modern Pedagogy in 19th Century Hungary (English)

Gabriella Baska (Eötvös Loránd University), Judit Hegedüs (National University of Public Service)

How individual and biological qualities interfere with social expectations, what the relationship is like between civilization, nature and human nature have always been primary concerns of humanities, and these issues are also relevant in discipline and punishment.

In 19th-century Hungary, after the introduction of compulsory education, in elementary school settings the harmonization of human nature with social standards became the tutor's responsibility. The same era brought a paradigm shift in criminal law, trying to restrict physical punishment in law enforcement as well. This basic change in ideas, besides provoking heated debates all around Europe, was transmitted into other forms of institutionalized discipline, such as schools.

Our presentation attempts to bring the results of a two-way press review to the public. We interpreted the mechanisms within Michel Foucault's theoretical framework and understood discipline as the means of correcting human nature which has a role in the process of normalization.

On one hand, a press debate has been explored with the means of discourse analysis in the research. The debate, which was published in the 1887 Néptanoda (People's School) magazine, tried to base its views on international sources thus enlisted pros and cons for corporal punishment. In an attempt to find answers to the questions 'why educate' and 'what is a human' contemporary educators participating in the dispute offered an imprint on the conditions of Hungarian society at the time while providing the analysis of human nature. The paper, on the other hand, includes the examination of the periodicals Nemzeti Nőnevelés (Education of Women) and Család és Iskola (Family and School) covering the regulation of girls. Following these findings we were focusing on the following questions to be answered: what is the difference between the punishment of a boy and a girl? What different characteristics can one identify in disciplining in schools and in a family settings? What are the known means and attempts – either successful or not – to restore order and bring back balance?

Based on the analysis of 50 articles one can conclude that discipline and order – as high priority values – appeared mainly referring to the future mother-role: the ideal of the mother as a disciplining woman unfolds from the texts.

1.16 PANEL INSTITUTIONS, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CONCEPTS OF NATURE

Chair: Deirdre Raftery (University College Dublin)

Des représentations de la nature dans l'éducation militaire (Français)

Claudia Alves (Universidade Federal Fluminense)

La formation militaire s'est consolidée, au long du XIXe siècle, avec l'organisation des armées nationales, en tant que partie de la construction des États de nouveau type. Au Brésil, la rupture avec l'Empire portugais et l'édification d'une nation indépendante ont été des processus conjugués qui ont exigés des transformations au sein des forces armées, avec des

vues sur l'affermissement du pouvoir central. Tel processus n'a pas eu lieu sans conflits et contradictions, surtout à cause de fortes disputes avec les pouvoirs locaux engagés à préserver les privilèges et le monopole sur la violence. L'armée nationale a alors fait face à des difficultés à se consolider dans son rôle de bâtisseur de L'État-nation. Dans ce contexte, la formation des officiers de l'armée brésilienne s'est inspirée des modèles des nations européennes, quoique présentant des limites pour la consolidation d'un programme centré sur les disciplines scientifiques. Malgré cela, l'armée s'est mise en évidence au XIXe siècle brésilien, comme l'agence d'État capaciteuse pour la lecture et la production de connaissances basées sur la représentation moderne de nature. Le travail des officiers militaires incluait dès le listage des ressources et composants territoriaux jusqu'à l'observation astronomique liée à la météorologie.

Dans le présent travail, nous analysons les représentations de nature présentes dans un livre de lecture, écrit par un officier d'armée, qui a même été suggéré pour les écoles primaires du Distrito Federal, dans la période initiale de la République. Dans ce livre on raconte des passages de la Guerre de la Triple-Alliance, dont le Brésil a participé comme allié de l'Argentine et de l'Uruguay, contre le Paraguay.

Le livre est intitulé "Episódios militares"(Episodes militaires), et son auteur, Joaquim Silvério d'Azevedo Pimentel, appartenait à l'élite lettrée de la fin du XIXe siècle brésilien, dans laquelle s'inséraient les officiers de l'armée. La première édition du livre date de 1887, encore à la période de la monarchie. En 1891, le régime républicain déjà en vigueur, le livre a été indiqué, par deux instances, pour être adopté en tant que livre de lecture dans des écoles. La première parmi elles, la Congregação do Colégio Militar, suggère au Ministério dos Negócios da Guerra son adoption pour être utilisé, aussi bien dans l'école mentionnée que dans d'autres écoles de l'armée: La Escola de Sargentos, celle des Aprendizes dos Arsenais et dans toute école réglementaire.

Dans notre analyse, c'est en évidence les représentations de nature qui obtenaient dans cette publication-là un véhicule de circulation. L'indication de lecture pour les étudiants des écoles dans et hors la corporation militaire se présente comme un indice de la valorisation de son contenu en consonnance avec les valeurs associées au projet républicain d'une partie des officiers. Le public auquel il s'adressait, la plupart appartenant au sexe masculin, était le cible privilégié d'un endoctrinement qui portait de représentations spécifiques quant à la maîtrise de la nature, en commençant par le propre corps humain. Le but de préparation à la guerre établissait un lieu particulier pour la nature en général.

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'Children are human souls, this is the essence of education': Early nineteenth century theories on the nature of the child through the lens of transnational female epistemologies (English)

Annmarie Valdes (Loyola University Chicago)

As historians become increasingly aware of the significance of female knowledge production in educational pedagogy, it is starkly apparent that a more thorough analysis of the Enlightenment's impact on female education, public leadership and the establishment of regional, national and international intellectual networks during the post-Enlightenment period is required.[1] This paper examines ideas about the nature of children and the role of education contained within specific publications, *Du Perfectionnement moral, ou de l'Éducation de soi-même* (1824) and *l' Education Progressive or Etude du Cours de la Vie* (1828), produced by French and Swiss educators during the late 1820s and adopted by three female leaders in education in the US during the 1830s, Elizabeth P. Peabody, Emma Willard and Almira Phelps. These tracts serve as foundational transnational knowledge about young children—their need for early education—and are part of a corpus of knowledge that led to the eventual implementation of the first kindergarten by 1860 and the training of teachers for all grades.

By focusing on the exchange and circulation of educational pedagogy as constitutive for knowledge making,[2] attention is paid to how Peabody, Willard and Phelps were also creators of pedagogy. These women demonstrated an interest in Swiss and French pedagogy during the 1820s and 1830s through their own publications about the nature, character and mind of children, all of which advocated that children be understood as human souls in need of education. The project employs a conceptual framework, heritage mapping biography, to more precisely identify, describe and develop feminist vocabularies, knowledge production, and knowledge management in the US during the 1830s; the approach moves beyond ascribing origin and delves into describing the influential mobility of knowledge.[3] Thus, the publications considered here represent a corpus of knowledge that served as foundational support for the kindergarten movement which goes beyond standard interpretations of the influence of Friedrich Froebel and Heinrich Pestalozzi.[4]

[1] Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1900* (London: Palgrave, 2004); Christine Mayer, "Poverty, Education and Gender: Pedagogic Transformations in the Schools for the Poor (Armenschulwesen) in Hamburg, 1788–1871." *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1-2 (2011): 91-107; Ruth Watts, "Society, Education and the State: Gender Perspectives on an Old Debate." *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 1 (2013): 17-33; Jana L. Argersinger & Phyllis Cole, Eds. *Toward a Female Genealogy of Transcendentalism*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014); Mary L. John, "Feminist Vocabularies in Time and Space, Perspectives from India", *Economic & Political Weekly*, vol. XLIX, No. 22 (May 31, 2014); 121-130.

[2] Wiebke Keim, Ercüment Çelik, Veronika Wöhrer, Eds. *Global Knowledge Production in the Social Sciences: Made in Circulation* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

[3] Argersinger & Cole, *Toward a Female Genealogy of Transcendentalism*; John, "Feminist Vocabularies in Time and Space"; Watts, "Society, Education and the State".

[4] Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education, the National Experience, 1783-1876*. New York City: Harper and Row, 1980; Bruce A. Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer on Her Own Terms*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999; John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

The young naturalists movement in the Soviet Union of the Twenties and Thirties (English) Dorena Caroli (University of Macerata)

The aim of this article is to analyse the different experiences of the young naturalist movement in Russian after the October Revolution, one of the less known youth movement in Europe. It dealt with atheist education but also with several activities aimed at developing a interest in the nature (animals and plants). The knowledge of the kingdom of nature and of its law was considered important for the communist education. The first part analyzes at the evolution of the the activity of the "K.A. Timiriachev" Biology Station for young naturalists, created in 1919 and active until 1930 by the famous biologist Boris V. Vsesviatskii (1887–1969) in order to teach children to observe nature and animals using a scientific methodology. The second part presents images (photograph), children's writings about the natural phenomena, reports of the Moscow station and of other stations organized in other soviet cities. The third parts reconstructs the activity of the young naturalists movement in post-Revolutionary Russia. All these experiments and activities should make children more aware of the world of the nature and of its phenomena as important factor for the achievement of communism.

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Thought Collectives of the Early 20th Century Experiential Educators (English) Lauri Luoto (University of Turku)

Robert Baden-Powell (1857-1941) was the founder of the worldwide Scout movement. His educational scheme owes much to contemporary educationalists, but their roles remain somewhat unclear because Baden-Powell did not actively share the credit. Dedman (1993) calls these influencers as "Invisible Contributors" to the Boy Scout Scheme. A further investigation on who the contributors were, is needed to understand the development of Baden-Powell's educational thought.

The aim of the study is to define what kind of thought collectives the invisible contributors formed. As defined by Fleck, a thought collective is a community persons mutually exchanging ideas and interpreting them through a shared thought style. A multiplex approach to social network analysis is applied to take different kind of contributions into account. The study is based on a reputational list of British educationalists who were active in 1890-1930. The list is shortened to the main contributors who supported Baden-Powell's ideas in their texts or were

recommended by his books. Intellectual references between the contributors were gathered from monographs they authored. Other affiliations were gathered from biographies and other secondary sources. Finally, an adjacency matrix was created based on the results.

According to the present analysis, early supporters of the movement were a well interconnected group of educationalists inspired by social thinker John Ruskin. From 1920s onwards the supporters should rather be considered as Montessorians. Existing studies about Baden-Powell's educational thought are almost exclusively based on analysing his written texts. Using social network analysis makes it possible to create a more comprehensive picture on how his thoughts were possibly affected by the contemporary educational debate. Some considerations about the use of the social network analysis with diverse historical data are finally discussed.

THURSDAY August 30 9:00 - 10:30

2

2.1 SWG HISTORY OF LAIC EDUCATION (1/4)

TOWARD INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF LAIC (SECULAR) EDUCATION

Chair: Ismail Ferhat (Université de La Picardie Jules-Verne/CAREF)

The Van Humbeeck nexus: the rise and fall of a secular education project in Belgium (English)

Jeffrey Tyssens (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

As a constitutional monarchy with a strong Catholic fraction in Parliament and a history of school-related political tensions even before the country's independence in 1830, young Belgium at first devised an educational system where public primary schools still had considerable clerical features. The Liberal party increasingly opposed the latter, without being able however to change them radically. Secular pressure groups such as the Ligue de l'Enseignement (founded in 1864), carried mainly by the left wing of the Liberal party, acted in favor of a system of compulsory, free and secular primary schools. Gradually, this objective received some support within the party at large, a more explicitly secular program being opposed to the Catholic majority in the 1870s. In 1879, with again a Liberal government in charge, the advocacy of a secular school system crystallized in the Van Humbeeck law on primary education. If it did not realize completely the ambitions of the Ligue, it nevertheless provoked the ire of the bishops. Their irreconcilable and aggressive opposition against the Van Humbeeck law mobilised Catholics at large. The ensuing "school war" led to a profound fracture in society. The Liberal majority did not collapse however in the subsequent renewals of Parliament. Only when the liberal party split upon an internal left-right divide, did a Catholic majority take over, be it now for three consequent decades. The Van Humbeeck reforms were systematically dismantled, their philosophy never to come back again. When seculars (i.e. Liberals but now also Socialists) returned to government, it was as good as always in coalitions with the Catholic party. This enticed a gradual watering down of their original educational projects into a vague pluralism that precluded any genuine secularism within the educational system. This research is based on Belgian Parliamentary proceedings, the daily press and record collections (e.g. the "Ligue de l'Enseignement").

Argentina, Brasil y México; tensiones entre la tradición religiosa y la enseñanza laica (Español)

Alejandro Ortiz Cirilo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

Desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIX las sociedades latinoamericanas se vieron envueltas —en mayor o menor medida— en un proceso de secularización y se fortalecieron las ideas que apuntaban hacia una progresiva laicización de la instrucción pública. Los cambios políticos desencadenados se manifestaron con mayor fuerza en la cuestión educativa. En el caso de Brasil, se llegó a colocar en su bandera nacional el lema de "Orden y progreso", esto es un

indicador del grado de trascendencia y penetración que tuvo el positivismo. En México, se llevó a cabo una reforma escolar, cuyo propósito era promover la educación laica impartida por el Estado y se consolidó con la promulgación de la Constitución de 1917, esto que generó tensiones con la Iglesia católica y con grupos conservadores. En Argentina, entre 1862 y 1912 se distinguió por el gobierno de los notables en la república, quienes, a partir de 1880, tuvieron su momento de apogeo. No obstante, surgió una contraélite pujante que encontró adeptos de la Unión Cívica Radical, partido liderado por Hipólito Yrigoyen, totalmente ajeno a la idiosincrasia de los notables, que puso distancia con el positivismo y enarboló como banderas al civismo y a la ética pública.

Como consecuencia de los cambios legislativos que se produjeron en materia educativa, resulta significativo cuestionarse ¿En qué contexto se explican estas transformaciones? ¿Cuáles fueron las tensiones que se generaron en torno a la importancia de la educación religiosa? Apoyado en fuentes de información primaria y secundaria, como escritos de los intelectuales de la época, e investigaciones previas, en esta ponencia proponemos estudiar comparativamente los principales cambios y permanencias de la legislación educativa en Argentina, Brasil y México que se suscitaron a principios del siglo XX.

La difícil historia de la laicidad en la escuela brasileña: civismo, patriotismo y catolicismo en la legislación y en la realidad de la enseñanza en la primera mitad del siglo XX (Español)
Décio Gatti Júnior (Universidad Federal de Uberlândia), Giseli Cristina do Vale Gatti (Universidad de Uberaba)

Se trata de una reflexión sobre el difícil proceso de laicización del Estado y de las instituciones escolares en Brasil, en especial, durante la primera mitad del Siglo XX. Para esto, fueron establecidos dos frentes de análisis, de un lado, el examen de la legislación nacional y estadual (en este caso, del Estado de Minas Gerais), y, de otro lado, el examen de la realidad de la enseñanza en instituciones escolares de una región específica de Minas Gerais, el Triángulo Mineiro. En la denominada Era Vargas, iniciada por la Revolución de 1930 y finalizada con el Estado Nuevo, que perduro de 1937 a 1945, periodo en que el Brasil vivencio un proceso de centralización política, económica y social, en torno del Estado, lo que coincidía con una concepción liberal conservadora, en la cual la centralización de la vida civil en el Estado era imperativo para el proceso de modernización de la sociedad, con fuerte predominio de la conciencia colectiva, de la cual el Estado seria portador, sobre los intereses y voluntades individuales.

La escuela brasileira, tornada obligatoria, se convirtió, de este modo, en una institución fundamental para difundir el nuevo ideario nacional-desarrollista, con centralidad en la acción propositiva del Estado. Con todo, en el caso brasileiro, ese proceso fue efectuado por medio de una alianza estratégica del Estado varguista con la Iglesia Católica. Alianza esta que trajo consecuencias sobresalientes tanto para el proceso de laicización del Estado como para la enseñanza escolar nacional. En esta dirección, al final de la década de 1920, en el ámbito de la legislación educativa de Minas Gerais y, más al frente, en el inicio de la década de 1930, en la legislación educativa federal, sobre el Gobierno Vargas, se implanto la Enseñanza Religiosa como asignatura de oferta obligatoria y de frecuencia facultativa en el currículo de las escuelas públicas brasileiras. De este modo, la organización política nacional era reproducida en el sistema escolar, por medio de la conjugación de tres factores que pasarían a ser

indisociables en la agenda de formación humana de la escuela brasilera de la época: formación cívica, fervor patriótico y tradición religiosa, principalmente de corte católico.

A esta nueva realidad legal, se sumaba la existencia de una legislación educativa que preconizaba desde siempre la libertad de enseñanza, en la cual la creación y funcionamiento de instituciones escolares católicas en todo el territorio nacional se fortalecía. En el Triángulo Minero, en especial, en ciudades tales como Uberaba y Uberlândia, hay un conjunto de instituciones escolares, mantenidas por diferentes instancias promotoras de enseñanza (confesiones religiosas, sociedad civil y Estado), las cuales presentan diferentes niveles de correspondencia en relación a la legislación educativa nacional y estadual, colocando en acción una serie de prácticas escolares que evocan el civismo y el patriotismo, valorizando, la dimensión laica del Estado, pero, comúnmente, también participan activamente de manifestaciones de corte religioso, en especial, católico, aproximándose de las organizaciones institucionales propias de la articulación del poder entre el Estado y la Iglesia en Brasil.

The importance of the Second Council of Education (1943) in the formation of laic citizen morality in Turkey

Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti (İstanbul University)

Republic of Turkey has been established under the leadership of Atatürk in 1923. The main aim of the Republic education was to reach and to exceed the modern civilization level. Laic, secular, coeducational, national, scientific education was the most important educational principles (Akyüz, 2011, p.327-335). In the process of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, the objectives of establishing a national and contemporary education system took place rapidly among the aims of education. However, the concept of laicism has been slower to take place in the governmental programs (Batır and Meşeci, 2009, p.126-127).

The most symbolic step toward secularization came on April 10, 1928, the item in the 1924 constitution "religion of the Turkish State is Islam" was removed. Thus Republic of Turkey broke its cultural and historical ties with Islamism and Ottomans. On February 5, 1937 the principle of laicism had entered the constitution as a fundamental characteristic of the state. And this change in the constitution and its concrete applications has made Turkey the only Muslim country genuinely laic (Berkes, 1964; Sevinç, Hood Jr., and Coleman, 2017).

During the transition to the nation state, establishing a laic citizen morality was among the most basic goal of the education system. The most obvious step in fulfilling this goal was taken in 1943 by the Second Council of Education (İkinci Maarif Şurası) (MEB, 1991). Second Council of Education has a special importance in laying the foundations of secular laic education and morality in Turkey. Starting from this Council, in Turkey moral education was separated from traditional religious education and reinterpreted in the morality of citizenship.

The purpose of this study is to determine the role of the Second Council of Education (1943) in the establishment of laic education in Turkey. In order to achieve this goal, answers of the following questions will be searched: When and how did the ideas about laic education emerge in Turkey? With which regulations were established the laic educative system in Turkey? How Second Council of Education had conceptualized the laic education? What kind of discussions took place when decisions on laic moral education were taken during the Second Council of Education? How the Second Council of Education decisions have affected the curriculum at different educational levels? What kinds of resistance or support have been

encountered in the social or institutional context about the decisions of the Second Council of Education.

1943 Second Council of Education reports (MEB, 1991) will be the primary sources of the research. To understand the educational structure and implementation of the period (1923-1950), Republican People's Party programs, Democrat Party program, Parliamentary speeches, archived documents, legislation about education, curriculum for compulsory schools of the period will be researched, gathered and analysed.

2.2 SWG OBJECTS, SENSES AND THE MATERIAL WORLD OF SCHOOLING (1/4)

EXHIBITS AND MUSEUMS: LOCATING AND CIRCULATING EDUCATIONAL OBJECTS

Chair: Noah W. Sobe (Loyola University Chicago)

Discussant: Kazuhisa Fujimoto (Keio University)

Circulating Nature: Economic Botany Specimens in British Schools, c.1875-1914 (English)

Laura Newman (Mobile Museum Project)

This paper traces the circulation of economic botany specimens from the Museum of Economic Botany at Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew to more than six hundred British schools from c.1875-1914. This paper offers an insight into my work as part of the Mobile Museum: Economic Botany in Circulation project at Royal Holloway, University of London and Kew Gardens. As part of this project, my work focuses on Kew's role as a major supplier of teaching materials that were used to give children and young people a hands-on, intimate encounter with the botanical products of Britain and its Empire.

I begin my paper with a more general discussion of the relationship between museums, schools, and schooling in this period. I look at how Kew was utilised as a centre of both formal and informal learning and training by both students and teachers from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. I pay particular attention to how Kew mobilised and circulated its material expertise in plants and plant materials to educators through networks of correspondence, periodicals on education penned by its curators, and, finally, through the distribution of specimens.

The second section contextualises Kew's involvement further by tracing the importance contemporaries attached to the object lesson and practices of collecting in this period. Using the School Letter Books housed at Kew Archives, I show how teachers became active collectors of specimens from Kew that equipped them with a novel array of hands-on teaching materials. I reflect here upon Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor's work into vernacular teaching technologies, and ask what these letters can tell us about the existence of a 'barter economy' amongst late nineteenth and early twentieth century British teachers and museum curators (2001: 124).

I then move on to how such objects were deployed in the classroom and school museum. Using a variety of sources, I show how teachers aimed to guide students through a sensual engagement with museum specimens. Particular attention is paid to the politics of display, and the ways in which these can be seen as informed by and existing in dialogue with museological practices of the time. Here, I use a variety of textual and visual sources to consider how economic botany specimens were 'installed' within the space of the classroom

or school museum (O'Donoghue: 2010). I discuss, also, the importance that was attached to tactility in the object lesson in this period. By doing so, this paper offers a valuable contribution to the history of museum teaching collections, and what the existence of such collections can do to problematise our current understanding of the ways in which museums have traditionally been seen to inhibit touch.

Building the Modern Swedish citizen: modernity, objects and pedagogy (English)

Martin Lawn (University of Oxford)

The Stockholm Exhibition of 1930 was a national exhibition with a dual aim; to promote Swedish design internationally and to create a new internal market for aesthetically pleasing goods for mass consumption. The Stockholm exhibition was focused on the education of the public; indeed it was intended to construct a new public. Parallel to the new functional approaches to design in objects and architecture was a social modernization, in which the public would be able to view new designs and understand how they were to be used. The Expo and what followed was intended to be a soft power approach in which the citizen was encouraged and persuaded through a new public pedagogy.

The Exhibition presented designs within a new 'street' or corso of buildings and exhibits. Visitors walked along the corso and into apartments in which objects were placed in ideal settings. It was a new and particular way to manage the new European problem of mass consumption and mass production. These Exhibition aims were set high. It was a key element in the construction of a new identity of the person and the nation –'intellectually trained, morally mature' [Pred p135].

The 1930 Stockholm Exhibition and its subsequent effects show that it was not just designed objects and modern architecture that created impressions of the future, but a deliberate and intensive pedagogical and research programme. This programme was a civic exercise in the adoption of a new Swedish identity and a social programme in which it could be fostered. In 1932, a cohesive state housing policy was established. The ideal democratic society was to have as its building block a domestic interior which was tasteful and rational. To achieve this, Swedes needed guidance and information and a new pedagogical form was invented, the study circle. Courses on the furnishing and decoration of the home could be ordered and a speaker organized. All this took place within a 'democratic and participatory form' and the study circles grew in number [300 in 10 years] from 1944. Good taste was not just a question of good objects, but of achieving an ideal home. The Swedish innovations in exhibition design after the Stockholm exhibition were about leading the citizen through rooms of well displayed and furnished rooms in which an imagined future could be believed in.

Exhibit with emotions (English)

Christian Lundhal (Örebro University)

In the late 19th century new ways of comparison through international exhibitions (Dittrich, 2010) were created. The international World's fairs were among the "few genuinely international cultural institutions" of their time (ibid., 17).

During the late 20th century Sweden decided to participate with exhibitions at the World's fairs. What arguments were used, what critical points were raised and what experiences grew out from this?

Investigating the mediating role that the World's fairs had on educational ideas and technologies implies a transnational perspective on history. Transnational history is about contacts among communities, polities and societies and their exchanges, interactions, integrations and de-coupling. Having a transnational perspective on history means acknowledging and assessing foreign contributions to design, taste, strategies, politics and future hopes (Saunier, 2013). We also need to acknowledge the emotions involved when it comes to internationalization.

In the case of education, the power of the World's fair exhibitions has been related to the notion of accountability (Sobe & Boven, 2014) and to aesthetic normativity (Lundahl, 2016). In this paper governing with exhibitions is elaborated as an 'appeal to emotion' or argumentum ad passiones. Appeals to emotions are about the manipulation of the recipient's emotions in order to win an argument, especially in the absence of factual evidence. This can include appeal to consequences, to fear, to flattery, to pity, to ridicule, to spite, to wishful thinking etc.

This paper is about the arguments used in when Sweden started to participate at the World's fairs. More specifically it is about the parliamentary debates in Sweden where it was decided how much Sweden could afford to pay for participating with own exhibits at ten major World's fairs (1851 – 1904), and the arguments used. The paper will show that the winning arguments were more often about nationalism than about international gains. Further, if rational 'cost benefit' arguments would have won, Sweden would most probably not have participated, rather, emotional arguments – often related to patriotism – tended to nullify every other kind of argument, allowing for participation.

The paper highlights the importance to take into account appeal to emotions as a way of governing that sometimes actually can be more, or at least as, successful as commonly recognized governing strategies such as 'governing by numbers'.

2.3 SWG GROWING UP IN OUT-OF-HOME CARE (1/2)

Chair: Jeroen J. H. Dekker (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Placer pour nourrir, protéger et éduquer. Fondements et tensions autour des dispositifs de placement extrafamilial en Belgique (1912-1965) (Français)

Aurore François (UCL), Flore Guiot (FNRS-UCL)

Dès le 19e siècle, la définition de l'enfant à protéger, tour à tour victime ou coupable, en danger ou dangereux, inadapté ou délinquant, s'est révélée indéfinie. Bien qu'invoquant un même objectif – protéger l'enfance – le placement extrafamilial des enfants pouvait résulter de l'action de trois filières distinctes : les juridictions civiles (enfants de parents déchus de la puissance paternelle), les tribunaux pour enfants (enfants délinquants), et l'intervention de l'œuvre nationale de l'enfance (colonies d'enfants débiles).

Cette contribution entend interroger ces multiples dispositifs de placement, en portant une attention particulière aux questions suivantes :

- L'alimentation de ces différentes filières : à quels profils d'enfants et/ou de familles correspondaient-elles ? Agissaient-elles de manière autonome ou en tant que système ?
- La place des experts : dans quelle mesure ces filières ont-elles convoqué la figure de l'expert, non seulement pour légitimer leur action, mais également pour l'orienter ?
- Les fondements et la légitimité du placement : comment ce recours massif aux placements extrafamiliaux (plusieurs milliers chaque année) s'est-il justifié en tant que modèle, composant notamment avec l'image structurante de la famille qui prévalait alors dans les discours savants ?

Pourquoi le placement? Le cas de l'URSS, les raisons et leurs variations sur deux décennies (1917-1937) (Français)

Irina Leopoldoff Martin (Université de Genève, FPSE)

La temporalité que nous évoquons est une période très troublée en Russie. Cette période particulièrement sensible de l'histoire russe est bien sûre marquée, par la Révolution d'octobre (1917). Le profond bouleversement politique que provoque cet événement majeur se répercute sur l'ensemble de la société et sur les institutions existant jusqu'en 1917. Celles-ci se restructurent dans l'urgence et dans le chaos, puisque qu'à peine les bol'sheviks arrivés au pouvoir, la Guerre civile (1917-1922) éclate faisant de nombreuses victimes. Dans cette situation extrême, la famine s'installe dans le pays (1921-1922). Les régions les plus durement touchées par la famine subissent des pertes humaines allant de 10 à 25%, et dans ces zones sinistrées au moins 2 millions d'enfants errants ont été recensés [1]. Ils sont bien plus selon d'autres sources (Krupskaja, 1923-1978). Le placement de ces enfants dans des structures d'accueil s'impose de lui-même, d'autant que l'éducation des enfants a été proclamée « affaire d'Etat » par les autorités soviétiques. Qui sont ces enfants et que faire d'eux? Trois institutions seront appelées à endiguer ce flot d'enfants errants, vagabonds, qu'on appelle les besprizornye. Le journal Izvestia du 8 mai 1923 rapporte:

Nous avons encore plus d'un million et demi d'enfants qui n'ont même pas un toit sous lequel ils puissent se reposer; ces enfants-là rôdent dans les rues, sur les places, encombrant les marchés où ils vivent de mendicité, de vol, de pillage et de prostitution. (Bulletin périodique de la presse russe [2] du 3 juin 1923, p. 14).

Une remédiation et une réinsertion massives sont planifiées, entraînant une révision complète de la politique d'éducation, une réorganisation rapide du système de santé et une coopération avec le Ministère de la justice.

Notre contribution propose de se concentrer sur la première décennie (1917-1927) et sur trois points :

- le contexte général et la population d'enfants touchée par les événements
- les institutions responsables de la prise en charge de ces enfants et leur coopération
- la répartition des enfants et les structures d'accueil mises en place

[1]Bulletin périodique de la presse russe N°115, 1922, p. 6. Mensuel publié par le Ministère français des affaires étrangères. L'information se base sur un article des Izvetja du 5 novembre 1922.

[2]France. Ministère de la guerre (1791-1936). La lutte contre l'abandon des enfants. Ministère des affaires étrangères. Bulletin périodique de la presse russe du 3 juillet 1923, 122, 1-15.

Faut-il placer les « mauvaises filles » ? Expertise et rééducation dans la France des « Trente glorieuses » (Français)

David Niget (Université d'Angers / CNRS – TEMOS)

Cette communication propose de considérer l'influence de l'expertise médico-pédagogique sur le fonctionnement de la justice des mineurs, en France, au XXe siècle. Il s'agit d'examiner plus particulièrement la construction d'un tel discours dans les pratiques quotidiennes des « experts » scientifiques et des éducatrices du centre d'observation du Bon Pasteur d'Angers entre 1951 et 1970. Préconisée par l'ordonnance du 2 février 1945 sur la justice des mineurs, cette technique reprend le modèle expérimental des sciences naturelles se fondant sur l'observation dans un environnement « sans contraintes », mais se fonde aussi sur l'expertise en laboratoire (mesures biométriques, tests moteurs et psychologiques, etc.), tout en donnant la parole aux jeunes invités à dévoiler leur subjectivité. Cette pratique nouvelle reflète non seulement un changement important dans la problématisation de la délinquance juvénile, mais a également créé un nouvel espace institutionnel pour les professionnels au sein même de la justice des mineurs. Elles relèvent d'un ordre genré extrêmement normatif. Ces procédures d'expertise ont également suscité, de la part des jeunes sous observation, différentes formes d'appropriation, de résistances, voire de subversion des savoirs experts.

S'appuyant sur les dossiers individuels des jeunes délinquantes placées en observation, archives d'une grande richesse documentaire, cette communication s'interrogera sur les conséquences de l'observation sur les trajectoires sociales des jeunes, et sur l'approvisionnement des institutions de rééducation en particulier.

Private matters: addressing illegitimacy in 20th century Swiss child welfare policy and services (English)

Joëlle Droux (Université de Genève, FPSE)

The Swiss child welfare policy, built since the end of the 19th century, aimed to protect and educate children at risk, in danger or in difficulty, through a variety of procedures (civil, administrative or criminal). As with other foreign policies dedicated to saving the child, one of the measures frequently pronounced was placement. An analysis of placement statistics reveals that one of the over-represented categories of minors in relation to these measures was that of children born out of wedlock. This characteristic is identifiable from the implementation of the first child welfare laws (Geneva, 1890's), and for Switzerland from the first Swiss Civil Code in 1912, which created specific provisions for illegitimate children. It continues throughout the century until the revision of the Civil Code of 1976, which established legal equality between legitimate and illegitimate children. Such longevity challenges our understanding of these politics and therefore deserves a thorough historical study.

The purpose of the presentation is to explore the reasons that may explain why such a large number of illegitimate children was concerned by these placement measures, either in institution or in foster care families. Based on archives from French-speaking Switzerland (including archives of guardianship services, of child protection services, archives of civil and

criminal courts), we will try to understand the logic behind the choice preferential to this measure: the right of the child to a “regular” family, support to single parenthood, punishment against parental behavior, assistance logic, financial logic, or gender logic in relation to the representations of the single mother. The fact that illegitimate children and their families were so frequently the target of whild welfare policy may explain some of the features of the everyday life that such children were forced to live through during their institutionalization, that further SWG will have to look into.

2.4 SWG MAPPING THE DISCIPLINE HISTORY OF EDUCATION (1/4)

INSTITUTIONAL IMPACT ON HISTORY OF EDUCATION RESEARCH

Chairs: Solenn Huitric (Lausanne University), Thérèse Hamel (Université Laval)

Discussants: Solenn Huitric (Lausanne University), Thérèse Hamel (Université Laval)

Introduction to the SWG Sessions (English)

Rita Hofstetter (Geneva University), Solenn Huitric (Lausanne University), Emmanuelle Picard (École Normale Supérieure)

In the context of the growth, complexification and internationalization of higher education and research, it had seemed to be fruitful to map the history of education in Europe since the early nineties. Our goal is to create a current and retrospective assessment of the discipline’s institutional grounding and of the knowledge produced by its practitioners, stretching across national and cultural borders. Ultimately, the program will help to increase interactions among scholars and facilitate the creation of collaborative research agendas, thereby augmenting the standing and visibility of the discipline. It aims to describe the recent evolution of History of Education in order to make it more visible and, in knowing it and in reflecting on it, to reinforce its foundation and legitimacy. It may also serve as reference for prospective planning and for establishing a research agenda.

This mapping will focus on the emblematic traits that characterize any discipline: its institutional foundation (Institutes, departments, posts), communication networks (associations, scientific events, means for publication), the structures of socialization and education of the new generation (curriculum, diploma, doctoral theses) and the ongoing renewing of knowledge produced by the discipline (research, epistemological foundation, research methods). Transcending internal debates and defying boundaries of all types, our research program seeks to further the self-reflexive study of the discipline through the creation of collectively built databases. Via a shared virtual platform, such databases will provide common access to a catalogue of researchers and institutions, media outlets and studies on the history of education, irrespective of their institutional and geographic moorings. Collective discussion of the data and analyses produced will contribute to create synergies between historians of education in order to elaborate a common research agenda and to reinforce the base of the discipline.

Institutional affiliations and socialization: Doctoral Thesis in History of Education in Spain (1990-2010) (English)

Carmen B. Sanchidrián (Universidad de Málaga)

Following our previous studies in the field of doctoral theses in history of education (Sanchidrián, 2013, 2016a, 2016b) and taking into account the suggestions made in the call for papers for ISCHE40, we have pursued the development of the assessment of the discipline's institutional grounding, deepening in the institutional factors in doctoral path. We are using for this empirical study a database formed by the 54 theses defended in 1990 and 2010 that included the descriptor History of Education in TESEO database: 32 and 22. We have divided our proposal for ISCHE 40 (Berlin 2018), into two parts:

a) After the previous studies of the temporal and spatial delimitations and the object of study, we have moved into the institutional factors, such as advisors and institutions. The focus of this study is the professional link of both advisors and institutions to the history of Education. This issue is particularly relevant in the Spanish case where most of the Theses have been done mainly in two different fields (Faculties of Education or Faculties of Arts) that not only have a different "culture" but also a different background. It is important to have in mind that some Spanish universities are 800 year old and some of them are only 50; because of that, the figures need to be analyzed and explained as they cannot be just juxtaposed.

b) We are exploring if writing a doctoral thesis in History of Education can be seen as a way of socialization in our field. On the one hand, we have studied if these authors have published (articles, books, conference papers and posters) the results of their Dissertations and where (especially journals and conferences of History, History of Education or others).

On the other hand, we want to know if the authors have done further contributions in History of Education (if the authors stay in our field) or in a different one and their presence in some academic networks (Google Scholar, ResearchGate and Dialnet). When they do not publish as single authors, we want to know with what other disciplines historians of education are working.

Although this study can still be considered as exploratory, some interesting conclusions have already been drawn at this stage of the research. Only some periods of our history of education have significantly attracted the attention of historians -Franco's times is the most relevant example-. It also appears that historians of education related to Faculties of Education have almost forgotten the history of education before the 19th century, and this history is mainly developed in the Faculties of History or Humanities.

It should be a matter of concern the high rate of doctoral theses that have not even been partially published: the authors pick up the Ph.D., they shelve the dissertation and never look back. And finally, but not less important, although interdisciplinary collaboration is declared to be necessary, it remains clear that such collaboration is almost non-existent.

Doctors and/or lecturers? History of education in Hungarian higher education (English)

Attila Nóbik (University of Szeged)

History of education is in somewhat ambivalent position in Hungary. On the one hand, one can see a flourishing research community. New fields of research and new methodologies have been introduced, Hungarian researchers regularly organize and attend national and

international conferences. Also, the History of Education Subcommittee of the Educational Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has established a new peer-reviewed, open-access academic journal, the *Pedagógiatörténeti Szemle*. The positions of the history of education in higher education have, however, weakened steadily in the last decade. During a recent reform, many of the country's university dropped historical studies from their teacher training curricula.

My paper aims at analyzing this ambiguous situation through institutional affiliations. My central questions are: Who (can) teach the history of education in Hungarian higher education? Are they historians of education? Do they participate in the life of the research community?

To answer these questions, in the first part of my presentation I analyze the situation of the research community through institutional affiliations. I argue that being part of the community of historians of education in Hungary is usually based on three (non-exclusive) premises: a Ph.D. studies in the field of history of education, continuous participation at conferences and membership of the History of Education Subcommittee of the Educational Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

During the research, I studied the doctoral theses in the field of history of education. Information on theses can be gathered from a public database maintained by the Hungarian Doctoral Council. Data are accessible from 2000 to 2018. In this period four doctoral schools issued approximately 490 doctoral degrees in the field of educational sciences. 8.8% of these doctoral degrees have been awarded for theses on the history of education. In the second part of my presentation, I analyze these theses and doctoral student, their institutional affiliations, and publication activity.

In the final part of the paper, I present the situation of the history of education in higher education regarding various training programmes. Based on data collected from publicly accessible curricula I argue that many of the institutions haven't benefited from the growing number of doctoral students and the results of the research community.

Historiographical Synthesis of the History of Education in the Baltic States from a Global Perspective (1991–2014) (English)

Iveta Kestere (University of Latvia), Irena Stonkuvienė (University of Vilnius), Veronika Varik (Tallinn University Estonian Pedagogical Archives and Museum)

Almost 30 years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall and collapse of the Soviet Union. The Soviet legacy in the Baltic history of education has already been discussed in several sessions of the current SWG. This time, we would like to focus more on the future and less on the past. Namely, we raised the questions – how modern is the current history of education in the Baltic States? How thoroughly are Baltic historians of education following global trends?

To reveal modern patterns in the global field of the history of education, we analyzed several current academic articles written by outstanding and internationally recognized scholars, e.g., Daniel Trohler (2017), Gary McCulloch (2016), Roberto Sani (2013) and Barbara Finkelstein (2013).

Their opinion merges on several points on the purpose of the history of education: 1) fresh topics, 2) interdisciplinary methodologies, and 3) new sources in and out of archives. They call

for emancipation of national restraint and discovery of internationally significant topics related to, for example, “lost voices” of individuals, “travelling ideas,” reality of schooling, education of specific social groups (middle class, gender, ethnicity, and disability), and education outside traditional educational institutions (private organizations, associations, and representatives of civil society).

To find out how the history of education in the Baltics corresponds to these modern trends, we analyzed 99 PhD theses (Estonia – 31, Latvia – 23, Lithuania – 45) and 76 outstanding publications in the field (Estonia – 28, Latvia – 48) published in the 20 years since regaining independence from Soviet dictatorship.

Our initial results revealed that besides the already mentioned topics covered by half of the publications, historians of the Baltics were busy with the identity of education (pedagogy) as a scientific discipline, education under authoritarianism, and rewriting of history of schools and teacher education damaged by Soviet censorship.

New Trends in the History of Childhood, Education and School Institutions in Post-Communist Russia (English)

Dorena Caroli (University of Macerata), Svetlana Ivanova, Grigory B. Kornetov, Elena N. Astafieva, Anastasiya G. Andreevna, Nataliya R. Yakovleva, Anatoly Utkin, Larisa Smirnov (Institute for Strategy of Education Development Russian Academy of Education/ Department of Pedagogy of SEI HPT/ Nizhny Tagil State Social Pedagogical Institute/ Russian State Vocational Pedagogical University)

This paper aims at presenting the changes occurred in the history of pedagogy and education in the last twenty years and the main Russian Reviews actually published in Russia about the history of education. The contribution is constituted of 4 parts. The first part presents the main changes of the History of Childhood, Education and School Institutions in Post-Communist Russia. The other three parts concerns the main Russian journals actually published in Russia and their institutional frames: The national and foreign pedagogy (directed by Svetlana Ivanova), the Historical and pedagogical Yearbook (directed by Grigorij Kornetov) and the History of Education Journal (directed by Larisa Smirnova i Anatoly Utkin), published respectively by the Academies of Educational Science (RAO, Moscow), by the Academy of Social Management (Moscow), and by Nizhny Tagil State Social Pedagogical Institute/ «Russian state vocational pedagogical University». The article will try to present the institutional affiliation of the scientific journals, the continuities and characteristics of these magazines. In fact, there is still a strong presence of attention on the one hand to the history of national pedagogy and Russian pedagogical heritage in the current educational culture, and on the other a renewal of historiographical perspectives that address the analysis educational institutions starting from the study of school practices practices (thanks to a plurality of sources made accessible in the last twenty years) until the history of different educational religious institutions in the past centuries. These features can be considered quite characteristic for the Russian context, but one can observe a real opening to the internationalisation of the history of education (in the sense of the attention to the history of Western school systems).

2.5 PREFORMED PANEL THE “NATURAL” CIRCULATION OF EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION?:

WESTERN EDUCATIONAL METHODS IN 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY JAPAN

Circulation of knowledge on Progressive Education in Modern Japan (English)

Miho Hashimoto (Tokyo Gakugei University), Hisashi Miyano (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)

“Taisho New Education” (also called “Taisho Liberal Education”) is known as an educational reform movement in Japan from the 1910s to the early 1930s. This movement provoked Japanese educators, particularly school principals and classroom teachers, to learn progressive education model generated in other countries during the same period. We thus recognize “Taisho New Education” as part of the international progressive education movement, which originated in Europe.

Previous studies have shown that Taisho New Education was developed mostly based on the ideas of American progressive education, as typified by theories of John Dewey. However, this is a matter of speculation because these conclusions were derived from only a few cases. We still have no statistical evidence to uncover the overall features of the actual relationship between Taisho New Education and Progressive Education, including Europe as well as America.

In this study, we focused on the following six educational methods or plans: 1.The Montessori Method; 2.The Decroly Method; 3.The Gary Plan; 4.The Project Method; 5.The Dalton Plan; and 6.The Winnetka Plan, which have been recognized as having a significant influence on Japanese educators. We then investigated when and how knowledge about these methods and plans was circulated in modern Japan. To trace influences, we collected articles from more than 100 major educational journals published in Japan during 1910-1943 and analyzed the contents. This analysis revealed the backgrounds and routes of information circulation and transitions of attention to learning about progressive education in modern Japan.

Reception of Pedagogical Knowledge in Practical Contexts: Case Study on Progressive Education School Reform in Modern Japan (English)

Chie Enza (Tokyo Gakugei University)

The progressive education movement in Japan (known as Taisho New Education) took place around the turn of the century and flourished until the early 1930s. Japanese educators attempted to promote school reforms by gathering pedagogical knowledge primarily from the movement’s founders in the United States and Europe. In Japan, current historical studies on Taisho New Education tend to analyze this movement’s reception process in practical contexts, focusing on the processes of specific school reforms. These processes were complex

because of the involvement of many actors and were never unified from the beginning of the reforms.

In this case study, I focus on Taneichi Kitazawa and the teachers at the elementary school attached to the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School. Under Kitazawa's leadership, these teachers began to research the Project Method and in 1920, conducted an experiment using the Project Method. However, participation was limited to a few teachers, and there was a profound gap between Kitazawa's understanding of the Project Method as compared to that of the participating teachers, which initially resulted in moderate reforms. Kitazawa went abroad to study in 1922 and visited many progressive experimental schools. After returning to Japan, he began promoting radical reforms, involving all the teachers at his school. I will examine how Kitazawa and the teachers promoted the reforms, what concepts they studied, and how they struggled to develop a common understanding.

The Acceptance of American Progressive Music Education in Taisho New Education: How did Coleman's "creative music" reform Japanese teacher's practice? (English) Kenta Tsukahara (Teikyo University)

How was the practice of American progressive music education received in Japan? How did it promote teaching reforms and the professional development of teachers? These are the central questions of this study. To respond to these questions, this study focuses on the "creative music" of Satis N. Coleman (1878–1961).

Coleman was a music teacher at the Lincoln School of Teachers College at Columbia University from 1919. In Coleman's practice of music education, named "creative music," children began by experiencing the simple music of early humans and experienced the creation of music by tracing the history of musical development through singing, making instruments, original compositions, and research about musical backgrounds. Such creative experiences as part of the educational curriculum gained global common interest through the time's New Education Movement. Hence, this study aims to investigate the ideas of the teachers who led Taisho New Education, how they received "creative music" and how they used it in their teaching reforms. Through these investigations, this study may consider how to understand the relation between American progressive education and Taisho New Education, from the perspective of "creativity."

An American exercise book for exam takers utilized in Japan as a handbook for examination administrators: The translation of Isaac Stone's "The Complete Examiner" (English) Akihiko Hashimoto (National Institute for Educational Policy Research)

In the midst of the American "Testing Wars" (to borrow W. Reese's phrase), Isaac Stone, the Superintendent of Kenosha, Wisconsin, published *The Elementary and the Complete Examiner; or, Candidate's Assistant* as a volume in the well-known "Teachers' Library" series. As its long subtitle explains, the text was "prepared to aid teachers in securing certificates from boards of examiners, and pupils in preparing themselves for promotion, teachers in selecting review questions in normal schools, institutes, and in all drill and class exercises." It

appears that the book sold well as it was first published in 1864, and reprinted in 1868 and 1873.

One copy of the last version of the Stone's book is now held at Japan's National Library with the stamp noting that it was "granted by the Ministry of Education." In 1875, a Japanese text of an abridged translation of Stone's book was published by Akira Amano, a government teacher stationed at the Osaka Normal School.

This presentation will compare the publishing process and texts of the two books' authors (Stone and Amano). This study reveals that the Japanese text became a teacher's aid in selecting review questions in *elementary* schools. The information on testing circulated domestically and became *naturally* influential during the "testing wars in Japanese public schools." After examining this book's influence, we may be able to explain the *nature* of circulating educational information both domestically and internationally in order to seek insights into the integration of conflicts between the social *nature* of circulating information and the traditional *nature* of local learning.

2.6 PREFORMED PANEL PARADIGMS OF NATURALNESS

Chair: Sabine Reh, Kerrin Klinger, Joachim Scholz (Research Library for the History of Education)

Introduction

Kerrin Klinger (Research Library for the History of Education). Joachim Scholz (Research Library for the History of Education)

Nature as a term and metaphor has been firmly established in pedagogical ideas and narratives since at least the 18th century. In the light of the modern era and connected with the concept of a utopian state, naturalness turned into a mighty, to some extent backward directed objective, which was charged with very diverse justifications and par-adoxes in education.

The booms and transformations of the "natural education"-talk make up the focus of the panel. In the History of Pedagogy, nature has been repeatedly conceived as a guide of pedagogy, something to be preserved through education, to be achieved by it, and to be cultivated through it or something that could be destroyed by education. The conceptions of J.-J.- Rousseau, J.H. Pestalozzi, F. A. Diesterweg had a paradigmatic impact on pedagogical discourses and practices at the beginning of the 19th century. Natural teaching and learning became an important issue especially on the level of practical education activities, of creating new pedagogical spaces or material. Similarly, later progressive education reflections unquestioningly defined the pupil's 'naturalness' as the basis of their programs, methods and life-reforming practical experiments. In biopolitical thought patterns typical for the turn of the century, "naturalness" (das Naturgemäße) is discursively asserted in Philosophy of Education as well as in Developmental Psychology and Philosophy and attributed to didactical and methodical concepts, which were based on the idea of organic development as well as strengthening the notion of an undisturbed natural state of being. And in Germany still the spokesmen of the Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik (theoretical school of thought) used the term nature in their culture- and technique-critical reflections until the middle of the 20th century. Around the 1970's the possibilities to refer to nature as something distinctive which

could be a norm – natural-ness – fade: The discrimination between nature and history, nature and society, nature, art and technique lost its consistency. It seems that the notion of nature lost its significance for pedagogical thought, even for anthropological concepts and finally for the practice of education.

The papers of the panel have a look on the impulses, references and consequences, which started from education-theoretical debates about naturalness and ask if educational practices reacted towards these discourses. Against this background it will be possible to discuss whether there is an erosion of this once captivating concept, which transformations took place and what might be reasons for these transformations.

Transcendentalizing Nature in Early American Philosophy. Ralph Waldo Emerson's Educational Conception (English)

Rebekka Horlacher (University of Zurich)

Similar to intellectual movements in 19th-century Europe, the US-American debates witnessed a shift towards a dominance of particular notions such as autonomy, independence, and the particularity of each cultural or national sphere. In the case of the early 19th-century American debates the different trajectories of thoughts are usually being summarized under the term Transcendentalism, the collective term for a broad variety of essayists, philosophers, writers, or political activists, all struggling for the "American" as independent and distinct from the European. One of the so-called Transcendentalists was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who published in 1836 the essay *Nature*, one of the first contributions to the ascending school of thought of Transcendentalism.

In the context of the panel and in regard to the question of naturalness as educational concept Emerson's book is significant in two ways. First it deals with the essence of nature and how everyone can find oneself to himself or herself through being exposed to nature and by this principally more through feelings and emotions rather than through specific instructions and intellectual reflections. Thus, Emerson stresses the evocation of a particular attitude: to discover oneself through the unspoiled natural perception of one's own being (in nature). This emphasis on nature, however, had, and this is the second relevant point, a political aspect. As it was the case with *Nature* (1836) and even more so the (published) speech *The American Scholar* (1837), in which he delineated the true American scholar's relationship to nature, Emerson's transcendentalization of nature was read as genuine political statement, advocating a shift from the "European" to the "American," calling for a break with traditional European culture and ideas and a new focus on American traditions and values. Given the central importance of scholarship in Emerson's transcendentalizing nature as naturalness and as political program of Americanism, this paper aims at discerning the idea of education with regard to learning, nationalism, *Bildung*, and religion/redemption.

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The Arts Education Movement in Germany and the Cultivation of the Child's "True Nature," 1887-1916 (English)

Carolyn Kay (Trent University)

From the introduction: "In the History of Pedagogy, nature has been repeatedly conceived as a guide of pedagogy, something to be preserved through education, to be achieved by it, and to be cultivated through it or something that could be destroyed by education."

The paper will consider those teachers who were part of the *Kunsterziehungsbewegung* (the arts education movement) and who encouraged the study of nature in the *Volks-schulen* of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These teachers asked children to look at and observe nature, and then assigned them lessons to draw or paint their impressions of nature in their own creative ways. Such pedagogy was new and distinct, since arts instruction of the past had involved careful copying of masterworks or of objects within the classroom; in the new approach to arts instruction, the child was to go outdoors and be inspired by nature to draw scenes with towering trees, blue skies and colourful flowers; these children were also being taught to allow their own "nature" to emerge – and thus to draw objects and scenes "naturally," (even if the figures looked primitive) without interference or correction from the teacher. The teachers believed that the child's creativity was nurtured in this kind of pedagogical exercise. This paper therefore addresses the central theme in this panel of nature as a guide of pedagogy. Within the history of German education in the modern era, the *Kunsterziehungsbewegung* stands out as a unique example of the effort by educators to cultivate the "true essence" or nature of the child. Coinciding with the release of Ellen Key's seminal work *The Century of the Child*, this pedagogical approach to art was part of the new wave, or reform movement, of German education. Towards the end of the 19th century efforts by a variety of educational reformers, including Alfred Lichtwark, helped direct attention to arts instruction. Lichtwark urged teachers to expose children to art, to art instruction and to studies of nature, so that they would become enlightened citizens of thought and culture. In the Hanseatic capital, the Hamburg reform movement introduced an innovative and modern approach to teaching art outside of the classroom, with teachers inviting children to study nature, utilizing ideas taught to them by artists in special courses and conferences. By the time of the First World War art teachers and educational reformers throughout Germany promoted the study of nature in the teaching of art as developing children's instinctive, deeply perceptive, and essential creativity: what Richard Rothe described as the "Urinstinkte" of children. In such an approach, the nature of the child was considered supreme, shaped by a reform movement in pedagogy that embraced the study of nature.

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Metaphors of Naturalness and the spiritual home ("Heimat") in the Swiss expert report "Teacher training of tomorrow" (1975) (English)

Tomas Bascio (Zurich University of Teacher Education)

At first glance, the two differently modeled training paths for the "future" Swiss primary teacher education, published in the prospective expert report *Teacher training of tomorrow* (*Lehrerbildung von morgen*, Müller 1975) seem to be fundamentally different: In the first model general education and vocational education and training should have been "organically linked" (Müller 1975, 84; 334). The second model provided university training similar to that of Eduard Spranger's "Bildnerhochschulen". On closer examination, however, it is striking that not only the first model, but also the second built on "natural" anthropological ideas and metaphors. The report referred explicitly to Spranger: „Der echte Erzieher [sollte] ein ursprüngliches Organ für die Bahnen, in denen der durch ihn hindurchwirkende Geist weht [, haben]“ (Spranger 1958, 36). In both models teachers should learn the core skills of their job – reasoning, empathizing, looking, designing, understanding – exemplarily in a kind of "local history": "Heimat", the spiritual home, meant as "Totalverbundenheit mit dem Boden" ("deep closeness to the soil"), as „geistiges Wurzelgefüge“ (Spranger 1973, 297), described by Spranger as "erlebnismässig angeeignete, folglich durchgeistigte und zuletzt durchaus persönlich gefärbte Natur" (ibid.), should be a main component in general teacher education. In addition to this metaphorical natural framing, both models have a common orientation towards behaviorist ("microteaching", "teacher behavior training") or psychoanalytical ("group dynamics", "theme-centered interaction") methods. This reflects the authors' opinion, that the goals of teacher education couldn't be achieved exclusively by way of knowledge transfer (Müller 1975, 211). This paper attempts to reconstruct the discourse on the best possible training and the ideal teacher within teacher education of the 1970s. It is based on the thesis that in this specific context central concepts of the Human psychology such as "authenticity" or "self-fulfillment" had not a unique position in the training of teachers in the 1970's, but were always supplemented with natural, essentialist concepts of the Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik and the philosophy of education such as the "real" or the "born" educator.

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Conclusion: Nature – Naturalness and other Substitutions

Sabine Reh (Humboldt University Berlin, Research Library for the History of Education)

2.7 PANEL EMOTIONS AND THE EXPERIENCE OF NATURE

Chair: Nelleke Bakker (University of Groningen)

In “Sympathy with the World of Nature”: U.S. Teachers in the Summertime, 1880s-1930s (English)

Christine A. Ogren (University of Iowa)

An Illinois journal for schoolteachers opened the 1900-01 year with reflections on the summer: “We trust that every reader . . . has used the vacation time for getting out into the field and forest to grow in closer touch and sympathy with the world of nature” (Editorial, 1900, 493). Appreciation of the natural world had infused U.S. society in response to rapid industrialization and urbanization (Marx 1964; Brinkley 2016). Concomitantly, “geographical consumption” of scenery was integral to the rise of “national tourism” as an expression of American citizenship between 1880 and 1940 (Shaffer 2001). Teachers’ nine-month work year was well suited to geographical consumption, but Shaffer and other historians of tourism (e.g. Aron) pay little attention to teachers. And scholarship on the history of U.S. teachers pays little attention to the summer break (e.g. Rousmaniere 1997; Weiler 1998; Hoffman 2003; Clifford 2014), suggesting that teachers spent their time in artificial settings with little connection to the natural world. One thread of a larger project on the history of American teachers’ “summers off” between the 1880s and 1930s, this paper analyzes teachers’ interactions with nature during this overlooked quarter of the year.

Education journals, teachers’ diaries, and other archival materials reveal that nature played an important role in U.S. schoolteachers’ summertime activities. Not only were natural settings revitalizing (Author in press), but some teachers fueled appreciation of nature through interpretation and many engaged in geographical consumption through tourism. Denver teacher Alice Eastland (Wilson 1955) spent her summers in the 1880s documenting the flora of the Rocky Mountains; Idaho teacher Herma Albertson (Bagley) was one of the first seasonal naturalists at Yellowstone in the 1920s (Kaufman 1996); and Wyoming teacher F. Howard Brady worked at three different national parks in the 1930s (“Who’s Who” 1939). Numerous articles and advertisements in education journals promoted nature tourism, often enroute to

professional conferences. An Iowa journal reported that travel to summer meetings of the National Education Association “enabled the teachers of the nation to learn something of the real extent of our country, of its diversity of resources and of its fertility, wealth and beauty” (“The N.E.A.” 1907, 551). One of the many teachers who traveled extensively, Beatrice Cramer of Gloversville, New York crisscrossed the country in the 1920s-1930s, visiting dozens of national parks and other sites. From the “indescribable beauty” of the Rockies to the “marvelous spectacle” of Niagara Falls, Cramer’s journal is a catalog of natural wonders (Cramer Memoir).

Summers spent interpreting nature and consuming scenery enriched teachers’ lives, and likely also enhanced their teaching and inculcation of patriotism. Hawaii teacher Mary Blanchard reflected, “We teach what we are and travel makes us mentally wealthy” (“Investing” 1923, 219), and an education official reported that teachers “shared their rich [travel] experiences with their pupils . . . and a number had become quite intoxicated with the beauties of our national parks” (Boutwell 1934, 79). An understanding of teachers’ interaction with nature during their summers off will augment several areas of historical scholarship.

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Las emociones como "condiciones naturales" para el magisterio en la escuela primaria en Argentina (1870-1940) (Español)

Ana Laura Abramowski (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento)

Si bien es cierto que la Modernidad apostó fuertemente por la educabilidad del humano, no es un asunto menor advertir los límites y posibilidades de la educabilidad cuando de emociones se trata, pues sobre ellas pesa con fuerza -con variaciones, pero de manera sostenida- la idea de lo inmodificable (llámese innato o natural), por sobre lo pasible de ser modificado (educado, aprovechado, cultivado).

Desde fines del Siglo XVIII en adelante, en las sociedades europeas "ganó impulso la idea de la naturaleza y la cultura trabajando juntas en lugar de una contra la otra" (Frevvert, 2011: 101). La educación, entonces, pasó a concebirse como un "puente entre la naturaleza y la cultura, y como una formación no solo del intelecto sino de los sentimientos" (Bolufer, 2016: 35-36). En este punto vale hacer una salvedad. No son las pasiones, en tanto fuerzas exteriores que toman e invaden a los individuos (Dixon, 2012) las educables. Las pasiones enceguecen, nublan la mente y deben ser ahuyentadas y evitadas. Es la sensibilidad, considerada una disposición natural e innata, la que puede (y debe) ser educada, en el sentido de cultivada, modelada y aprovechada.

En esta ponencia se problematizará la "educabilidad de las emociones" haciendo foco en los maestros y las maestras de escuela primaria en Argentina (1870-1940). El objetivo es mostrar de qué modo ciertos atributos emocionales o sensibles de la docencia se consideraban tanto naturales como susceptibles de ser educados.

En el período estudiado, un ítem habitual en la evaluación del desempeño del magisterio era la identificación de "condiciones naturales", dentro de las cuales preponderaban elementos sensibles (paciencia, ternura, entusiasmo, etc). En los materiales analizados advertimos que la celebración de la presencia de "condiciones naturales" no impedía insistir en su cultivo (esto es, seguir educándolas y potenciándolas). Asimismo, la constatación de la carencia de "condiciones naturales" no necesariamente echaba por tierra el proyecto formador docente. La práctica y la experiencia eran una vía privilegiada de mejora.

En la investigación que enmarca esta ponencia se construye una noción de afectividad que enfatiza, siguiendo a Ahmed (2004), las zonas de contacto, los "entre", en una tentativa de trascender dualismos. En este caso particular, se buscará destacar que la configuración de la afectividad docente oscilará "entre" lo natural y lo adquirido.

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The voice of children - Children's essays as a tool to expose the ways of constructing the relationship to nature in the Hebrew education system (1918-1948): A methodological discussion (English)

Zehavit Shenkolewski (Ashqelon Academic College)

In recent years, Scholars have shown great interest in children's world. They called for recognizing children as individuals with ability to express their own voice. This call has been sounded in many disciplines including the study of education. Several studies in recent years have made use of children's writing. We are talking about thousands of compositions by schoolchildren, printed in school newspapers or saved in archives, or published in commercial periodicals for children. These compositions are a sort of buried treasure that can help expose the world of a group that was left out of the scholarly discourse. Although the compositions preserve children's memories, there are some methodological difficulties with their use in research (they were subject to selection and editing by adults). To date there has been no organized effort to discuss the quality and reliability of these compositions or of the methodological tools that can be used to study them.

In this study I would like to examine the reliability of children's publications and of children's compositions as a research source and to examine the contribution of children's compositions to the study of education.

In my lecture, I will address the issue of the relationship to nature as a case study.

The attitude towards nature has assumed a central place in Zionist thought and in the Hebrew education system who aspired to shape the children in the image of the "New Jew"; A manual laborer, who strives to settle the land of Israel, and a fighter for the defense of his homeland. These values were raised to the level of holiness and were given a central place in the curricula. The attitude of the education system towards nature has been examined in previous studies. Some of them focused on the duality between education for rural life and education for urban life. For, for many years, the legacy of the Jewish Enlightenment has sanctified bourgeoisie education and the practice of liberal professions. A study of the children's compositions reveals the following findings.

The children's essays reflect a complex dialogue that ranges from the use of the ideological terminology to independent thinking. They reveal the gap between vision and reality. The children were aware of the Zionist discourse about nature, so they use it in their works. However, their writings raise a complex message; Understanding the ideological and religious

importance of specific urban places (like the sanctity of Jerusalem). An understanding of the social significance of life in a city or village. Familiarity with the geopolitical implications of the rural or urban spaces (like the status of Jerusalem as a future capital city). And understanding the technological and cultural advantages of living in urban spaces.

In addition, one can learn from these essays how Zionist ideology influenced the children's future orientation. It seems that despite the intensive efforts of the Hebrew education system, most of its graduates aspired to self-fulfillment within bourgeois urban life.

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Let's make a trip to nature! School excursions as a form of (in)formal educational practices for teachers and students 1890-1918 (English)

Branko Sustar (Slovenian School Museum), Maja Hakl Saje (National Museum of Slovenia)

For centuries study tours have been a traditional form of knowledge acquisition (travel to learn crafts, education trips of wealthy young men). The formation of Teacher Association since the 1860s, and specially their union in the Slovene speaking countries in the south of the Habsburg Monarchy, opened up possibilities for annual meeting of members of these societies. The article presents how the selection of places for meetings of the "Association of Slovenian Teachers Societies / Zaveza slovenskih učiteljskih društev" influenced the teaching excursions. Reports in the teacher's press (*Učiteljski tovariš/Teachers' Comrade, Slovenski učitelj / Slovenian Teacher, Popotnik / Traveller*) have also enriched the knowledge of nature and the society of neighboring and other countries. What domestic and foreign countries did the teachers visit and report about them in the print media at the end of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy? Some teachers also lectured about their trips through illustrations, others included the promotion of nature, neighboring and foreign countries in regular classes.

For students in the compulsory elementary school the most accessible was nature in the immediate school environment. An important form of meeting with nature was the school garden, since 1870s one of the favorite teaching aids in almost all elementary as well as in individual secondary schools. The article follows the question of how the Slovene pedagogical press promoted learning in nature (especially in natural history, geography,

homeland knowledge in general) and justified it as a successful part of the lessons. In the article we also follow the development of traditional "May excursion", which became an important part of the lesson, and most often meant an excursion to nearby sights. Both in teaching about nature and in getting acquainted with foreign places, there were major differences in school equipment in rural and urban areas. In cities there were "real" (non-calssical) and grammar schools, as well as folk schools richly equipped and their pupils more widely educated as in rural schools. The experiences of nature was also close to student in cities, as there were a small number of them in Slovene countries (Ljubljana, Celje, Kranj, Novo mesto...), with the exception of the multinational port of Trieste.

Key words: School excursions, teachers, teachers' societies, students, school garden

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2.8 PANEL NATURE AND THE URBAN (1)

Chair: **Susanne Spieker (University of Koblenz-Landau)**

“From Backyards to Light“: Urban environment, nature and children in a Finnish short film from the 1940s (English)

Marjo Nieminen (University of Turku)

This paper focuses on an urban environment, nature and children as visualized and presented in the Finnish short film “From Backyards to Light” (1940). The film depicted children’s play and playgrounds arranged by a child welfare committee in authentic surroundings in the capital city, Helsinki. Previous studies argue that the visual sources, like documentary films, can facilitate understanding of the past (Warmington, Van Gorp & Grosvenor 2011) and that physical space provides unique perspectives on childhood as an ideal imagined by adults (Gutman 2013). This paper concentrates on how the film constructed the imagery of children in an urban environment and how it offered the possibility of examining the representations

of urban green spaces (e.g. Hannikainen 2014 for the concept of green space) intended for children's well-being (e.g. Lento 2006 for green spaces for children). At the same time, the film visualised images of nature and, in some scenes, the naturalised gender roles in girls' and boys' play. This paper will examine how this imagery was interwoven with the social contexts of the 1940s and the goals of Finnish child welfare policy and urban city planning.

"From Backyards to Light" was made during a period when short film production and cinematic release was very popular in Finland due to tax reductions for domestic short films. The short film combined the non-fictional with fictional, and it also contained an educative undertone. The analysis of the film focused on the film's visual narration and filmic characteristics (camera angle, sound, voiceover, perspective, lighting), covering both the silent version and the production of a complete transcript of the film's voiceover. As Warmington, Van Gorp and Grosvenor (2011) point out, the technologies of production and distribution and the conventions of a genre shape the visual and visual-aural constructions of films. The analysed film was influenced by the filmic and cinematic techniques of the Finnish short film tradition and by the educative purposes of the domestic short film productions.

This paper will discuss how the filmic elements on the one hand created the visual and textual representations of the urban environment as an unnatural and dangerous place. The narration produced the imagery of gloomy backyards and hazardous harbour sites where children were constantly at risk of polluted air and unsafe environments. On the other hand, the film visualised green spaces inside the urban environment where nature was part of the urban space, creating a wide playing field for children. Furthermore, elements of nature – like water or a piece of bark – were visualised as forming part of children's play. In addition, the paper will discuss how the film's representations of urban green spaces and nature created physical, social and mental/cultural spaces and how these spaces intersected in the film (e.g. Cook & Hemming 2011 and Sillanpää 2017 for the concepts of physical, social, mental/cultural spaces).

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“Escuela Si, Pero en el Parque no!” [School yes, but in the park, no]: The Struggle for Humboldt Park in Chicago, 1966-1972 (English)

Mirelsie Velazquez (University of Oklahoma)

Named after German naturalist and botanist Alexander Van Humboldt, the Humboldt Park community and park itself has been central to the life of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago since the 1960s. Facing displacement from initial sites of migration and schools, Puerto Ricans worked tirelessly to build a sense of community and belonging within the Humboldt Park neighborhood, with the park becoming key to the community’s identity and development. The park served as one of the only sites for recreation for local families, but similarly once a year hosting their annual Puerto Rican Week celebrations. With an increase in the population came the need to expand the aging school facilities within the community. The battle for Tuley High School is pivotal to the history of the community. After years of empty promises by school officials the building of the new school will serve to alleviate the overcrowding at Tuley. The need to replace or expand an aging Tuley became the topic of conversation and site of contention within the community. Parents, students, educators, and city officials weighed in their own varying agendas and needs on the impending move of the school. The school in many ways became tied to the community’s identity and claim to space within their new neighborhood, as some community members had already experienced being displaced or pushed out of previous neighborhoods across the city. Unfortunately, although the city was ultimately willing to build the new school within the community, it recommended its location be on California Street, between North Avenue and Division Street, in the heart of the Puerto Rican community yes, but unfortunately in the middle of Humboldt park (the actual physical park itself).[1] But as Puerto Rican residents demanded: “Escuela Si, Pero en el Parque no!” [School yes, but in the park, no], citing that by losing the park for the building of the new high school the community would lose one of the only outlets that provided an escape from inadequate and congested housing, and offered free and safe recreation.[2] Through the use of archival research and oral histories, this paper historicizes the community struggle from 1966 until 1972 to preserve the park, while also ensuring the schooling needs of their children would be met in the building of the new Tuley High School.

[1] “Groups to Decide on New Humboldt Park High,” Chicago Tribune, October 15, 1967.

[2] “Nueva Escuela Tuley Si! En el Parque Humbolt No!”, El Puertorriqueño, May 1970.

De cómo niños urbanos, “naturalmente”, aprendían en y de la naturaleza. Una propuesta contracultural educativa en la Colonia Zumerland a mediados del S XX (Español)

Ana Diamant (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

“Pero el viento nos cuenta la historia de un lugar” Gustavo Santaolalla

Desde principios del S XX existen en la Argentina instituciones judeo progresistas, antifascistas y antibélicas, de acogida a migrantes y perseguidos de la Europa del Este, cultores del idish y militantes por la integración a la cultura receptiva.

El “hombre nuevo” y una nueva sociedad junto a propósitos democratizadores, pacifistas y contestatarios, fueron pilares programáticos de propuestas educativas complementarias de la escolaridad a partir de estructuras deportivas, artísticas, colonias de vacaciones y campamentos.

Un caso paradigmático es la colonia Zumerland, que inició sus actividades en 1950 con un formato coeducativo, de tiempo completo por 20 días, en un medio rural, en contacto con la naturaleza, a distancia geográfica de sus hogares, con la conducción compartida de profesionales y voluntarios.

Fue un desafío pedagógico para la época, sostener que la vida al aire libre, la interpelación y el respeto al medio natural, las normas grupales y la transferencia de esas experiencias a otros espacios serían oportunidades privilegiadas para el aprendizaje.

Obligó a revisar las formas de enseñar, contenidos y propósitos, el lugar mediador del adulto responsable, la estructura parasistemática y sobre todo por el espacio físico en el que se desarrollaban.

La tarea de dos pedagogos argentinos, Abraham (Pepe) Pain y Berta Braslavsky fue trascendente al momento de profesionalizar la actividad, por sus aportes personales y por la oportunidad que ambos tuvieron de realizar viajes al exterior y traer autores con ideas y enfoques nuevos.

La sociología de la educación francesa desde la posición de Dumazedier, quien se pregunta cómo transmitir ideas complejas con palabras sencillas a partir de la observación, la acción y la reflexión, lo llevan a Pain a interrogarse e interrogar a colegas por cómo enseñar sin exponer, enseñar haciendo y transformando el medio.

Los desarrollos de Henri Wallon quien estudió con Dumazedier las operaciones mentales de planteamiento de problemas y establecimiento de relaciones necesarias para la adquisición del pensamiento adulto le llegan a Braslavsky – que ya estaba influenciada en las utopías pedagógicas de Tolstoi y Makarenko - cuando se encuentra con él en 1948 en París, en el Instituto de Psicobiología.

Estas posiciones fortalecieron el proyecto político – pedagógico de que vida en la naturaleza, aprender haciendo, conocer las leyes internas de los procesos a partir de la observación, pertenencia a grupos, producir pensando y sin hablar eran herramientas necesarias para desarrollar conductas socialmente valiosas.

La simultaneidad entre la implementación de la experiencia y los requerimientos de conducción, orientaron hacia la promoción de los propios docentes, que acompañaran ideológica y metodológicamente, en una fórmula de encuentro entre trabajo y formación en el trabajo con el objetivo no sólo de adquirir conocimientos sino de producirlos y de transformar conjuntamente personas, acciones y medio.

Esta presentación propone sintetizar una experiencia de historia reciente de la educación no formal, fuera de la escuela, de niños y adolescentes urbanos, en oportunidad de contacto con la naturaleza, mediada por docentes comprometidos, a partir de la amalgama entre la cultura pedagógica local y las aportaciones de la circulación de saberes provenientes de otras latitudes.

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Playgrounds, nature and urbanities in Brazil: comparative notes on the Playground Movement (English)

Flavia Martinelli Ferreira (University of Brasília), Ingrid Dittrich Wiggers (University of Brasília)

The first decades of the 20th century were a period of intense transformation in the biggest city of Brazil — São Paulo — especially in an attempt to organize and redesign urban space. Sustaining new architectural ideals, town planners relied on medical ideation to fight and eliminate a dirty way of life, associated with poverty and foulness. The city's uses and spaces were regulated, determining different aspects from architectural arrangements to interpersonal relationships. There was a need to impart a new way of living to the population, and it required other habits and behaviors regarding social life. This hygienic moral would be achieved by new ways of educating and distinct relations in school environment.

Playgrounds took root as a measure that allowed a specific place for medical-educational interventions, once they also filled children's time when they were not in schools or working. These playgrounds organized and built a space in town where nature's elements would be scientifically adapted with the purpose of intensifying their healing and prophylactic effects on children's bodies.

The goal of this paper is to identify relations between education, urbanity and nature in the educational project of playgrounds in São Paulo – Brazil, established in the 1930s. For this purpose, we carried out a systematic bibliographic review, covering works that deal directly with the issue of playgrounds, from distinct approaches, published between 1985 and 2017.

Based on this survey, we highlight the diversity of research objects that guide these works: school architecture, educational practices and body education, teacher training or children's cultural dynamics in these spaces. We observed that playgrounds tried to reestablish children's experiences with nature, even in the developing urban environments. This perspective was mediated by different elements, such as Brazilian colonial architecture; the representation of nature's elements in playground's equipment, such as water, fresh air and

earth; educational projects aiming at the learning of Brazilian flora and fauna, as well as the folklore that praises the exuberance of our natural environment

In the face of the particularity of these institutions, pointed out by the analyzed researched, these spaces are important places for the development of children's bodily experiences and educational practices related to body and nature. Thus, we conclude that although playgrounds in São Paulo are an extension of a project internationally known in the 19th century as playground movement, they presented particular characteristics in their expansion throughout the Brazilian territory, meeting local needs and contexts.

2.9 PANEL TEACHING NATURE AND THE SCIENCES (2)

Chair: Michaela Vogt (Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg)

Die Erforschung der Natur als „Weg zur Zivilisation“ - Naturwissenschaften als nationales Curriculum in Costa Rica 1886 bis 1950 (Deutsch)

Marianne Helfenberger (University of Zurich)

Ab 1886 wurde in Costa Rica das Curriculum der Primarschule mit naturwissenschaftlichen Fächern erweitert, nachdem Verträge mit Naturwissenschaftlern und Bildungsexperten aus Europa geschlossen wurden, um die Sekundar- bzw. Gymnasialbildung zu strukturieren und naturwissenschaftliche Forschungsinstitute und ein Landwirtschaftsinstitut zu gründen. Im Zuge von Modernisierungsbestrebungen sollte die Schule als laizistische Institution gestaltet und vom Einfluss der katholischen Kirche getrennt werden. Allerdings wurde die Notwendigkeit naturwissenschaftlichen Wissens in der Schule mit religiöser Semantik legitimiert und so auf die religiöse und lokale Kultur der Bevölkerung Bezug genommen. Mit der Hinwendung zu einem naturwissenschaftlichen Curriculum sollten die costa-ricanische Wirtschaft und der materielle und kulturelle Fortschritt gefördert und damit auch die staatliche Autorität im Bildungswesen und die Souveränität des Landes gestärkt werden. Damit verbunden war ein Versprechen, nach europäischem Vorbild den Weg in die Zivilisation einzuschlagen. Dieser Beitrag untersucht Natur als Inhalt von Erziehung und Bildung und als Forschungsgegenstand wie sie in den (offiziellen) pädagogischen Zeitschriften Costa Ricas und anderen Publikationen zwischen 1886 und 1950 zu schulischem, didaktischem oder wissenschaftlichem Wissen aufgearbeitet wurde. Zum einen sollten dieses Wissen und die naturwissenschaftliche Wissensordnung für die Landwirtschaft nutzbar gemacht werden, zum anderen aber auch die Attraktivität Costa Ricas für ausländische Investoren erhöhen. Dabei fungierten, so die These des Beitrags, Fächer wie Geographie, Botanik und Landwirtschaft identitätsstiftend als Schnittstelle zwischen Natur und Kultur.

Childhood and Education of Signs in Printed Pedagogical Brazilians (1887-1892) (English)

Maria Loiola Madeira (Universidade Federal de Alagoas)

This communication intends to deal the meaning of nature proposed by the method intuitive, based on two pedagogical forms published in the city of Maceió (AL) O Magistério (1887-1889) and the Revista do Ensino (1891-1892). Particularly two sections were selected, Seção Pedagógica and Seção Científica, because they allowed understand the notions of nature and knowledge for childhood. Intended for prescription knowledge for Brazilian primary teachers,

such journals that lined the proposal of teaching intuitive that arrived in Brazil in the decade 1880, with the translation of the American educator Norman Calkins, *Lessons Things* (MACHADO, 2014, VALDEMARIN, 2004). Compendiums like *Mr. Daligault* (1870) were strongly opposed on the grounds that it conveyed a pedagogy rancid and abstract, contrary to the recommendations of N. Calkins and F. Buisson, who proposed to teach for "things" because it was the most correct way to speak "[...] to the children's hearts, because nature was responsible for explaining the very nature "(DIEGUES, 1891). For this purpose, W. Benjamin elaborated in the decade of 1920 a critique of modern pedagogy because it tried methodically to guide the infant universe, playful and creative, by the gaze of science, with the argument that the mind was more prone to error than the senses, so nothing more correct than education that would "clean" up its possible distortions. Toys, books, experiences, the spaces and the time of the child would be under the supervision of such proposal pedagogy that would lead the child in the appropriation of the laws of nature and convert them in knowledge needed for a better life. The sections of the periodicals analyzed were written by Brazilian doctors and teachers who had the last word for demonstrate the advantages of teaching natural sciences for children. Topics such as elementary botany, practical school, practical teaching of grammar, topography, different systems of land formation, this set was reversed in an eager appeal to make classes for the child more practical, accessible to all, with simplified contents, without including the use of books. Between mythification and deacralization, nature should be examined as "thing" observable from which the child withdraw lessons beneficial for scientific and industrial progress of modern societies.

The Analysis of Nature-Education Relationship in Turkey Within the Concept of “Goods Courses” and “Nature Studies” in Primary Schools (1908-1968) (English) Betül Batir (Istanbul University)

Nature which has been interrelated with education since antiquity has also taken place in the content of various theory and practice courses. Due to the close relationship between the society and education, the transformation of the approach of the society towards the nature is clearly observed in the educational programs.

Philosophically, the human approach to see nature as a divine being transformed to the perception of controlling nature in the 19th century. On the other hand, in the 20th century, approaches of being friends with nature and then being together with nature emerged. These changes in approaches and notions have also had an impact on the education systems of states.

In the Turkish education system, nature studies course and goods courses which are gathered under the titles of science courses are among the courses that have nature awareness. These courses have taken one another's place. Goods courses which took place in the first stage of the Turkish education system in 1908 left their place to nature studies courses in 1926. The content of these courses were similar. The education of science of nature was provided by several units. Practices were executed in theoretical courses from time to time. The change that started in the Ottoman period continued in the Turkish Republic period.

In this study, by analyzing the curricula and examples in the textbooks of goods courses and nature studies courses, their application and gains will be indicated in terms of nature studies.

In the meantime, the approach of the Turkish society towards nature for 60 years will be put forward by educational dimensions within the framework of primary school curricula. By drawing a general framework and giving examples from textbooks, transformations in the approach of the relationship between education and nature will be reflected.

In this study, the relationship of education with nature will be determined in addition to the analysis of primary school textbooks and curricula of the period.

The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between education and nature by analyzing the gains and related units of goods and nature studies courses included in the primary school programs in Turkey with the study of nature.

Key Words: Goods Courses, Nature Studies, Primary school, Nature-Education Relationship, Turkish Education Systems.

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El concepto de naturaleza en los manuales de educación y catecismos políticos usados en las escuelas de primeras letras (Nueva Granada: 1819-1853) (Español)

John Jairo Cardenas-Herrera (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

En la primera mitad del siglo XIX latinoamericano uno de los principales retos, que las autoridades gubernamentales de las recién fundadas repúblicas tuvieron, fue el de cómo constituir al sujeto por antonomasia del nuevo proyecto político: el ciudadano. En el caso de la Nueva Granada (actual Colombia), la principal estrategia que adoptaron para ello fue la

educación, siendo las escuelas de primeras letras la principal apuesta para transformar al otrora vasallo colonial en ciudadano republicano. A su vez, dentro de las escuelas fueron muchas las prácticas que se siguieron en la tarea de constituir al ciudadano, una de ellas fue la de usar catecismos políticos y manuales de educación para la instrucción de los hijos de la patria, un concepto fundamental al que acudieron los autores de estos textos fue el de naturaleza. Dicho concepto contenía diversos significados que se inscribían dentro de una matriz semántica según la cual, el alma humana había sido enseñada por la naturaleza y ésta por el mismo Dios. Por otra parte, los seres humanos tenían una naturaleza ungida de gracia y santidad por Dios, sin embargo, dichas disposiciones naturales del hombre habían sido enajenadas por la existencia de seres buenos y de seres malos, estos últimos producto de una suerte de proceso de desnaturalización en donde, precisamente, la educación debía fungir como mecanismo para reconducir, para restituir a los seres al orden de la naturaleza, a la ley de la naturaleza.

Así pues, en la 40 conferencia de la ISCHE quisiera hacer una presentación en la que se aborden los contenidos del concepto de naturaleza en los manuales educativos y en los catecismos políticos que fueron usados en las escuelas de primeras letras de la Nueva Granada, en la primera mitad del siglo XIX, con la intención de educar a los hijos de la patria en los nuevos valores republicanos, dentro de los cuales los sintagmas de libertad natural, religión natural y conocimiento natural se constituyeron como bases morales del nuevo proyecto político.

La metodología usada para el análisis propuesto se sustenta en los postulados esgrimidos por la historia conceptual, según la cual los conceptos son concentrados de experiencia histórica, de contenidos polisémicos y usos variados, son signo y factor de la acción social. En el caso del concepto de naturaleza, es tomado como unidad léxica y segmento lingüístico del lenguaje educativo neogranadino que apostó por la constitución del ciudadano, en el marco del proceso de invención republicana neogranadina en la primera mitad del siglo XIX.

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2.10 PANEL NATURE AND PEDAGOGIES (2)

Chair: **Beatrix Vincze (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University)**

A historical study of educational content for Japanese American kindergarten children in Hawaii: Nature and play (English)

Shioji Akiko (Naruto University of Education)

Many Japanese and Asian people emigrated to Hawaii as plantation workers in the mid-19th century. They settled to Hawaii and raised their families there. Japanese-American children who were born in Hawaii held American citizenship, which meant they were educated in American public schools. At the same time they received a Japanese education in order to maintain Japanese culture and language in Japanese language schools that were established by their parents. These Japanese parents celebrated their children's development through Japanese traditions (O-Seekku, Koinobori), and honored events seasonally in the Japanese community.

Since the 19th century, many Japanese-American children have attended progressive educational kindergarten in Hawaii. Statistics indicate that the Japanese population stood at about 40% in the 1920s. The Japanese-American children were educated with children of other races (native Hawaiian, Korean, Filipino, American, etc.) by progressive American kindergarten teachers.

Gradually Japanese American left the plantations to live in Honolulu. Some of them were engaged in rice farming or grocery store ownership, or worked as housekeepers or gardeners in American homes. Many of them lived in Manoa and Moiliili in Honolulu .

Incidentally, the Free Kindergarten Children's Aid Association in Hawaii (FKCAA) also fulfilled a role in Hawaiian kindergarten education. Established by Harriet Castle in 1895, the Association was greatly impacted by John Dewey's educational theory. In these kindergartens, free play in nature and school projects were important key concepts in progressive kindergarten in Hawaii. Children had lunch at outside gardens, played freely, or created school projects related to the familiar natural surroundings of Hawaii (sea, water, flower, and native Hawaiian culture). These became firsthand experiences for these children. The Hawaiian warm climate and native concepts of nature were appropriate to this type of progressive education. My question is how this progressive education, which incorporated nature studies, affected Japanese-American children.

During the mid-20th century, private kindergartens run by the FKCAA were in the process of becoming public kindergartens. When kindergartens became part of public education, they developed solid relationships with elementary schools. Learning English was viewed as the most important factor for success in school of young children. How did kindergarten educational content change for Japanese-American children? How were nature study and free play--which were important tenets of progressive kindergarten education--handled? At public kindergartens, children worked with blocks, woodwork, clay, and paints. They also played outdoors to move large muscles groups and learn sportsmanship, and sometimes made excursions to near zoo or aquarium. At FKCAA kindergartens, play meant that the children could play outside as they wished, and they incorporated the nature of Hawaii into their dynamic school projects. These components, however, appear to have since disappeared from public kindergarten activities.

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Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular. Practices and experience in the area of popular education: links between school and the natural world (English)

Alba María Gómez Sánchez (University of Salamanca)

Related sub-theme: - Nature and the natural world as educational settings & - Nature as a medium and subject of education

In the 1920s, Célestin Freinet advocated a type of schooling that was open to life. This new stance was especially critical of laboratory-style teaching methods, Freinet's liberal and scientific idealism, and even certain issues linked to the pedagogical discourse of the New School movement. It originated in France and quickly spread to other countries, forming an international movement for progressive education (pedagogical innovation). In the 1970s, the Spanish chapter of that movement was consolidated as the Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular (MCEP – Cooperative Popular School Movement).

The majority of Spanish schools, during the country's transition to democracy, employed traditional schooling methods. The teachers in the MCEP fought against scholasticism, introducing, amongst other things, new knowledge sources, cooperation, freedom of expression and an overarching working plan, experimenting with teaching techniques which related as closely as possible to the pupils' day-to-day reality. The school printing press, inter-school correspondence and cooperation were just some of the techniques they employed to bring to fruition that experience-based approach, which no national programmes included. The desire to link the explanations given in class – to a greater or lesser extent, dynamic, enjoyable and adorned with audiovisual supports – with direct, tactile, visual, sensorially complete experience of reality, meant that numerous trips out of school were organised.

This study refers, specifically, to those trips – visits, investigative teamwork and school exchanges in real-world natural environments. The aim is to discover, firstly, the extent to which pupils were actually exposed, not only to Nature as such (by visits to rural areas which allowed them direct experience of forests and landscapes, and contact with animals), but also to a sort of urban nature (the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation, public plazas and parks, etc.). Thus, the excursions provided rather more than cognoscitive advantages, and their focus was a broader one of social gains. The second part of this investigation looks at the interest and concern aroused by this type of proposed approaches in relation with those social, economic and political processes which (sometimes directly; sometimes indirectly) conditioned their nearest natural and environmental reality. Finally, this study sets out to resolve more practical questions, looking at, for example, the organisation – both vertical and

horizontal – of each outing, the organisation of salidas totales (excursions which served to illustrate a topic in all its aspects, rather than serving the needs of one particular school subject), and the management of the various obstacles, and those which tended to have the most innovative practices.

These investigations have been possible thanks to the study of two primary documentary sources. The first and main source was the journal *Colaboración* – the official mouthpiece of the Freinet movement in Spain, and very helpful in gauging its activity and the level it reached. In parallel to this, the pages of the *Cooperazione Educativa* collection contain certain useful information about the organisation of the exchanges. Both publications bear witness to the majority of these experiments, which went beyond the boundaries – both physical and pedagogical – of the traditional school, spilling out, at least metaphorically, beyond the bounds of traditional schooling, heralding the dawn of popular education.

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Keywords: Freinet; Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular (MCEP); the journal *Colaboración*; Nature; popular education.

The interaction between and emergence of psychiatri, psychology and progressive education in the schooling system in Scandinavia in the interwar years (English)

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This presentation explores the historical emergence of educational psychiatry in schooling in Scandinavia in the interwar years. Drawing on a comparative perspective, the presentation explores how psychiatry, along with psychology and progressive education, emerged as a discourse in the welfare state in the interwar years in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Whereas the role and rise of educational psychology in the differentiation processes have been examined, educational psychiatry in schooling as an independent field has so far been largely unexplored when it comes to the Scandinavian case. By using the comparative perspective, we aim to track possible agents, meetings and institutional settings across the borders, and thus to examine whether the rise of educational psychiatry primarily took place as independent national initiatives or whether there were signs of mutual Nordic influence between the countries.

Concerning the national cases, the article aims to address the following questions: When and how did child-psychiatry emerge as an independent field at hospitals, municipalities and universities? Who were the important agents? When and how was the contact established between the first educational psychologists and the psychiatrists regarding the question of solving the issue of a scientific legitimation of the sorting of students? What were the first experiences regarding the first collaborations between these two fields of experts of schooling? Where were the potential conflicts and hierarchy between the fields in the sorting of children? Were there any common influences between the educational psychology, child-psychiatry and progressive educators? What characterized the perception of the child in the emerging child-psychiatry as opposed to former ideas of the child as being degenerated? These questions will be resolved in relation to the welfare state. The findings of the analysis are grounded on our current research.

2.11 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL IDEA (2)

Chair: Sabine Krause (Universität Koblenz-Landau)

Baden-Powell, de l'éducation à la citoyenneté: Le scoutisme et la citoyenneté active (Français)

Eszter Anna Nyúl (University of Pécs)

mots clés: Éducation à la citoyenneté, le scoutisme, l'auto-amélioration, apprendre en faisant

L'éducation à la citoyenneté est un sujet à la mode de nos jours, mais on oublie souvent que certaines réponses pédagogiques existent depuis longtemps déjà. En regardant l'émergence des compétences civiques à travers l'histoire, on trouve inévitablement les idées du fondateur du scoutisme, Baden-Powell. Utilisé depuis 1908, ce modèle d'éducation à la citoyenneté est utilisé au niveau local, national et, c'est très important, également au niveau international, quel que soient les cultures. La Nature comme lien commun donne un environnement éducatif où l'individu a la possibilité d'améliorer son comportement au bénéfice du groupe. Le but de Baden-Powell était la bonne volonté et la paix dans le monde. Comment imaginait Lord Baden-Powell un bon citoyen et son éducation pour le devenir ? Peut-on regarder sa pédagogie comme une méthode de formation des citoyens actifs?

Pour trouver l'essence de l'être scout, notre analyse s'appuie sur trois ouvrages de Baden – Powell : Éclaireurs (1908), La route de succès (1922), Conseils aux chefs scouts (1944 édition internationale) . C'est dans ce dernier livre que Baden –Powell a décrit le plus ses idées sur l'éducation civique.

Baden-Powell expliquait dans cette oeuvre sa stratégie pour devenir un bon citoyen et définissait ainsi le but du scoutisme. Grâce à cet ouvrage, on comprend mieux sa conception de l'enfance, entre l'enfant réel et l'enfant désiré par l'éducation scoutiste. Le fondateur du mouvement voyait la différence entre le citoyen actif et passif. Il était sûr de trouver une bonne méthode pour faire développer des qualités intellectuelles et physiques, et certains traits de caractère (l'honnêteté, le courage, la prise d'initiative, l'ouverture vers autrui, le sens des responsabilités, l'épargne, la persévérance, la participation et l'action). Baden-Powell voulait montrer que le scoutisme est une méthode efficace pour que les jeunes puissent, en jouant, devenir de bons citoyens. Par l'auto-amélioration, le jeune peut devenir un bon scout

et un membre efficace de la société. Le scoutisme aide les adolescents à avoir les connaissances, la capacité et la volonté pour agir dans l'intérêt de la société.

Dans cette analyse, Baden-Powell partageait une vision différente de l'éducation à la citoyenneté comparé à notre époque. Actuellement on parle des compétences civiques, des attitudes, des connaissances et de l'habileté. On ne relève pas assez l'importance de la force des gestes. Baden-Powell divise sa formation en quatre items. Les trois premiers forment l'esprit, l'âme et le corps. C'est le quatrième élément qui tourne vers les autres hommes. Être au service des autres est la clé de la citoyenneté active. Il analyse les composantes et donne des exemples pratiques de la pédagogie scoutiste : apprendre en faisant. La Nature est le lieu, la méthode et l'inspiration pour mieux connaître le monde, les autres et soi-même.

Depuis 110 ans, grâce aux 300 millions de scouts à travers le monde, on connaît une méthode qui a fait ses preuves dans la question de l'éducation civique, en phase avec les discours actuels.

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Ellen Key's concept of Nature: the urban child vs the natural one (1887-1892) (English)

Luisa Ceccarelli (University of Bologna)

Ellen Key got great inspiration from John Ruskin's, William Morris', Ralph Waldo Emerson's, and Henry Thoreau's writings. These readings influenced her pedagogical framework of the "Natural child". She strongly criticized the phenomenon of the increasing urbanization and industrialization and its bad consequences on the childhood's life and motherhood's conditions. She advocated for a natural Education along with the children's needs, in order to respect their freedom to move, play, and learn from their direct experience.

With my contribute I intend to highlight Ellen Key's concept of Nature, starting from her privileged readings, and following her ideas in her essays and letters' exchanges with famous contemporary pedagogues and writers.

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Dealing with nature: The emergence of "pädagogisch" (pedagogical) within the educational debate between 1750-1800 (English)

Daniel Przygoda (Humboldt University Berlin)

What is human nature? Definitions of human nature range from selfish/bad (Hobbes 2014), via fundamental cooperative (Tomasello 2009) to good (Rousseau 2009, 2010). During the last centuries, this question was the starting point of countless philosophical and educational discourses. As a result of these diverse concepts and reflexions about human nature not only the idea of childhood was 'discovered' or 'educationalized'. Particularly in the second half of the 18th century a more focused approach to the educational transformation of man following 'nature' emerged in the German-speaking world. At the same time, a significant term which seems indispensable since that day emerged in the German educational language: pedagogical. In the tension between the transcendence of attributions (of educational concepts) and the immanence of (historical) conditions and human nature a space was spanned in which everything could become pedagogical. Attributions were formulated in many ways. The 'nature' of the child could be constructed as being good or bad. Every

educational concept necessarily required/urged an answer to the set attributions. From this notion of “having to react” arises a pedagogical setting (Schäfer 2009).

And indeed, with the ideas of the German philanthropists (Basedow, Campe, Trapp, Salzmann) in the 1770s, we can find the word pedagogical as a specific attribution within the educational debate on human nature. But surprisingly not much earlier, although popular and important educational theories were written prior to the 1770s. This raises the question why the term was first (at least sustainably) used by the German philanthropists. It could be assumed that one part of the answer lies in their specific construction of the human nature and their idea of childhood and education.

Nowadays, nearly every German scientific article dealing with education uses the adjective pedagogical to describe something specific in the relationship between a child and a teacher/adult. From the pedagogical body (Feichtinger 2013), via the pedagogical exercise (Brinkmann 2012), to the pedagogical centre (Zierer et al. 2016) or the pedagogical love (Seichter 2007), this adjective appears in nearly every imaginable setting - but is always positively connoted. Its meaning seems to be implied and self-evident, but is never clearly defined. In the German scientific community the word pedagogical seems to be overrepresented and underdetermined at the same time. This paradox and scientific desideratum is examined in a recently initiated research project.

From a historiographical perspective and in addition to the outlined questions my paper focuses on the emergence and transformation of pedagogical as a qualifying adjective/ascription for a specific social figuration about 'nature' and its transformation. The conceptual history serves as the analytical approach. Primarily the paper is based on relevant journals, lexica/dictionaries and encyclopaedias from 1750 to 1800.

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Zur argumentativen Valenz von Natur und Natürlichkeit in pädagogischen Kontexten (Deutsch)

Gerhard Schaufler (University of Vienna)

Die Natur betrifft den Menschen in zweifacher Weise:

Zum einen findet er sich als naturbehaftetes und naturverhaftetes Wesen vor. Dieses wird in der Geschichte der Pädagogik mit unterschiedlichen Begrifflichkeiten zu fassen versucht. Eugen Fink bspw. weist in seiner phänomenologischen Anthropologie darauf hin, dass sich Definitionen des Menschseins seit der griechischen Antike immer wieder in Abgrenzung zum Tier verstehen. Das aristotelische *zoon logon echon* wird zunächst zum *animal rationale* und zuletzt zum vernunftbegabten Tier. (Fink, 1979). Aber auch in dualistischen Begriffspaaren wie Körper-Geist- oder Leib-Seele-Problematik ist letztlich die Natur resp. der Anteil der Natürlichkeit des Menschen thematisiert. Selbst Theoriestränge wie die Psychosomatik, welche auf die Verschränktheit von physischen und psychischen Faktoren des Menschseins verweisen, versuchen letztlich Antworten auf die Frage nach der Art der Natürlichkeit des Menschenwesens zu geben. Letztlich verweist der Hinweis auf die leibliche Natur des Menschen aber – auch schon lange vor der expliziten Thematisierung in gerontopädagogischen Konzepten – auf die Endlichkeit seiner Möglichkeiten. Sein „Vorlaufen zum Tod“ (Heidegger) birgt zugleich Grenze aber auch Horizonterweiterung pädagogischer Möglichkeiten.

Zum anderen findet sich der Mensch in einer naturhaften Welt vor, die ihn umgibt. Diese kann man unterschiedlich weit denken: als „der bestirnte Himmel über mir“, der „dem moralischen Gesetz in mir“ gegenübersteht (Kant), als „antikeimenon“ oder Objektivität die cartesianisch einem „hypokeimenon“ oder einer Subjektivität gegenübersteht oder aber auch in einer engeren Variante umweltpädagogischer Konzepte, welche schlicht vor der Zerstörung der Natur warnen, zum Schutz der Natur aufrufen oder ökologische Konzepte moralisch begleiten.

In beiden Kontexten erlangt der Hinweis auf Natur und Natürlichkeit argumentative Valenz.

Dies wiederum in unterschiedlicher Stoßrichtung.

Einerseits werden Natur und Natürlichkeit als Grenze pädagogischer Bemühungen betrachtet. Neben der schon thematisierten Sterblichkeit des Menschen haben vor allem heilpädagogische Ansätze die Intention, diese Grenze zu respektieren und nicht zur Stigmatisierung zu mißbrauchen. Die Bandbreite pädagogischer Theoriebildung reicht in diesem Feld von der Betonung der Unhintergebarkeit natürlicher Gegebenheiten bis zu immer weiter getriebenen Modifikationsintentionen der zu überwindenden Natur.

Andererseits wird mit Natur und Natürlichkeit als Telos pädagogischen Handelns und Denkens argumentiert. Über - den im Rahmen der Tagung vermutlich häufig strapazierten -Rousseau hinaus sind dies tendenziell reformpädagogische Konzepte, Montessori-Didaktiken etc. Besonderes Augenmerk ist hier darauf zu legen, dass das Telos der Natürlichkeit dabei in der oben ausgeführten Doppelung auftritt. Als Zielvorstellung die Natur des Menschen nicht zu verfehlen wie auch als Anpassung des Menschen an die Natur der Welt.

Methodisch versucht die Präsentation zunächst eine etymologische Herleitung des Naturbegriffs über die lateinische „*natura*“ zum aristotelischen Begriff der „*physis*“, sowie einen exemplarischen problemgeschichtlichen Aufweis der systematisch angeführten Themenbündel zu leisten.

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2.12 PANEL NATURE AND EDUCATIONAL THEORIZING (1)

Chair: Ignacio Frechtel (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

Nature – the Context of Korczak's Pedagogy (English)

Moshe Shner (Oranim Academic College of Education)

Human thought wonders from its early stages about the essence of humanity: who is the human being, what is its place in nature? How human culture differs from the social life of animals?

Two historical traditions wrestle with this principal question: the first explains the human being as part of nature. Man has its place along all the other creatures in the endless chain of natural beings. The second, quite often in a declared conflict with the first one, sees Man as a free agent, endowed with free spirit. To be human is to be beyond nature.

Each of these paradigms mandate a different understanding of education. The "Naturalists" thrive to cultivate the inherent nature of the child. It starts with a diagnostic observation and ends with an educational prognosis, i.e. the child's needs. The "spiritualists", on the other hand, seek the "Image of God" in the child and try to elevate him or her beyond their natural animalism or inherited capabilities, and to fulfil his or her dreams and free aspirations.

Where is Janusz Korczak, the known twentieth century educationalist, in this grand debate? Reading Korczak's main pedagogical texts, I position Korczak, at the side of the Naturalists. I show how Korczak follows in this worldview a long chain of philosophers of the Infinite Immanence from classic Stoicism, through Spinoza, and then Hegel, Marx, Freud, and finally these days' Neuro scientists.

Parents approached Korczak, a known pediatrician, with all sorts of questions about education, parenthood, and the health of their children. He answers these questions not with practical knowledge, but with a broad philosophical view. "Your child" – he answers the anxious parents, "should be understood as part of the infinity of nature". This is your guiding principle.

The idea of infinity sets the seriousness of education. The educational encounter means touching the other and touching the other means exploring the endlessness of Nature. Every human being is part of this infinity. An educator, a parent, a youth counselor or a teacher can never have a definite answer to his or her inquiries. "I do not know" is the only decent answer of the educator who understands the infinity of his mission.

This metaphysical perspective bases education not on lofty ideals or free dialogues in the Buberian sense, but on the observation of reality. The philosophy of the immanence demands the search of an "Immanent Pedagogy".

Nature in Korczak's writings is the ordering principle of humanity, and hence, proper education means the return to nature in its immediate sense. Korczak worked with inner-city children, and in various places in his writings, he stresses the need to bring these kids to nature, a source of physical and mental health. There, in work, play and social life the street children will regain their humanity.

Keywords: Korczak, Naturalism, Immanence, Infinity

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John Dewey, the nature of body/mind relationships and Schools of Tomorrow (English) **Malcolm Thorburn (University of Edinburgh)**

This historically-themed critical paper begins by reappraising selective early-career progressive education writings by John Dewey in relation to how physical education was organized and taught in the Gary Schools, a programme Dewey widely praised in *Schools of Tomorrow* (Dewey & Dewey, 1915). Through drawing on a range of primary and secondary sources, the paper analyses the connections between John Dewey and the Gary Schools Plan in their shared quest to extend progressive education into new urban and industrial schooling contexts and highlights in relation to the nature of body/mind education areas of disconnection between theory and practice. For example, it remains likely that field observations by John Dewey himself might have led to a more critical perspective on the Gary

Schools being made with findings having more in common with the lengthy subject specific evaluations body/mind education made by Hammer (1918).

Notwithstanding these concerns, the paper then focusses on selective mid-career writings by John Dewey in relation to how habit and embodiment could effectively thrive as part of an enhanced physical education/health and wellbeing focus in schools. To date, very few research connections have linked John Dewey's educational thinking with the public health influences underpinning strengths-based thinking on physical education/health and wellbeing, a situation compounded in some instances by considering there to be a separate body and mind (Dewey, 1928). Thus, the paper centres on Dewey's belief that habits when allied to continuity and interaction could help children to integrate experiences in ways which enable them to constructively evaluate the contribution of physical education/health and wellbeing to their education. For Dewey, habits were not mere repetitious events but more by way of acquired socially shaped predispositions which enable feelings and judgements to be shown in response to settings. By extension therefore psycho-physical concepts of habit learned through physical education/health and wellbeing could be applied with a wider mental/moral dimension (Dewey, 1922/2012), as evident for example by continuous open-ended experiences where learners' initiative and curiosity is used to reconstruct experiences in order to grow further. As experiences proliferate, learners' thoughts and feelings can become part of a repertoire of flexible and suitably sensitized habits which reveal independent thought, critical inquiry, observation, experimentation, foresight, and sympathy for others. The paper concludes with specific example of how the connections between habit, embodiment and physical education/health and wellbeing could benefit contemporary schooling.

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“À fin qu’il ne soit pas seulement nutrition”: première enfance et éducation selon nature dans la perspective de Rousseau et Pestalozzi (Français)

Andrea Potestio (University of Bergamo), Evelina Scaglia (University of Bergamo)

À partir de la provocation que Elizabeth Wirth Marvick a présenté dans son travail *Nature Versus Nurture*, nous allons proposer une relecture de l'éducation selon nature dans la première enfance par rapport à la contribution au sujet élaborée par J.-J. Rousseau et J.H. Pestalozzi. La relecture se basera sur une méthodologie de recherche et interprétation historiographique qui depuis quelques années a conduit les chercheurs de l'Université de Bergame à retraduire en italien les ouvrages pédagogiques principales des deux auteurs. Ces nouvelles traductions se basent sur l'interprétation de la nature en tant que physis et de la pédagogie en tant que théorie et pratique de l'éducation. Rousseau et Pestalozzi ont été entre les premiers auteurs qui ont commencé non seulement à attribuer aux enfants

concepts tel que « enfance », « voix » et « mot », mais aussi à construire les piliers d'une réflexion pédagogique considérant la nature humaine à la fois éducable depuis la naissance.

L'Idée d'éducation selon nature est le principe pédagogique que Rousseau théorise dans ses ouvrages les plus pédagogiques. Il démontre d'être conscient que la réflexion sur des thèmes éducatifs n'est pas un savoir descriptif. En effet, la réflexion de l'auteur de l'Émile ne commence pas par une description des processus éducatifs du XVIIIème siècle, mais par une conception anthropologique déterminée qui représente la finalité du processus éducatif entier et base son idée d'éducation naturelle. Le principe de la bonté originelle de l'homme – « Tout est bien sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme » – souligne de manière évidente l'idée d'homme que Rousseau pose comme point de départ et condition de possibilité de l'éducation. La dimension ontologique de l'homme est positive et cette condition originelle, immuable et constitutive, est à la base de la structure de l'œuvre éducative de Rousseau.

Pestalozzi, qui a été un de premier lecteur de Rousseau, transpose la question du rapport entre nature et culture de la relation éducative entre un élève imaginaire et son gouverneur à la « première » est plus « naturelle » relation éducative : celle entre un enfant et sa mère. La mère est une figure qui n'est plus conçue à la manière classique de la nutrix, mais en tant qu'une première et vraie éducatrice. Elle guide l'enfant en se prenant soin de lui, en lui apprenant l'alphabet, en le formant à travers ses avertissements morales et ses enseignements religieux à fin de développer en lui la capacité d'agir de manière libre et autonome. Gertrude – la « mère » par excellence – est quotidiennement animée par un « amour songeur », c'est-à-dire un amour régulé « avec » et « par la réflexion » sur la nature de ses devoirs éducatifs, qui sont des « boutons pas encore éclos » et « arbrisseaux tendres » lui confié par le Créateur. Ce faisant, elle devient aussi le cœur vitale de sa famille et le gardien social du village entier, en tant que gardien de l'ordre naturel de l'éducation humaine.

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Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice and the poetry of nature (English)

Lorenzo Cantatore (Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

In the first half of the twentieth-century the Italian reflection on pedagogy presents episodes of great interest for what concerns the relation between education and nature. The international debate triggered by the diffusion of the "new schools" (Cecil Reddie, Edmond Demolins, Herman Lietz, Gustav Wyneken, Georg Kerschensteiner, Adolphe Ferrière), of American experiential education (John Dewey) and of Maria Montessori's scientific pedagogy, imposes on Italian educators a careful theoretical reflection on the relation between the natural environment and the cognitive, psychological, emotional, spiritual and physical development of the child. Among the protagonists of the debate Sicilian pedagogue Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice (1879-1938) emerges.

Lombardo-Radice's thought is constantly carried out both on a theoretical and experiential level. For him, the concept of nature in education is deeply rooted in the desire to experiment with educational practices suitable for emancipating the child from the late nineteenth-century school's mnemonic knowledge. The philosophical-pedagogical controversy against positivism rehabilitates the value of the experience of nature as foundation for the free development of the very nature of the individual (intrinsically ductile) which already presents in the child its first peculiarities. In this sense the child-nature relation is the necessary basis on which the cultural education of the person and the increase of talents will be built. This also happens in a perspective of social, political and civil action as Lombardo-Radice himself carries out within the Italian Government and the Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno.

For Lombardo-Radice nature, understood in its entirety, overcomes the ancient opposition between a kind nature (useful to humans) and an evil nature (humans' enemy) and often conflicts with the urban "stone deserts" (the urban and the natural child). This allows him to rediscover the thought of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (from which the nature-society-morality link is resumed) and a revival of spontaneism, with a strong poetic and contemplative connotation (following Jean Henri Fabre), as a vehicle for scientific investigation, personal growth and reach for God. In this direction, "nature" continues to be perceived as an educational tool in itself. Natural environments for learning are rediscovered in opposition to

artificial educational environment. In this passage Lombardo-Radice, drawing from Friedrich Junge and George G. Lewis' theories, elaborates the idea of his "serene school" where the "walks" and "excursions" in nature constitute a fundamental setting, based on the observation practice.

This perspective places the pedagogical indications of Lombardo-Radice, developed along that fragile and fertile limit that separates formal education from informal education, in a close relation not only with the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thinking tradition (beginning with Jean Jacques Rousseau's Emilio and JH Pestalozzi's Gertrude) but also with his Italian and foreign contemporaries (Maria Boschetti Alberti, Alice Franchetti, Rosa Agazzi, Giuseppina Pizzigoni, Alessandro Marcucci, John Dewey, Célestine Freinet, Adolphe Ferrière, Rudolf Steiner) and with the most recent developments in outdoor education theories, environmental education and environmentalism. Only by diachronically and synchronically comparing Lombardo-Radice's thought and action experience it will be possible to enhance the highly innovative and pedagogically nonconformist content of this Italian educator.

Key words: Lombardo-Radice; Serene School; New School; Education in Nature.

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2.13 PANEL EDUCATION, IDENTITY, LANDSCAPE

Chair: John Allison (Nipissing University)

The Making of “the Sudeten German Landscape“ (1938-45) (English)

Stefan Johann Schatz (Humboldt University Berlin)

The present paper discusses German strategies to instrumentalize the relationship between landscape and identity in school textbooks as a policy of reasoning delineation against the Czech people in the Reichsgau Sudetenland (1938-45)[1].

As a result of the Munich Agreement, the German Wehrmacht occupied the majoritarian German-speaking areas of Czechoslovakia in October 1938. These territories were incorporated into the Deutsches Reich (Nazi-Germany). The largest part of this region, a total area of 22,587 km² with a population of 2,945,261 people, including a minority of 193,793 Czechs (census from 17.05.1939) , was assembled to a distinct administrative division of Nazi Germany, called Reichsgau Sudetenland.

From this moment on, as the Reichsgau Sudetenland came under control of the National Socialists, major restructuring of a high-developed school system along National Socialist ideas came on the agenda. Officials of the Sudeten German school administration claimed assertively that the Sudetenland landscapes must be classified as homogeneous age-old lands of German people. Thus, they argued that the clearing of the old growth forests and the cultivation of landscapes that has been undertaken over centuries have to be explicitly attributed to the German people. On the contrary, Czechs were denoted as temporary guests on the grounds of the Sudetenland in terms of sufferance. This blanket assertion found broad reception in a wide range of Sudeten German publications and school text books after 1938. The statement of grounds of the German occupation policy regarding the repression of the Czech population in the Reichsgau Sudetenland and in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was closely linked to these measures.

By dismantling Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939, about seven million Czechs in the Reichsgau Sudetenland, as well as in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, came under the rule of German command. This paper discusses scenarios of alignment between the categories landscape and identity building in school textbooks as a strategy of the German occupation policy to delineate against the Czech people in the Czech lands from 1938 to 1945. This occupation policy became increasingly repressive between 1938 and 1945 with the explicit objective to suppress the Czech population and their language. Hereby, this policy analysis is thematically linked to other studies of nationalism and identity (Guldin, Trepl, Zechner) regarding the scenarios for the emphasis of natural environments in definitions of nationhood. These strategies of identity building will be analyzed in depth on the basis of school textbooks, teacher magazines and handouts for pupils, which were used in Sudeten German schools between 1938 – 45.

[1]National Statistics Institute: Czechs in the German Reich. BArch Berlin, NS19/2136 Tschechen im Deutschen Reich, fol. 10.

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Landscapes of Missionary Pedagogy: Nature as Place and Ideology (English)

Roberta Wollons (University of Massachusetts Boston)

In the world of missionary education, nature has been a central theme both as a directed experience for children as seen in traditional kindergarten curriculum, and for the missionaries who find themselves located in complex and arresting environments.

Throughout the 19th century, for American women missionaries traveling to new and unfamiliar places, the terrain itself played an important part in their personal and professional experiences. For the conference, I will discuss two aspects of the missionary encounter with nature. First, lessons about nature, originally designed around lush New England flower and vegetable gardens, were transported and adapted not only to different climates, but where nature itself was imbued with alien ideological meaning. Second, women missionaries, located in unfamiliar and sometimes inhospitable environments, at the same time found solace in terrain venerated as sacred in the history of Christianity.

Over the history of Catholic and Protestant missionary enterprises, the environment inspired map making, along with geographical and geological studies by missionary adventurers and scientists. Women missionaries, though, came late to the enterprise in the 1870s primarily as teachers, relying on the environment for pedagogical lessons and personal survival. Gender and vocation, however, did not deter them from making their own observations and finding ways to adapt to and use the natural world as teachers, as individuals, and as Christians.

One of richest sources of insight into how missionaries adapted to their foreign environments came through the publication of *Life and Light for Women* (1873-1922), the journal through which women around the world communicated to one another, and to the people back home who were supporting their work. Women wrote about all aspects of their experiences, personal and professional, and vividly about the environments in their fields of service. For

example, in the Eastern districts of Ottoman Turkey, women found themselves in physically bleak areas, suited to the goats and sheep that grazed the craggy landscape. At the same time, these same women wrote of their sense of awe being in the heart of Byzantium, walking in the steps of the earliest Christians. For them, the natural environment was both physical and spiritual, ordinary and sacred.

In Japan, missionaries transformed the German garden, inspired by Froebel, to the designs of the traditional Japanese garden, where ideas about nature were manifestations of Japanese civic values of discipline and order and poetry.

In southern India, women missionaries wrote of the villages nestled in valleys and hills where they established missionary schools, and of traveling as pilgrims to Kerala where they believed the first century Apostle Thomas founded the Syriac Christians. In this sense, they were both contemporary missionaries on the land, and religious tourists to sacred soil.

These examples will be elaborated, each pointing to themes of pedagogical and personal adaptations to nature, both as physical landscapes and as ideological concepts of social, political, and sacred space. The primary sources will be the voices of the missionaries, as they described their experiences in real time.

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A.D. Gordon (1856-1922): Return to Nature (English)

Yaacov Iram (Bar Ilan University)

Aharon David Gordon is considered as A Labour Zionism ideologue. He was born in Rusia (1856) and imigrated to Ottman Palestine in 1904.

Gordon claimed that the Jewish people in the diaspora were in large cut off from nature by being "imprisoned" within city walls wherever they lived. They therefore lack the habit of labor of the soil . In his view the Jews come back to their Homeland Palestine("Eretz Israel") in order to be planted in their natural soil from which they were uprooted .

Soon after his arrival in Palestine Gordon settled in a Kibbutz and founded the Hapoel Hatzair("The Young Worker"). After his death a Zionist youth movement named of Gordonia was established to follow his teachings and it established several Kibbutzim in Israel.

The aim of this presentation is to present and analyze Gordon's ideas of "Return to nature and soil" and their long lasting impact.

2.14 PANEL NATURE, EDUCATION AND THE ARTS

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

De la geometría a la naturaleza en la enseñanza del dibujo en Argentina (Español)

Elisa Welti (Universidad Nacional de Rosario)

En la Argentina la enseñanza del dibujo estuvo presente en la escuela primaria como ramo de la enseñanza desde la primera etapa de institucionalización del sistema educativo público a fines del siglo XIX. En ese período predominaban las concepciones pestalozzianas, articuladas con el dibujo lineal y geométrico desarrollado por el francés Eugenio Guillaume, que fueron desplazadas en las primeras décadas del siglo XX por el dibujo "del natural".

En este trabajo se analiza ese proceso de reforma en la enseñanza del dibujo iniciado en 1904 que conjugaba las ideas pedagógicas de Rousseau y Spencer con las tendencias del arte de la época y con los debates internacionales acerca de la enseñanza de la disciplina. El principal impulsor de esta reforma fue el pintor y primer Inspector de Dibujo y Trabajo Manual del Consejo Nacional de Educación Martín Malharro, para quien el "método geométrico" había tenido "resultados estrepitosos" (1907: 158). El método considerado más adecuado para el dibujo escolar era "la copia directa del natural" (Malharro, 1907: 153). Proponía "sacar la enseñanza del dibujo de los límites rutinarios o falsos de la estampa para llevarla a los horizontes sin límites y sin barreras del natural amplio y sin restricciones" (Malharro, 1907: 153) y expresaba, además, de manera rotunda la intención que impulsaba este nuevo método: "No copiaremos más estampas, no habrá más cuadernos cuadriculados, no se harán

más retratos de pro-hombres sacados de malas litografías [...] Vamos a estudiar el dibujo aplicando la vida a la interpretación de la vida; el espíritu del alumno al espíritu de las cosas” (Malharro, 1907: 152–153).

Este método tenía sus raíces, según expresaba Malharro, en Rousseau pero debía su orientación definitiva a Herbert Spencer “cuyas ideas al respecto humanizaron la enseñanza de la asignatura, despojándola de la maraña artificiosa e inútil” (Malharro, 1911: 229). La otra referencia de esta reforma, según manifestaba el mismo Malharro, era el II Congreso Internacional de la Enseñanza del Dibujo realizado en Berna en 1904. En las conclusiones del mismo había quedado establecido el fracaso del método geométrico (de Guillaume) frente al método natural. Tales conclusiones destacaban que el dibujo debía enseñarse como una lengua viva y activa, expresión de las visiones naturales y cotidianas.

Esta centralidad de la naturaleza como principio para la enseñanza del dibujo asumió cualidades diferentes al combinarse, décadas más tarde, con la educación estética impulsada por el movimiento escolanovista que tuvo su auge en Argentina en la década del 30 y que reconfiguró la enseñanza de las artes en la escuela elemental.

Este estudio se basa en el análisis de un corpus documental extenso, integrado por publicaciones periódicas (gubernamentales y no gubernamentales), manuales escolares, tratados de enseñanza de la asignatura, planes de estudios para la educación primaria y para la formación de artistas y profesores e informes de Inspección del Consejo Nacional de Educación.

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Nature oriented dancing movement and its political-social influence in Hungary in the 1930s and 1940s (English)

Dorina Szente (Eötvös Loránd University), Imre Garai (Eötvös Loránd University)

In the 1930s established Gyöngyösbokréta-movement was a kind of ‘intellectual reservation’ for the people in Hungary. Thanks to political and social circumstances in this era, wider circles of the public became familiar with this dance movement aiming at preserving elements

of the old folk-culture. That was a key issue for the totalitarian neighbours threatened Hungarian political elite who wanted to refresh the intellectual, political and economic elite from the 'intact and innocent' strata of the society. Consequently, researches were conducted for exploring the livelihood of peasants and preserving their cultural heritage. One of the main aims of Gyöngyösbokréta-movement was to provide different generations with communication forum and therefore inheritance of cultural values. This cultural movement can be perceived as a kind of learning and lecturing circle. Besides dancing and songs, traditional costumes and originality of nature influenced peasant culture were important elements within the movement. As a life reform movement, it was important to be able to preserve the original purity of the folk-culture and make it possible for young generations to get familiar with it. Gyöngyösbokréta performances were art-selected beauties and values. Its aim was to represent the essential elements of Hungarian folk culture for the urban population and foreign guests. Performances were trying to create an atmosphere of reminiscence about people's lost roots. The movement was one of the most important folk art events in the early twentieth century. It attracted a lot of people and gave them the sense of natural and community-based life of life-reform movements. During the research, we used qualitative methods including document analysis and content analysis. Our aim is to demonstrate through the example of this movement how the natural symbols and the peasant culture became more and more important and therefore how it affected the social policy of the era.

La enseñanza de la naturaleza desde una concepción estética y artística en El Monitor de la Educación Común (1880-1910) (Español)

Belén Mercado (IIICE-UBA Argentina)

El presente trabajo se inscribe en el desarrollo de la Tesis Doctoral titulada "El pensamiento de intelectuales artistas y pedagogos: historia de las ideas en la relación arte, política, buen gusto y educación durante la conformación del sistema educativo argentino (1880-1908) dirigida por el Dr. Pablo Pineau. Pretendemos explorar una idea aborda la escuela como objeto de estudio estético, en su dimensión dinámica y activa superando la mirada sobre ella como un objeto estático e inmutable.

En este encuentro queremos explorar cómo aparece, en el período analizado, la enseñanza de saberes de la naturaleza apelando a su dimensión estética y artística. Diferentes intelectuales del campo del arte y la estética, esbozaron sus ideas acerca de los saberes artísticos que debían ser puestos a disposición de los niños de modo de contribuir a su formación artística. Entre ellos se destacan los temas históricos, las grandes obras de arte, y también las imágenes de la geografía nacional, la fauna y la flora. La obra de arte con contenido sobre la naturaleza deviene así (entre otras posibilidades) un recurso para conocer el propio territorio y cultura nacional junto con la posibilidad de aprender sobre el contenido de que se trate en una clase de Botánica. Como se expresa en la reseña publicada en la revista El Monitor N° 436 de 1909, el Consejo Nacional de Educación crea la Oficina de Ilustraciones y Decorado Escolar en Agosto de 1908 siguiendo la iniciativa de José María Ramos Mejía se señalaba sobre ella:

"la sentida necesidad de someter el decorado de nuestras escuelas, hasta la fecha librada a la buena voluntad del maestro, á un plan de cultura estética de acuerdo con nuestros progresos educacionales y que tienda á difundir el buen gusto y propagar el conocimiento de las bellas

artes conjuntamente con las bellezas de nuestra tierra y la efigie más exacta posible de los hombres que, en una u otra forma, han contribuido a su independencia, cultura y apogeo” (Visitante, 1909:4).

En el marco de la tesis exploramos el debate político y pedagógico de los intelectuales de la educación y del arte acerca de la relación entre el mundo artístico y el educativo. En el período estudiado, de organización del sistema educativo nacional, todas eran decisiones por tomarse y debates que argumentaban y posicionaban las mismas. De allí que se seleccionara como objeto de investigación abordar ese debate y esas definiciones en torno a la discusión política pedagógica de la inclusión del arte en la escuela, en tanto que, sostenemos como hipótesis principal, que dichas decisiones también contribuyeron a la conformación de un sujeto social con determinadas características, propias del proyecto educativo normalista en el marco del proyecto político modernizador que la Argentina estaba atravesando.

Nuestra fuente principal es El Monitor de la Educación Común, ya que la entendemos como un espacio de privilegio en el que intelectuales y referentes de la pedagogía y del arte volcaban sus ideas y divulgaban sus posicionamientos respecto al tema en tratamiento. La cuestión de la naturaleza como contenido y su apropiación desde una dimensión estética y artística requiere una aproximación minuciosa y artesanal a las fuentes en tanto que es un abordaje novedoso para el campo de la historia de la educación argentina al que esperamos llegar con algún aporte para su discusión en este evento y en la articulación con la investigación que contiene esta presentación.

Nature as a subject in art education in pre-state Israeli schools (English)

Miriam Steinhardt (Tel Aviv University)

Nature and education are tied together. My purpose in this talk is to present nature in art education in Israeli schools as part of the curriculum. It evolved into a dominant subject from 1900~ to 1950~.

Nature ‘as such’ is defined all that existed always, while education is purely human creation and is relatively modern.

For many generations artistic subjects were not allowed to be part of the Jewish education and culture because of the Biblical order (You should not create a statue and image... Exodus 20:4). However, the Bible is often uses nature, metaphorically, for human description e.g. “The righteous will flourish like a palm tree...” (Psalm102, 13-14). In spite of it, the traditional Jewish education in schools, which was based for centuries, on the Holy Scriptures. Thus, in the Jewish culture there was only a marginal part for art education. In addition to it, in the Diaspora, Jews were not allowed to own land and to deal with agriculture. So, they were not in daily contact with nature. However, with the introduction of the modern education in the pre-state Israel in the 20th century, different forms of art and drawing were introduced into the school`s curriculum.

The first pedagogical attempt to tie between drawing and nature was done by Amos Comenius. In his book: “Orbis Pictus” (1658) Comenius added pictures of living creatures with their names. The novelty was, that the pictures, became a norm also in art teaching. From the end of the 19th century these creatures became the subjects in drawing in art classes, also in Hebrew schools. A very convincing example of using drawings and illustrations in

research was provided by Alexander Von Humboldt in his long Journey in South America. His drawings of nature were essential part of his research. Was he so talented? Did he learn to draw?

Both, in the western world as well as in Israel the main aim of teaching art was to educate the student about the close environment, to teach him biology, and to train him in precise painting (in the pre-camera era) of the environment and the living creatures in it.

Further, it was to train the students to prepare pictures for illustrations in books, especially, in the natural sciences.

Specifically, in Israel, national goals were added such as knowing the country, the plants, the animals, the landscapes, the holy sites as well as the new sites.

A question arose as what changed the Jewish tradition to include nature as a subject for art education. This subject will be discussed with the relevant pictures, in my talk.

With the progress of urbanization, new ideas became part of art education. It started with technical drawing of coping plaster models and towards deeper observation of nature. As a result, the need for better education of art became clear. The child psychology also contributed much to this approach.

In this talk I would like to show the evolution of drawing and painting of nature in schools abroad and in the Pre-State Israel over a period of fifty years.

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2.15 PANEL WONDERS OF NATURE

Chair: Vera Moser (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Recycling embryos: public education and the culture of curiosity, 1660-1840 (English)

Alan Ross (Humboldt University Berlin)

This article examines the challenges presented by existing collections during the transformations that saw cabinets of natural curiosities absorbed and reorganized in public museums during the early nineteenth century. My article focuses on the Linck collection in Saxony, one of the oldest and best-documented collections of early modern naturalia still in

existence. It traces the process of its transformation from a pharmacist's cabinet to an educational museum which was to be a part of a teacher training college in a factory town. I will be focusing particularly on the examples of animal embryos in that collection which were taken out of the alcohol and taxidermied in the fashion of fully-grown animals. This article argues that, contrary to the outspoken educational purpose of the foundation of these museums, rather than leading to the creation of anatomically accurate displays, the transition from private cabinets to public exhibits put pressure on the curators to transform items deemed to be unfit for public display such as mammals preserved in alcohol. The resulting specimen therefore perpetuated the fashions of the 'curiously set up' displays of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rather than furthering the self-prescribed purpose of the new museums to acquaint a larger public with nature.

Birds as Teachers in the First Swedish Fable Translation from 1603 (English)

Iris Ridder (Dalarna University)

Collections of Aesop's fables have been read since ancient times and belong to the most influential works in world literature. They have been translated into many languages and are still used in schools today. A first Swedish collection of fables was compiled in the early 17th century and played an important part in Swedish efforts to implement Lutheran Reformation. The scholarly discussion about confessionalization in Sweden is, of course, dominated by Luther's Little Catechism, which was aimed at children and uneducated adults. I want to supplement that discussion by looking at the significance of Aesop's fables for the confessionalization process in Sweden (Zellén 2005), and more precisely at the role of animals, especially birds, in them. The translation of Hundrade Esopi fabler as an important link between the German and Swedish reformation was published in Stockholm by Anund Olufsson in 1603. It is based on the German version of Nathan Chytraeus from 1571, also known as Luther's Aisopos. Martin Luther was a great admirer of Aisopo's fables and assigned them a status second only to that of the Bible. Luther translated his own fables and strongly supported their use in Lutheran schools. Collections of entertaining texts, such as Aesop's fables, were commonly used in the early modern school to connect teaching with entertainment. This concept was summarized by the formula Ernst und Scherz – jest and earnest – (Curtius 1984), and from that perspective, Aisopo's fables serve as a significant example.

As early as in the first ancient collections of fables, only animals were protagonists and intermediaries of knowledge. But why choose animals for this purpose? In my paper I will specifically investigate birds because it seems that particularly after the Reformation, they served well as teachers in these texts. The question was initiated through my work with a Danish version of an oracle game book from the late 16th century (Ridder 2014). The so-called Bird Parliament is a genre which is connected with the Conference of the Birds, a literary form where birds debate virtues. The genre is linked to Aesop's fables and developed into an oracle game text. The text was translated in Lutheran Denmark in the second half of the 16th century, and communicates virtues and vices in a playful way. Inspired by the Danish oracle text that teaches specific knowledge through animals - mainly birds - I want to explore how playful learning is realized with the help of Aesop's fables. The bird stories in the Swedish translation of Hundrade Esopi fabler show an understanding of the intersection of learning and play. The didactic intention of the work as a whole is based on Erasmus Alberus's model

of “learning through pictures” (Lehre durch Bilder), which he describes in his fable collection. The model is included in the Chytraeus fable book and therefore also in the Swedish translation. The aim is to describe, from a historical perspective, a concept of playful literary education, which is, with few exceptions, a yet unexplored topic (Kaulen 2009).

Hundrade Esopi fabler, någre aff D. M. Luthero, somblighe aff Mathesio, och en deel aff Nathanæle Chytræo, på det tyska språket tilhopadragne. Ithem Esopi leffuarne, aff Erasmo Albero beskiffuit. Sampt D. M: Lutheri förspråk om thene lille boks nytta, och hennes rätta bruk. Ungdomen uthi vårt kära fädernesland Swerige til öppning, rättelse och lärdom. Förswendskadhe aff Nicolao Balk Stockholmense. Anund Olufsson 1603.

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Cultural History Museums: Transforming Arenas for Public Pedagogy in the shadow of Anthropocene (English) Carola Nordbäck (Mid Sweden University)

The overall topic of this paper is the historical narration and representation of nature and nonhuman animals in cultural history museums. Museums produce knowledge and convey narratives about history as well as the contemporary society to the public. Moreover, they constantly produce narratives about the relation between humans, nonhumans and the natural environment. Museums are educational institutions and the pedagogical activities that are arranged are a part of the history of education. Furthermore, within the fields of history didactics, museums have been described as learning environments promoting historical understanding and historical consciousness.

The purpose of this paper is to develop a deeper understanding of the ongoing changes in the museums' public work and at the same time offer a contribution to the history of (museum) education as a field. This will be done through describing and historicizing the current pedagogical activities in museums, particularly activities aimed at schools related to climate changes, sustainability and the relation both between nature and culture and between human and nonhuman animals. Hence, this paper discusses how museums have maintained and constructed boundaries between nature and culture through history and relate this to the ongoing processes of change. In doing this, the selected theoretical framework will be

especially important. This is based on ecocritical pedagogy, environmental history, and posthuman studies.

The empirical base for the analysis is mainly derived from two ongoing studies that examine museum education by investigating pedagogical school programs in Swedish museums, doing interviews with museum teachers and doing visual studies of museum exhibitions. I will present some of my research findings and let them form the starting point for a historicizing discussion in which the findings will be discussed in their historical context. The main questions of this discussion are: What role have cultural museums played in the enforcement of boundaries between nature and culture? How are these boundaries changing today? Why are they changing? The theme of the conference, i.e. the interplay of nature, society and education, will be discussed in the light of new research results concerning Swedish museum education and the paper will illuminate how cultural museums are trying to adapt to the global narrative of the Anthropocene. How does this adaptation affect the understanding of nature and culture?

“Individuality“, “Unnaturalness“ and “Child Prodigies“ – Discursive connections between age norms and deviation in the course of the implementation of compulsory education in Prussia 1800-1930 (English)

Daniel Töpfer (Humboldt University Berlin)

Though attempts to implement compulsory schooling were made in Prussia in the course of the 18th century, only in the 19th century results can be traced. Parallel to the increasing inclusion of the population in the developing school system specific exclusions were developed. This part of the history of the school system is covered by research on special school system (e.g. Hänsel & Schwager, 2004; Schmidt, 1996; Solarová, 1983). However, those works mostly start with the emergence of specific institutions. In my paper I want to point out that discursive attempts to conceptualize norm expectations and deviation were discussed in articles concerned with age questions before an institutional response was established. The question concerning the connection between age norms and exclusion in the pedagogical discourse can be answered by focusing on the resource of pedagogical reference books. Therefore, I compiled a sample of influential books and identified inside those terms that dealt with age norms and norm deviations (see for the resource reference books Brachmann, 2008). Firstly, on this basis the close relation between age norms and norm deviations can be identified. Secondly, specific tendencies in the discursive discussion can be described and thirdly the multiple values of the concept of age can be revived.

Concerning the close relation and the discursive development it can be shown that deviation only became an issue with the implementation of compulsory schooling. Prior to that, these questions were not considered specifically (see Campe & Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher, 1785-1792). Only after a first age distinction was introduced in schools from the middle of the century onwards, terms dealing with deviation were coined. The terms „Wunderkinder“ (“Child Prodigies”) and „Individualität“ (“Individuality”) in Hergang’s „Pädagogischer Real-Encyclopädie“ (1843-1847) can be seen as examples. However, in both cases the quality of the deviation is not yet qualified. The trend towards a stronger focus on age stratification and deviation continued during the century, see e.g. Rolfus & Pfister, 1866. Here “Unnatur” (“Unnaturalness”) is described as everything “that in education and in the class as well as in thinking and living leaves natural ground” (Vol. 4., p. 502, transl. by DT). Deviation still is not

described in detail. Only at the beginning of the 20th century manifold terms occur, which indicate stabilized institutional treatment. For example in Rein's work (1903-1911) there are specific terms for moral („Rettungsanstalten“), psychological („Idiotie und Idiotenanstalten“) and physical deviation („Krüppelheime“). At the end of the century age differentiation accelerates, which is accompanied by a stronger differentiation of the types of deviation. It is interesting to consider that while the conceptual and institutional differentiation of deviation is still progressing, the different meanings of age become blurred towards a seemingly self-evident natural course. In this sense the paper wants to reconstruct the discursive story behind “unnatural” deviation in the 19th century before it became a case for institutional treatment.

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2.16 PANEL NATURE AND THE DISABLED

Chair: Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

“Why Can’t I Live at Home, I Wouldn’t be a Problem”: The History of Disability Studies and a Disabled Adult’s Autobiography (English)

Susan Semel (City College of New York, CUNY Graduate Center), Alan Sadovnik (Rutgers University-Newark), Nikki Solyom (Collegiate School New York City)

The purpose of this paper is to analyze a developmentally disabled adult’s autobiography (oral history) and to give her voice about her life, problems and desires and to frame her story in the context of the history of disability studies in education. Our daughter, 48, has lived at a residential school and then group homes from the age of 17, but has never been able to accept living there. Her desire is to live at home with us and she cannot understand the reasons this is not possible. She is writing her autobiography, which is now up to 580 pages. This paper will use the history of disability studies to frame her and our perspectives as her mother and stepfather and, most importantly, use her autobiography and ours as a way to critique radical disability studies advocates, who often argue that disabilities are socially constructed and may disappear if the labels disappear. We frame our analysis around the themes of disabilities as natural or socially constructed. We argue that her disability is real and neurological (IQ 69) and although the reactions to her disability by others may be socially constructed, her disability is real and will not go away if the label goes away. Thus, the paper argues that intellectual disabilities are in large measure natural and the reaction to them social and uses our daughter’s autobiography to show how the historical development of disability studies has gone too far in negating the natural components of intellectual disability. Finally, we argue that we need to combine labeling theory in sociology and neuroscientific theories to understand intellectual disabilities.

Our perspective is one that combines labeling theory in sociology with neuroscientific theories of intellectual disabilities and argues we need a synthesis of sociological and neuroscientific approaches. The primary method is the autobiographical method of our daughter and then discourse analysis of her stories. We use our own autobiographical method to provide our own stories related to raising and supporting our daughter. These are then tied to the history of disability studies. Our daughter’s autobiography and our stories in reaction to it are the main data sources.

This paper provides a first person account written by a developmentally disabled adult of what it is like to be developmentally disabled, to live in a group home and desperately to want to live at home. Second, it provides first person accounts by parents of what it is like to raise and support this developmentally disabled adult. Third, it provides a critique of radical disability studies and argues that disabilities are real and do not disappear if labels disappear. Fourth, it situates the analysis in the history of disability studies; and fifth, it situates the study of intellectual disabilities in a natural, not just social approach.

Nature, Senses and Inclusive Education: The Case Study of Helen Keller School (English)

Maria Romeiras Amado (Universidade de Lisboa)

My study focuses on Centro Helen Keller, a Portuguese school intended to instate blind and sighted pupils, and on the importance for the school’s pedagogic and social purposes of its natural surroundings, part of the Monsanto Forest, a 2500 acres park on the outskirts of Lisbon.

Centro Helen Keller is a Portuguese school, both for blind and sighted pupils, founded in 1955 by Portuguese MD and pedagogue João dos Santos, pedagogue and teacher Maria Amália Borges and by ophthalmologists Mário and Henrique Moutinho.

Based on the work of the Associação Portuguesa da Profilaxia da Cegueira, issued from the Haia convention of 1922, its primary intentions were to include students with diverse sensorial characteristics, namely within the field of vision, in a regular school, thus providing a constructive social interaction. It was meant to be an innovative project using Freinet techniques specifically to provide non-disabled and disabled children the chance to interact, not in a regular school environment but in a community project, linked to life outside the school walls and traditional parameters and full of outdoor experiences and respect for nature.

In 1956, the Associação Portuguesa para a Profilaxia da Cegueira and Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian invited Helen Keller to visit Portugal, and named the school after her. Those were rough political times in Portugal. After a decade of struggle, some of the founders and new directors of the school were able to negotiate adequate facilities from the city council. At Restelo, Lisbon, in a spacious and aerate location within the huge natural city park of Monsanto, the new Centro Infantil Helen Keller was finally able to give their pupils a new space where several experiences could take place with enlarged richness of teaching contents.

As sensorial similarities and differences were in play, both a garden and a community vegetable garden were cultivated by the children. In addition, a small animal farm was developed and later an assistance dog was present both in classes and in recess. Ecological projects were developed, committed with city recycling projects. Thus, nature assumed an important part on the sensorial recognition and study of the surrounding world: it contributed to the cooperation between the blind and the sighted students and teachers, allowing them to perceive new ways of social interaction.

Accordingly, the ontology of the student subjects and their daily narrative of the school as a community was strongly enhanced by the possibilities of the natural environment particularly on a school that intended the integration of different abled bodies and diverse sensorial abilities. As such, the sound, smell, ear, touch and sight (or description) of nature's elements stimulated the pedagogic work, and thus the social competences, lesson thematics and social interaction intended by the school's original project.

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The 'idiot' and the 'chain of being'. Nature and mind in the discourse on mental disability in 19th century Holland (English)

Annemieke van Drenth (Leiden University)

In his *Vorlesungen über den Menschen* (1863) the German scientist, philosopher and politician Carl Vogt (1817-1895) discussed the various stages of being in between the natural category of 'apes' on the one hand, and that of 'humans', that is to say rational men, on the other hand. In order to develop idea of these in-between-stages, Vogt proposed to look into the state of mind of individuals with microcephaly, who he considered to be 'born idiots'. According to Vogt, they represented an important link in the chain of being. Implied in this statement was the representation of the category of 'idiots' as animalistic by nature. Through their proximity to apes, these 'born idiots' could be considered an earlier stage in the chain of life, in which humans were superior. Earlier on the Dutch anthropologist Petrus Camper (1722-1789) had developed a way to measure the facial structure of individuals (the so-called facial-angle) by which the skull came central in assessing the status of mind of the individual. Using this 'theory of facial-angle' in the case of a 'congenital idiot', Vogt noted that 'Der Kopf ist ganz der eines Affen'.

The aim of this paper is to trace back this discourse on nature and mind in the first Dutch initiative to educate children with idiocy, developed by the Minister C.E van Koetsveld in the middle of the nineteenth century. In his 1856 monography on *Idiotism and the School for Idiots* Van Koetsveld introduced 'idiocy' by working with the ideas of professor Jan van der Hoeven (1802-1868) who held a chair in 'natural history' at Leiden University since 1835. In 1855 Van der Hoeven had stipulated the importance of education for children with idiocy by translating and commenting an originally Danish paper entitled 'On the treatment and cure of Idiots'. The paper was published in the Dutch journal *Album der Nature* and used by Van Koetsveld in his monography. In my research I examine how both 'phrenology' and 'will' were used by Van Koetsveld in order to understand te problem over 'nature' and 'mind' in relation to mental development and disability. Important is the context in which this specific discourse functioned in the mid-19th century, when revisions of the traditional perception of 'the great chain of being' were written, for example by Charles Darwin's in his *On the Origins of Species* (1859).

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Gymnastics as an educational tool for children with mental deficit: the “Istituto San Vincenzo” of Milan between the XIX and XX centuries (English)

Anna Debè (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

The “Istituto San Vincenzo” had come into being at the end of the XIX century in Milan on the initiative of the priest Luigi Casanova, rector of the Pious Institute for the Poor Deaf and Dumb of the same city. By providing an answer to the needs of education of the psychic abnormal children in the area, the institution, which was financially supported by the charity of private citizens, was immediately successful, as it filled a conspicuous gap in the city. The main purpose of the Institute was the integration of the disabled children into society, mainly through an intellectual, moral and religious education and also a professional training. Furthermore, a prominent place was occupied by the physical education, which was translated both in teaching to the child the basic knowledge about hygiene and healthy nutrition, and in proposing appropriate gymnastic exercises. Gymnastics was considered a valuable educational tool because, interesting and attracting the child as pleasant and fun, it promoted the attention, seriously compromised in children with mental deficits, and led the pupils to become aware of their body. Following the positive results obtained by this type of education, two sports teams were formed at the Institute, called “Gli Ultimi” [“The last ones”] (male children from 8 years of age with low mental deficit) and “I Minimi” [“The minimums”] (male children aged 5-7), that attended local and national gymnastic competitions. In spite of the teams names, still expression of a cultural prejudice towards the mentally disabled, these events were useful occasions for the disabled children to perceive themselves as an active part of the Italian youth gathered to show the good results obtained following a specific physical care.

The paper, summarizing the results of an archival and bibliographical research, highlights the investment placed by the “Istituto San Vincenzo” on the physical care of children with mental deficit. Particularly, specific attention is given to the natural world as an educational settings that allows intellectually impaired to move and play, but also to improve intellectual faculties and social behaviors.

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2.17 PANEL NATURE, TECHNOLOGY AND THE SCIENCES

Chair: Michèle Hofmann (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

Between “Medical and Pedagogical Pathology” – A Critical Discourse Analysis of Illness as Metaphorical Concept in German Education, 1890-1933 (English)

Le Zhang (Humboldt University Berlin)

“The human being is an organism and, as such, is subject to what are known as biological laws. This is the reason why many theories of both the past and the present have tried to interpret social phenomena as a variety of life phenomena”. Pitirim Sorokin, a well-known Russian-born American sociologist, sketched a view of the rise of transatlantic Bio-Organismic School since Mid-19th Century and searched for an impetus of biological interpretations in his “Contemporary Sociological Theories”, published in 1928. With the background of this great achievement of biological sciences and medical sciences in the nineteenth century, while a vigorous and popular school of social thought - the organismic theories of society - “was based on an exact parallel with the life sciences” (Cohen: 49), the using of organic metaphors for constructing a new theory, even a new science in emulation of biology and medical sciences was also emerging in the field of German pedagogy. Before a systematic discussion of analogical even homological thinking of “La pathologie sociale” (Paul von Lilienfeld, 1896) in sociology, Ludwig Strümpell, one of the most prestigious but now nearly forgotten German Herbartian pedagogue of the Fin de siècle, has already tried to establish a new subject of “Pädagogische Pathologie” with a more cautious reflection of “the analogies and the differences between medical and pedagogical pathology” (1892: 75). Those intellectual practices have not only advanced the child development research etc., but also represented the trend of an organismic constructing of educational phenomena by biological and medical discourses. Contrapuntal to the ontological metaphor of pedagogical research object as “an organic body”, “Illness” became gradually an important metaphorical concept during the late German Empire up to the Weimar Republic. Benefit from the old German organismic ideas about education and the recent biological and medical knowledge, the using of “Illness” metaphor was not purely academic topic but rather linked to policy and ideology questions, surrounded by the struggle and controversy of building one “organically organized” German schooling (Weimar Constitution, Article 146). In this paper, I seek to analyze the using of Illness as metaphorical concept in German education from approx. 1890 to 1933. To avoid of a Whig view of history, the intellectual originality and innovation rather than the “failure” of the organismic pedagogical practices will be particularly focused in two dimensions: First, I’ll try to draw a brief outline of historical interactions between pedagogy, biology and medical sciences during the study period, especially how Virchow’s Cellular Pathology stimulated a new understanding of illness as educational metaphor. Secondly, a major theme of the research is the role of analogies between medical pathology and pedagogical pathology, or more precisely, how the category and classification of pathological discipline and knowledge (Etiology, Therapeutics and Symptomatology etc.) were used to shape a new pedagogical systematics with internally coherent structuring of educational experience and therefore, a possibility of pathologizing of educational phenomena in the study period.

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Scholars and Gentlemen: Masculinity in British Science in the Early Nineteenth Century (English)

Heather Ellis (University of Sheffield)

Most cultural histories of science and natural knowledge in early nineteenth century Britain have tended to focus on the ways in which scientific discourse, practices and institutions were systematically used to exclude women from scientific culture. Relatively little attention has been paid to the masculine self-fashioning of male scientists. If referred to at all, the masculine identity of 'men of science' is often reduced to a fairly simple narrative of professionalization, where an eighteenth-century Enlightenment model of scientific culture, defined by a mixed-sex sociability, was systematically replaced by a male-dominated, specialized scientific profession over the course of the nineteenth century.

Drawing on research conducted during my recently completed project, 'Masculinity and Science in Britain, 1831-1914', this paper will question the extent to which the male scientist constituted a secure masculine identity in early nineteenth-century Britain. It will begin by examining the public representation of those conducting research on the natural world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It will suggest that such individuals frequently encountered accusations of effeminacy, linked to traditional assumptions about the socially-isolated life of a scholar.

Moreover, it will argue that these accusations contributed materially to the perception that science itself was 'declining' in Britain during this period. In particular, the paper will focus on the foundation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) in 1831, which was itself, in large part, a reaction and response to fears about the 'decline' of science in Britain. It will be suggested that the BAAS founders were keen to popularize a new masculine ideal of science based upon Francis Bacon's starkly gendered vision of inductive science presented in his *New Atlantis* (1627).

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The Gestaltung Lessons (English)

Jose Munoz Alvis (Humboldt University Berlin)

“Play, building and Gestaltung” are the three fundamental activities of Friedrich Fröbel’s program of education, which, in the format of kindergarten, should guide children to their self-development.¹ While Fröbel’s notion of play and building has been recognized as determinant components for the configuration, transformation and stabilization of culture, the idea of Gestaltung has been understood as an intrinsic element into the activities with the kindergarten’s learning materials. Under the concept of “design” Fröbel’s notion of Gestaltung has found a place in the English-speaking countries since the beginning of the 20th century.² Recent attempts to describe Gestaltung have been developed in order to find a possible influence of Fröbel’s program of education in the work of architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright.³ However, an examination of Fröbel’s background in crystallography shows that Gestaltung is neither an inherent activity of playing and building nor an activity based on the repetition of patterns. Rather, it was conceived as a concrete activity of composition which roots are located in Fröbel’s understanding of nature as a dynamic system. As a former crystallographer, Fröbel considered nature as the materialization produced by the arrangement of opposite forces.⁴ This model, developed within the polar theory of crystallization, required a non traditional geometric method to describe the phenomena of nature into mathematical terms. On the light of the spherical geometry nature was conceived as a part of a principle of organization grounded on the identification of geometric elements.⁵ In this respect, the Gestaltung (composition) of nature was seen as a regular process inscribed into the principles of this dynamic system.⁶ Children’s understanding of the parameters that define the Gestaltung of nature through the observation of natural phenomena was a relevant interest during the first education’s program of Fröbel.⁷ In a second period, Fröbel appealed to the training of children in the principles of natural growth through the activities with the learning materials of the kindergarten, known as Gifts and Occupations.⁸

This paper provides a reflection on the principles of natural growth, defined in the core of the German polar theory of crystallization, as the settings to develop the learning activities at Fröbel’s kindergarten. For this purpose, Fröbel’s geometric descriptions in his program of education, the design of the Gifts 2 and 3, as well as the learning activities developed with these materials will be examined. The aim is to argue that Fröbel’s impetus in training children with the Gifts and Occupations was to instruct them in the principles of Gestaltung in which nature grows. Historians have treated Fröbel’s notion of nature into the frame of the German Romanticism, this perspective of addressing Fröbel’s background as a crystallographer could offer new lights for considering a revision about the legacy of Friedrich Fröbel.

¹Friedrich Froebel, *Die Menschenerziehung*, reprint of 1826 edition. (Taipei, Taiwan; Bristol, England: Unifacmanu Trading; Thoemmes Press, 1994), 54.

²cf. Friedrich Fröbel, *Friedrich Fröbel’s Pedagogics of the Kindergarten. or His Ideas Concerning the Play and Playthings of the Child*, trans. Josephine Jarvis (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904), 130; cf. Kate Wiggin and Nora Smith, *The Republic of Childhood. Froebel’s Gifts* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1895), 84.

³cf. Jeanne Rubin, *Intimate Triangle: Architecture of Crystals, Frank Lloyd Wright and the Froebel Kindergarten*, 1st ed. (Huntsville, AL: New Century Pharmaceuticals, 2002); cf. Norman Brosterman, *Inventing Kindergarten* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1997).

4Froebel, Die Menschenerziehung, 206.

5cf. K. H. Wiederkehr, "Christian Samuel Weiß (1780–1856) Unter Dem Einfluss Der Romantischen Naturphilosophie Und Sein Briefwechsel Mit H. Chr. Oersted Über Atomistik Und Dynamik," Centaurus 31, no. 1 (1988): 71–72.

6Friedrich Fröbel, "Die Kugel Und Der Würfel Als Zweites Spielzeug Des Kindes (1838)," in „Kommt, Lasst Uns Unsern Kindern Leben“. Aus Dem Pädagogischen Werk Eines Menschenerziehers, vol. 3 (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1982), 85.

7cf. Friedrich Fröbel, "Der Spaziergang in Der Mitte Des Jenners," in Die Erziehenden Familien. Wochenblatt Für Die Bildung Selbstbildung Und Anderer, vol. 4 (DIPF / BBF / Archive: Nachlass Friedrich Fröbel: Friedrich Fröbel, 1826), 50–60.

8cf. Friedrich Fröbel, "Eine Vollständige Briefliche Darstellung Der Beschäftigungsmittel Im Kindergarten," in Die Pädagogik Des Kindergartens, ed. W. Lange, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Th. Chr. Fr. Enslin, 1874), 559–582.

Los manuales para el aprendizaje de oficios en el contexto de la educación primaria industrial mexicana (Español)

Monica del Carmen Meza-Mejía (Universidad Panamericana)

En México, el currículo de las artes mecánicas, se consideró ad hoc para las clases pobres de la sociedad, en parte porque les habilitaban pronto para hacerse de medios para sobrevivir en el ambiente urbano, y en parte, por la dificultad que implicaba el ascenso social, en un entorno que favorecía mayormente a las clases privilegiadas. Por ello, la educación industrial, la cual podría definirse como un tipo de educación orientada a la práctica, y pragmática en cuanto a la adecuación de sus ramos al avance de la ciencia y la tecnología para atender las necesidades inmediatas del mercado laboral, habilitó mediante la repetición de actos mecánicos a los aprendientes de algún oficio, mayormente para contratarse como aprendices u oficiales. En este sentido, la llamada educación industrial quedó por muchos años reducida a llevar a un ambiente escolarizado, las prácticas del oficio que de manera empírica se institucionalizaban en un taller, hasta que paulatinamente fue transformándose en un campo de saber plenamente técnico.

La directriz educativa de la escuela industrial, se dirigió a proyectar al joven hacia la ciudadanía plena, la cual implicaba una nueva moral social y una nueva distribución del tiempo urbano asociado al trabajo, la cual valoraba la utilidad del individuo en cuanto a su capacidad de contribución nacional y combatía los males sociales, que fueron objeto de persecución y reclusión. Acorde con las ideas liberales, la instrucción y la capacitación para el trabajo tuvieron un papel fundamental toda vez que eran un medio de aculturación y de integración nacional. Sin embargo, la cristalización de estas ideas ha de considerarse desde la base que les dio forma. De un lado, los programas ilustrados que en Europa circunscribieron la educación popular al aprendizaje de las primeras letras y de oficios, en escuelas patrióticas, por ejemplo. Y de otro, la asimilación de esos programas en la realidad mexicana, en donde se consideraban los asilos de pobres como lugar idóneo para aprender oficios y manufacturas útiles. Si bien desde el siglo de las Luces surgió la idea de dar una educación útil y práctica a las clases menesterosas, no fue sino hasta el siglo XIX cuando se instituyó el aprendizaje de artes manuales en la instrucción primaria mexicana, toda vez que todos los niños debían

aprender un oficio “y sobre todo, aquellos que no tienen otro auxilio para salvar los límites de la clase proletaria” (Ramírez, 1889, p. 176).

Apoyaban la enseñanza y el aprendizaje una serie de recursos. Uno de estos recursos especialmente apreciados en la institución, fueron los libros que apoyaban el aprendizaje de oficios. Se trataba de, libros que en su contenido recopilaban lo esencial del oficio específico y lo mostraban de forma didáctica al lector para que aprendiera por sí mismo. Los libros como construcciones sociales pueden ser comprendidos como un hecho social, estudiando alrededor de este objeto diferentes elementos, tanto su materialidad, sus contenidos y muy especialmente como elementos constitutivos para el aprendizaje de artes y oficios. Este es el objetivo del análisis que se propone.

THURSDAY August 30 11:00 - 12:30

3

3.1 SWG HISTORY OF LAIC EDUCATION (2/4)

LAIC EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS, CURRICULA, TEXTBOOKS AND PRINTED MEDIA

Chair: Adelina Arredondo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

Laicism and Religious Practices at the Origins of the Secondary School in Argentina: Continuities and Ruptures between Institutions (English)

Felicitas Acosta (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento)

Studies of the origins of public secondary schooling in Argentina usually consider as 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 a number of provinces based on a similar institutional model, a network sustained by the national government. That model revolved around a humanist curricula designed to educate the provinces’ elites (Tedesco, 1986; Dussel, 1997; Acosta, 2012). There were throughout Argentina, however, institutions that performed functions like those later performed by the colegios nacionales, some of which were later turned into schools of that sort (Schoo, 2014).

The aim of this work is to analyze the passage from those existing institutions to the colegios nacionales and other later institutions in relation specifically to the role of religious practices and religious instruction in both sorts of institutions. Unlike primary school, for which a law was passed prohibiting religious instruction, the extension of secondary schools as colegios nacionales did not occasion debate on the religious question or the passage of any law on the issue. At the institutions founded before 1863, religion was part of students’ daily life and of the 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. The hypothesis of this paper is that at colegios nacionales knowledge and information displaced the legitimation of authority that had been at play in religious practice at those earlier institutions. That displacement was possible thanks to the fact that the colegio nacional’s institutional model did not break with the earlier institutions’ emphasis on a humanist curriculum. Along those lines, Tröhler and Lenz (2015) point out that in the actual organization of education systems there are rules and practices that represent traditions, meaning cultural models based on inherited orders and systems of reason, and that those traditions are what ensure the cultural continuity necessary for the successful implementation of new laws and policies.

This work looks to primary and secondary sources. The former include the curricula and rules at four institutions created before 1863 that were later turned into colegios nacionales, schools in Entre Ríos, Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Tucumán. The secondary sources consist of studies of the organization of those institutions as well as autobiographical novels by former students at them. The period covered goes from 1850 to 1920.

Presencia de ideas republicanas y laicas en los manuales escolares de geografía y en la prensa educativa colombiana durante la se-gunda mitad del siglo XIX (Español)

Luis Alfonso Alarcón Meneses (Universidad del Atlántico)

In XIX century, Colombian national and local life was characterized, as in the whole of Latin America, by the presence of a political discourse of a republican nature in which the representations and imaginaries about nation, country, citizenship, people, secularism, territory and patriotism, among others, reached an important presence in different sectors of colombian society. Education was one of the sectors in which this speech was presented. In this educational scenario, the republican discourse was disseminated through various means: the press, patriotic commemorative spaces patriotic, the teacher's disconse and, in particular, textbooks. Despite its limited and the difficulties in terms of its circulation, they managed to play a leading role in the construction of the republican imaginary of the young generations of citizens educatere in an school environement.

This paper deals with the presence and the meaning of republican and secular discourse of geography textbooks and in the educational press that circulated in the Colombian Caribbean region in the second half of the XIX century. We intend here to explore and analyze the representations and imaginaries present in the textbooks used by the citizenship training process that was carried out during the federal period, during which time we sought to implement an educational system base dan secular stnadards to educate the individuals required by this republican regime.

To achieve this goal, this paper revises a documentary corpus consisting of geography textbooks. Together with the educational press, there instruments here used by the civic pedagogy to build a new social imaginary that had already begun to form firmly during the independence that the country experienced in the first decades of the XIX century. This found in the schools a space to break out the old traditional communal ties and to forge others, based on the rationality of the written culture.

In fact, the nineteenth-century school, one of the main founding institutions of the "national soul", found in these textbooks an effective instrument to construnt a new social order in which individuals, converted into citizens, could assume a rational, civilized behavior both in private spaces and in their public life.

These textual typologies became strategies applied to promote the nation-building project, which necessarily include the existence of a citizenry that recognized the power of writing, erected in the area of law, of authority, in the foundational and creative power of the new institutional order. For this reason, writing manuals and catechisms during the nineteenth century had a great importance throughout Latin America, as it responded to the need to organise and institutionalize the new standareds of civilization and, therefore make the modernizing dream a reality.

To revise these publications, in terms of the importance they had in the republican and secular discourse, we start from the criterion that this constitutes a representation of the different discursive practices createre to disciplining the behavior of those who inhabit the urban spaces. The aim is to identify and analyze the type and forms of the republican and secular discourse present in textsbooks (whether these are elaborated for this purpose, or those that were incorporated into the educational practice due to their subject matter), They ware used in schools, characterized by including ideas referring to te republic, secularism, the nation, homeland, citizenship, citizen, people, sovereignty and territory. The use of this

discourse allows us to approach and interpret the process of citizen education based on school textbooks. Also, to determine what kind of educational practices were carried out to objectify concepts of republican and lay character present in the school books.

The discourse present in these textual genres shows the universe of values of the society that creates them at same time, it reflects the culture of their environment and the collective memory space to which they belong to. In every manual, compendium and catechism analyzed, stereotypes, ideologies and images of republican and secular character are inscribed, as a faithful vestige and reflection of the spirit of a time of changes and transformations, and also of permanence and continuity. In this sense, the republican and secular representations and imaginaries present approach the manuals, compendiums and catechisms as based on of the historian Roger Chartier postulates for whom "School books are, like all texts, a representation of the world that them and of the culture that appropriates them, that is, of the cognitions of their authors and users. These representations, in their formal structures, in their metaphors and in their simulacra, and not only in their contents, also carry out a meaning, which is perceived as a semantic agreement by all the subjects of the group in which the textbooks circulate. "Consequently the textbooks analyzed here are understood as representations of the republican and secular universe in which they were registered and appropriated.

Presencia de ideas republicanas y laicas en los manuales escolares de geografía y en la prensa educativa colombiana durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX

Durante el siglo XIX, la vida nacional y local colombiana estuvo caracterizada, al igual que en el conjunto de Latinoamérica, por la presencia de un discurso político de carácter republicano en el cual las representaciones e imaginarios sobre nación, patria, ciudadanía, pueblo, laicismo, territorio y patriotismo, entre otros, alcanzaron una importante presencia en diversos sectores de la sociedad. La educación fue uno de los sectores en los cuales este discurso estuvo presente. En este escenario educativo el discurso republicano se difundió a través de diversos medios: la prensa, los espacios conmemorativos de carácter patriótico, la palabra del maestro y en especial por parte de los manuales escolares. A pesar de su limitada edición y las dificultades en cuanto a su circulación, alcanzaron a jugar un papel de primer orden en la construcción del imaginario republicano de la jóvenes generaciones de ciudadanos que se formaban en la escuela.

Esta ponencia se ocupa de la presencia y el significado que el discurso republicano y laico tuvo en los manuales escolares de geografía y en la prensa educativa que circularon en la región Caribe colombiana durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. De esta manera pretendemos explorar y analizar las representaciones y los imaginarios que sobre el particular contienen los libros de texto utilizados en el proceso de formación ciudadana que se llevó a cabo durante el período federal, tiempo durante el cual se buscó implementar un sistema educativo inspirado en el laicismo, a través del cual se intentó formar a los individuos requeridos por este nuevo régimen de carácter republicano.

Para lograr este objetivo en esta ponencia nos apoyamos en un corpus documental conformado por libros de geografía utilizados para la formación ciudadana en la escuela. Los cuales, conjuntamente con la prensa educativa, fueron instrumentos utilizados por la pedagogía cívica para intentar construir un nuevo imaginario social que ya había comenzado a formarse en firme durante el proceso de independencia que vivió el país en las primeras décadas del siglo XIX. Este encontró en las escuelas de la región un espacio para romper con

las viejas ataduras comunitarias de tipo tradicional y a forjar otras, sustentadas en la racionalidad de la cultura escrita.

En efecto, la escuela decimonónica, una de las instituciones fúndantes del “alma nacional”, encontró en estos textos un instrumento eficaz para construir un nuevo orden social en el cual los individuos, convertidos en ciudadanos, pudieran asumir un comportamiento racional, civilizado y laico tanto en los espacios privados como en su vida pública.

Estas tipologías textuales se convirtieron en estrategias con las que pretendía impulsar el proyecto de construcción de la nación, que pasaba necesariamente por la existencia de una ciudadanía que reconociera el poder de la escritura, erigida en el espacio de la ley, de la autoridad, en el poder fundacional y creador del nuevo orden institucional. Por ello, escribir manuales y catecismos tuvo durante el siglo XIX una gran importancia en toda América Latina, pues respondía a la necesidad de ordenar e institucionalizar la nueva mecánica de la civilización y por lo tanto hacer realidad el sueño modernizador.

Para el análisis de estas publicaciones, en cuanto a la presencia que es ellas tuvo el discurso republicano y laico, partimos del criterio de que este constituye una representación de las diversas prácticas discursivas generadas con el propósito de disciplinar el comportamiento de quienes habitan los espacios urbanos. Se intenta identificar y analizar el tipo y las formas del discurso republicano y laico presente en los textos (ya sean estos elaborados para este fin, o aquellos que por su temática fueron incorporados a la práctica educativa), utilizados en la escuela, que se caracterizaba por incluir ideas referentes a la república, el laicismo, la nación, la patria, la ciudadanía, el ciudadano, el pueblo, la soberanía y el territorio. El uso de este discurso permite acercarnos e interpretar el proceso de formación ciudadana fundamentado en los textos escolares. También determinar qué tipo de prácticas educativas se realizaron para objetivizar las ideas de carácter republicano y laico presentes en los libros escolares.

El discurso presente en estos géneros textuales manifiesta el universo de valores de la sociedad que los produce al mismo tiempo refleja la cultura de su entorno y el espacio de memoria colectiva al cual pertenecen. En cada uno de los manuales, compendios y catecismos analizados se inscriben estereotipos, ideologías e imágenes de carácter republicano y laico, como fiel vestigio y reflejo del espíritu de un tiempo de cambios y transformaciones, pero también de permanencias y continuidades. En tal sentido, el abordaje de las representaciones e imaginarios republicanos y laicos presentes en los manuales, compendios y catecismos lo realizamos a partir de los postulados del historiador Roger Chartier para quien “Los libros escolares son, pues, al igual que todos los textos, una representación del mundo que los escribe y de la cultura que se los apropia, es decir de las cogniciones de sus autores y usuarios. Estas representaciones, en sus estructuras formales, en sus metáforas y en sus simulacros, y no sólo en sus contenidos, comportan además un sentido, que es percibido como un acuerdo semántico por todos los sujetos del grupo en que circulan los textos.” Por consiguiente los textos escolares aquí analizados los entendemos como representaciones del universo republicano y laico en el cual se inscribieron y del cual se apropiaron.

Definiciones, ideas y prácticas escolares en libros escolares en México: educación laica, educación religiosa y secularización de la vida cultural en el siglo XX (Español)

Antonio Padilla Arroyo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

This text has the objective of studying the contents of textbooks that circulated among students, teachers, and parents during the twentieth century in Mexico.

The interest in the school books is because your analysis reveals a broad and in-depth process that frames the secularization of cultural life in the country. The contents, the visual and written speeches conveys an image of the society and of the nature of science and religion, of Church and State, which disseminate specific social and cultural practices.

Here examines two works of required reading that, for the objectives of their authors and readers to whom they were addressed, are considered school books. The titles denote, in themselves, not only the content, but also the ideological and social position in relation to secular education and religious education: Martínez C., R. *Historia Patria. Tercer Año*, (Sexta Edición), México, D.F., Editorial Enseñanza, S.A., 1962, pp.93; Hidalgo Monroy, Luis, *¡Levántate! Libro Segundo de Lectura para uso de los alumnos del tercer año elemental escrito por el Profesor... de la Escuela Normal de Varones*, (Octava Edición), México, Herrero Hermanos Sucesores, 1936, pp. 200.

The educational authorities, federal, state and municipal levels, and the directors of private schools, selected both for consultation and mandatory practice for both teachers and students.

When examining these texts it is possible to identify the concepts about secular education and religious education, in particular of catholic education, as well as the practices in schools, both formal and informal, that were deployed for the teaching and learning of knowledge from different subjects and that reveal convergences in regards to the methods of teaching and learning.

Independent of whether the educational establishment was public or private or the type of education, secular or Catholic, or of education policies promoted by the Mexican State to affirm the principles of the secular education, free and compulsory basic education, the use of textbooks was a cultural practice which was generalized throughout the 20th century. This led to the production and dissemination of books which, in turn, expanded and diversified the world of readers.

Definiciones, ideas y prácticas escolares en libros escolares en México: educación laica, educación religiosa y secularización de la vida cultural en la segunda mitad del siglo XX.

Este texto tiene el objetivo de estudiar los contenidos de libros de texto que circularon entre alumnos, maestros y padres de familia durante el siglo xx en México.

El interés por los libros escolares es porque su análisis desvela un proceso amplio y profundo que enmarca la secularización de la vida cultural en el país. Los contenidos, los discursos escritos y los visuales proyectan una imagen de la sociedad y de la naturaleza, de la ciencia y religión, del Estado e Iglesia, las cuales difunden prácticas sociales y culturales específicas.

Aquí se examinan dos obras de lectura obligatoria que, por los objetivos de sus autores y por los lectores a quienes iban dirigidos, se consideran libros escolares. Los títulos denotan, en sí mismos, no sólo el contenido, sino también la posición ideológica y social respecto a la educación laica y la educación religiosa: Martínez C., R. *Historia Patria. Tercer Año*, (Sexta

Edición), México, D.F., Editorial Enseñanza, S.A., 1962, pp.93; Hidalgo Monroy, Luis, ¡Levántate! Libro Segundo de Lectura para uso de los alumnos del tercer año elemental escrito por el Profesor... de la Escuela Normal de Varones, (Octava Edición), México, Herrero Hermanos Sucesores, 1936, pp. 200.

Las autoridades educativas,- federal, estatal y municipal, y los directores de escuelas particulares, seleccionaron ambas de consulta y práctica obligatoria tanto para profesores como para estudiantes.

Al examinar estos textos es posible identificar los conceptos acerca de la educación secular y la educación religiosa, en particular de la educación católica, así como las prácticas en las escuelas, tanto formales como informales, que se desplegaron para la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de conocimientos de diferentes temas y que revelan convergencias en cuanto a los métodos de enseñanza y aprendizaje.

Independiente de si el establecimiento educativo era público o privado o del tipo de educación, laica o católica, o de las políticas educativas promovidas por el Estado mexicano que afirman los principios de la educación de laicidad, gratuidad y obligatoriedad en la educación básica, el uso de los libros de texto fue una práctica cultural que se generalizó durante todo el siglo XX. Esto condujo a la producción y difusión de libros que, a su vez, ampliaron y diversificaron el mundo de lectores.

Is laïcité a teaching subject? Pedagogizing an issue in French curricula for primary and secondary education, 80s-today (English)

Ismail Ferhat (Université de La Picardie Jules-Verne/CAREF)

Laïcité has traditionally been a key issue of the French public school system. It represents a core aspect both of its legal organization and of its internal culture since the Third Republic (1870-1940). However, it was being primarily perceived, when it came to the education system, as a matter of public policies and general orientation. By consequence, “laïcité” was not often mentioned within national curricula designed for primary and secondary education. Since the eighties (especially after the first “Islamic veil” affair of 1989 in French public schools), the situation has been gradually reversed. Mentions of “laïcité” have risen both in new subject curricula (history, civic education) and core curricula (“socle commun”), culminating in the last subject programs of 2015-2016.

Methodology and sources: This communication aims at studying why and how the issue of “laïcité” has experienced this rise within French curricula since the eighties. It will analyse the causes and aspects of what could be described as a progressive “pedagogization” (Depaepe, 2008) of this concept. The communication will be based on several sources: archives and reports from of the Ministry of education, national curricula of primary and secondary education (from 1985 until today), reports and works by the national school inspection, and publications from the Ministry of education official publisher (CNDP-Canopé).

3.2SWG OBJECTS, SENSES AND THE MATERIAL WORLD OF SCHOOLING (2/4)

SPACE, SCHOOLS AND THE SENSES

Chair: Noah W. Sobe (Loyola University Chicago)

Discussant: Pablo Pineau (University of Buenos Aires)

Sensory memory, everyday spaces, and school life in Hong Kong 1921-1961 (English)

Meng (Stella) Wang (University of Sydney)

This paper responds to the ISCHE 40 Objects, Senses and the Material World of Schooling SWG's call for papers by addressing more than four decades of changing production and consumption of educational space in colonial Hong Kong through the architecture of two government schools. Through examining school architecture in relation to the curriculum employed and children's everyday sensorial experiences in the designed architectural spaces, this paper underscores the intricate ways in which children inhabited the colonial education spaces, and the interplay between colonial schooling, architecture, and lived experiences.

Children's spatial experiences at school were in part shaped by the architectural layout of school buildings, and also, perhaps to a greater extent, shaped by the articulations of the classrooms, the corridors, the changes of level, the actual representation of the movements required by the timetables (Fass, Gutman, & De Coninck-Smith, 2008). The spatial encounters enabled by timetables and curriculums, and the activities and experiences children participated in the indoor and outdoor spaces formed children's everyday life at school. Yet how children inhabited and experienced school spaces remains less known. Merleau-Ponty (1996) suggests that we experience and remember spaces through senses. Building on this sensorial paradigm of space, in this paper, I focus on children's movement through and sensory experiences of school spaces. By tracing the interior and exterior design of school with particular attention to the connections between space, activities, and sensory experiences, I aim to reveal the ways in which colonial school architecture shaped children's moral and physical condition through everyday spatial practices.

Throughout this paper, I further argue that spatial experiences, encompassing both activities and senses, were shaped simultaneously by architectural forms and bodily movement. Children inhabited schools-classrooms, corridors, playgrounds-by sitting, reading, reflecting, thinking, playing, and exercising, all of which entailed varied levels of engagement with the material element of the inhabited space. The interactions between activities, bodily movement and senses therefore connects the physicality of everyday life and the materiality of architecture, which in turn defined the children's mode of being in the very space.

Concerning sources, this focus on children's everyday life- their sensorial experiences in particular-at school, in colonial Hong Kong, necessitates specific archival practices. To restore the schooling experiences and address the role of school architecture and curriculum in shaping children's spatial practices, I draw upon a range of archival sources, including: school floorplans, education reports, school newsletters, photographic records, newspapers, oral histories, and diaries.

Nature Tables and Pocket Museums: from the Leicestershire classroom to the Mountain View Center for Environmental Education, Colorado (English)

Catherine Burke (University of Cambridge)

This paper is part of a wider research initiative which is tracing the travel of ideas and practices from Leicestershire infant and primary schools to the USA during the 1960s and 70s. It takes as a starting point a drawing of a 1969 classroom detailing precisely the site of furniture, material objects, display boards, water sources, 'growing things' live animals, book racks and floor space. The drawing, executed as a birds-eye view, has been reconstructed by the teacher who had inhabited that space from memory and with reference to a 1972 publication detailing an approach to environmental education that found its way to influence teacher development in the United States. The nature table contains a display of bones; another a display of shells and there is a stream table. Pocket museums or 'treasure tins' were small boxes that were given to pupils to encourage their curiosity in the nature of tiny things.

Dorothy and John Paull were Leicestershire teachers who collaborated with American educationalists David and Frances Hawkins providing summer schools for teachers in Vermont, Boston and Boulder, Colorado. Those they worked with included Sioux Indians from South Dakota. Now in their 80s, they reflect on the work they did together in Leicestershire, the USA and with Ladybird books.

Matters of space and materiality are discussed as key elements in a pedagogy that was grounded in an understanding of primary school pupils as natural curators of their worlds. The paper draws from personal testimonies as well as the publications produced by the Paulls supported by Ford Foundation funds at the Environmental Education Centre, University of Colorado.

A Tasteless History of School Food in the United States (English)

Lynn Fendler (Michigan State University)

National School Lunch Act (Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act 79 P.L. 396, 60 Stat. 230) was signed into law in the United States in 1946. Since that time, educational policies and scholarly research on food in schools have focused on the following five issues: food safety, nutrition (including health and fitness), effects of school meals on academic performance, qualifications for school-food subsidies, and cost effectiveness of school food programs (including studies of waste and ease of preparation). Curiously, however, taste has not been included in historical discourses related to school food. With the exception of very new research by one anthropologist (Trapp, 2018), and one course taught at Yale in 1999 by Jacques Pépin, I could find no other references--educational policies or scholarly research--that focus on the taste of food provided in US schools. In this paper, I am using taste in a narrow specific sense to refer to gustatory, tongue-based sensations.

This paper asks, "Why is taste absent from the history of school food?" Historiographically then, this study responds to Burke and Grosvenor's (2013) theorization of absences in the historical record as rich sources of historical inquiry. Their work inspires a "particular use of the historical imagination" to explore "a montage of gaps."

This paper begins with a brief overview of school food policies in the United States since 1946. Then it maps the major topics of scholarly research on school food in order to characterize the major foci of twentieth-century discourses about food in US schools. I analyze historical discourses about school food for the purpose of identifying the limits circumscribing how it has been possible to think about food in schools. Following this analysis, I draw from cultural histories of food while exercising "historical imagination" to raise several possibilities that could generate ideas about the absence of taste from the history of school food. Sweeney (2007), for example, suggests that gustatory taste was replaced during the nineteenth century as part of a post-Kantian abstraction from taste to aesthetics. Korsmeyer (1999) suggests a hierarchy of senses that privileges vision and devalues taste in the priorities of modern science. Probyn (1999) suggests that the taste of food is associated with bodily pleasure and is therefore suspect as a prurient interest and inappropriate for discussions about children's experiences with food in schools. The conceptual distinction between the proximal and distal senses also provides a generative launching point for thinking about the absence of taste in the history of school food.

The paper concludes by calling attention to some newly emerging discourses on school food including school gardens, commercial fast-food, critiques of nutritionism, and environmentally responsible food sourcing.

3.3 SWG MAPPING THE DISCIPLINE HISTORY OF EDUCATION (2/4)

THE COURSES OF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE CURRICULA OF PEDAGOGY AND TEACHER TRAINING

DEGREES IN ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, SPAIN, ITALY AND PORTUGAL

Discussants: Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Universidad de La Laguna), Iveta Kestere (University of Latvia)

The history of education in teacher training courses and Educational Sciences in Argentina: continuities and changes between tertiary and university location (English)

Claudio Suasnábar (Universidad Nacional de La Plata, FLACSO), , Marcela Ginestet (Universidad Nacional de la Plata), Liliana Paredes (Universidad Nacional de la Plata)

The purpose of this communication is to analyze and compare the weight and location of the discipline History of Education in higher education non-university (tertiary) teaching careers and in university careers in Educational Sciences in Argentina. In this direction, the work presents, first of all, a brief synthesis of the configuration and development of the history of education as a discipline in the university environment and of teacher training. Secondly, the communication analyzes curricula of teaching careers in different provinces and the careers of Educational Sciences of a sample of public universities. Thirdly, the paper analyzes and compares the main theoretical orientations and thematic programs cores history education teacher training courses and Educational Sciences. Towards the end and as conclusions some reflections are presented on the main limitations and challenges of this discipline in the analyzed careers.

Mapping the History of Education in Brazil (English)

Amarilio Ferreira (Universidade Federal de São Carlos), Marisa Bittar (Universidade Federal de São Carlos)

This study outlines the results of the History of Education in Brazil, as a way of making a contribution to the Standing Working Group “Mapping the History of Education” (ISCHE); they are divided into two domains – teaching and research. As a subject taught in teacher-training courses, the History of Education has been included in the school syllabus since 1928. As a field of investigative research, it gathered momentum in Brazil in the 1960s, with the setting up of Post-Graduate Studies. After the period of military dictatorship (1964-1985), research into the History of Education became one of the most well-established sub-areas of Brazilian education. It spread throughout the country by means of work groups and culminated in the founding of the Brazilian Society of the History of Education (1999). This research was based on official data on teacher-training courses in Brazil, and also included an analysis of the curricula with the aim of determining the scheduled workload of the teachers of the subject and their strategic planning. Our objective was to show that, currently, the field of the History of Education in Brazil can be assessed in terms of the value of its academic output and the strengthening of its organizational spheres. At the same time, there is appearing a marked contrast between the prestige it has gained for its research and uncertainty about the future of the subject in teacher training courses. Briefly, the conclusions we have reached are as follows: a) the workload for the History of Education is being reduced in the universities; b) the influence of research on teaching has grown and this fact can be confirmed by checking the bibliographical references in the area of teaching; c) the course content for the subject has also changed as a result of research projects carried out in Post-Graduate Studies.

History of Education courses in the curricula of Pedagogy and Teacher Training Degrees in Spain after the last Reform (English)

Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Universidad de La Laguna), Yasmina A. González (Universidad de La Laguna), María J. T. Domínguez (Universidad de La Laguna)

This paper completes the study of the situation of history of education in the curricula in Pedagogy presented last year in Buenos Aires with the a new research on the case of the curricula of Teacher Training Degrees before and after the last reform conducted in the framework of the European Bologna Process.

Firstly, the situation of history of education courses in the old curriculum for future teachers and in the new one established after 2010-11 in the main Spanish public universities will be analyzed from different variables such as the compulsory or elective character of the courses, their location in the years and the criteria for the configuration of elective courses. Secondly, the results obtained for Teacher Training will be compared with those of Pedagogy.

The comparison shows in both cases a drastic reduction of the contents related to history of education. Contents related with the field of history of education has been reduced to an introductory first year course. As a rule, History of Education has become a secondary introductory course for future teachers and educationalists.

Paradoxically, this loss of position in higher education curricula happens at the same time as the flourishing of the field of the history of education in Spain, expressed in terms of publications, journals and internationalization.

Mapping the History of Education in Italy (English)

Francesca Borruso (Università degli Studi Roma Tre), Domenico Elia (Università degli Studi «G. d'Annunzio» Chieti-Pescara), Juri Meda (Università degli Studi di Macerata) & Fabio Pruneri (University of Sassari)

The Italian Society of History of Education (CIRSE) has started up a working group on mapping the teaching of History of Education into Italian universities.

The working group – composed by Francesca Borruso, Domenico Elia, Juri Meda and Fabio Pruneri – has analysed the 230 answers given to a google form sent to all the colleagues who teach this discipline in Italian universities.

At this stage of the project, the result is an analytical map, which we would like to present in a comparative and international perspective.

Our work portrays the situation of this subject in the academic year 2017-18, but it appears promising in many respects. In particular we would like to highlight with further studies: the history of this discipline in the XXI century (Borruso); the distribution of teachings in the Italian territory (Elia); their multiple internal articulations (History of Educational Theories, History of School, History of Children Literature, History of Training Processes, etc.) (Meda); the influence that this discipline has had for teachers and education training and in the academic scenario, in a broad sense, also in relation to other international experiences (Pruneri).

Mapping the History of Education in Portugal: the subjects in higher education curricula and teacher education and the configuration of the scientific field (English)

Maria J. Mogarro (Universidade de Lisboa)

This paper analyses the place of the History of Education in Portugal, namely: the presence of the subjects of History of Education in the teacher education curricula and other programs that train education professionals; the development of research in this scientific field, highlighting the projects financed and the importance of the most recently published works. The presence of the History of Education in public higher education and teacher education programs (in Portugal are master's degrees) decreased with the reforms of the Bologna process, with a reduction in the number of hours in the curricula. Nevertheless, the PhD theses defended in this scientific field have increased, as well as the number of scientific publications. For its part, the participation and organization of national and international scientific events also registers a very strong rhythm.

These findings arise from the analysis of teacher education curricula and the information provided by the teachers of the discipline. This situation is articulated with the analysis of PhD theses defended and the research projects developed; they are an important dimension that contributes to the reinforcement of the field in the institutions of higher education that have

teacher education programs. In this sense, the growth of scientific production in books and articles is also analysed.

Research teams play a key role, organized at the main public universities and including other researchers who are not integrated into these institutions. They are the continuators of a tradition of the History of Education in teacher education that comes from the beginnings, in the nineteenth century and that is marked by a great vitality since the 80's. Since then it knows a process of internationalization and this study is important to draw up a strategy for the future of this scientific field and its teaching.

3.4 PREFORMED PANEL PUBLIC EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM AS SECOND NATURE OF MODERN MANKIND

Chair: Hanna Holzapfel (University of Vienna)

Discussant: Stephanie Fox (University of Koblenz)

Rousseau's educational plan of de- and re-naturalizing the child as the future citizen of a free republic (English)

Daniel Tröhler (University of Vienna)

In research on nationalism there is a debate about to what degree the idea of the nation and the ideology of nationalism is something modern (Anderson, 1983; Hroch, 2007) or something primordial (Hastings, 1997; Grosby, 2003). Within this debate, it seems to be accepted that the idea of the modern nation-states had been fueled by the ideology of nationalism, synthesizing the idea of the nation with the idea of the modern state, and it seems to be accepted, too, that this synthesis occurred first either during the French Revolution (Hobsbawm, 1990) or as a consequence of industrialism (Gellner, 1983).

As this panel argues, in research on nationalism (too) little attention has been given to education as a perceived means to naturalize or "internally colonize" (Hechter, 1975) inhabitants of a nation-state. This may be the reason why one of the early attempts of connecting nation-state-building and education has been neglected, namely Jacques Rousseau's treatise *On the Government of Poland in 1771/72* (2005), in which he declares education to be the prime element in providing the individual's soul with national power and patriotism and where he advocates compulsory and free schooling for all and a state-designed curriculum that is aligned along national idiosyncrasies (and greatness), national literature, history, geography, physical education and public games in order to acquaint the younger generation with the customs of the older: that is to make the national genius of free Poland the second nature of the younger Poles.

The paper reconstructs Rousseau's essay in the light of both, the current research on nationalism and the educational preoccupation with Rousseau's *Emile* (1762/1979) by providing alternative readings to unclear passages found in the very beginning of his famous novel and offering a new integral reading of Rousseau's plea to de-naturalize human nature in order to re-naturalize it in a free republic.

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How Schools Came to Democratize Merit, Formalize Achievement, and Naturalize Privilege: The Case of the United States (English)

David F. Labaree (Stanford University)

In the process of turning subjects of the crown into citizens of the nation state, systems of public schooling have transformed the concept of merit. As Joseph Kett has shown, the premodern form of this quality was what he calls essential merit, which represented a person's visible accomplishments that demonstrate inner nature, which was understood to be independent of social position. This kind of merit was hard won and had to be defended vigorously, even if that meant engaging in duels. The new kind of merit, which arose in the mid nineteenth century, after the emergence of universal public schooling and the rise of nationalism in the U.S., was what he calls institutional merit. This you earned by attending school and advancing through the levels of academic accomplishment. It became your personal property, which could not be challenged by others and which granted you privileges in accordance with the level of merit you attained. At the same time, it grounded your identity in the institutions of the nation state. In this paper, I examine three consequences of this shift from essential to institutional merit in the American setting. First, this change democratized merit by making it, at least theoretically, accessible to anyone and not just the gentry, who in the premodern period had prime access to this reputational good. Second, it formalized the idea of merit by turning it from a series of publicly visible and substantive accomplishments into the accumulating of the forms that schooling had to offer – grades, credits, and degrees. Third, following from one and two, it served the social function of naturalizing the privileges of birth by transposing them into academic accomplishments. The well born, through the medium of schooling, acquired a second nature that transformed ascribed status into achieved status.

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Making the "Nature" of the Citizen and Differences in The Alchemy of American Progressive Education (English)

Thomas S. Popkewitz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

During the American Progressive movement, as with the international New Educational Fellowship, the human sciences were instrumental in the pedagogical practices known as the modern "common" school (Popkewitz, 2008). The sociologies and psychologies connected principles of collective belonging and nation-ness with social and cultural distinctions about "the nature" of the child and society (for more general literature, e.g., Bell, 2001; Cruikshank, 1999; Elias, 1938/1978); Gaude, 2000; Steedman, 1995; Wood, 1991). The theories and methods of the sciences connected political theories with cultural and social theories that embodied double gestures (Popkewitz, Diaz, Kirchgasler, 2017). One gesture was about responsibilities and obligations of the citizen, a particular kind of person whose agency and participation made possible government. The other gesture was about difference, fears of the dangers and dangerous populations to the anticipated liberty, freedom, and democracy.

This paper explores the grid of practices embodied in the educational sciences concerned with making of the child as the future citizen (Popkewitz, 2012). The sciences replaced the earlier speculative, moral sciences with different moral sciences whose methods were pragmatic, experimental and empirical, for instance John Dewey's anthropology psychology, Edward L. Thorndike's Connectionist Psychology, or The Chicago School of Community Sociology. These sciences were intertwined with the principles organizing the formation of school subjects (science, mathematics, music, and art). Considered is the fabrication of the nature of society and people generated about agency, participation, and learning. Further points of interest are how sciences of pedagogy intersect with cultural differences of participation; that is, the principles about collective belonging and "home" necessary for nation-ness and the citizen as a kind of person. It is argued that the making of the nation is not in its political theories or institutional forms but in the system of reason whose principles

form the micro-processes that inscribe (a) particular nature(s) to the child, the family and society.

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3.5 PREFORMED PANEL LA INFLUENCIA DE LOS TEORICOS DE LA NATURALEZA EN LA HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION BRASILEÑA: ROUSSEAU, PESTALOZZI Y DEWEY

La naturaleza humana y la naturaleza de las cosas en la educación rousseauiana (Español) Wilson Alves de Paiva (Universidad Federal de Goiás)

En las palabras de Rousseau en sus *Confesiones* (1964): “son casi siempre los primeros sentimientos dirigidos que hacen que los niños den sus primeros pasos para el mal” (Vol. 1, p. 52). Manejarlos de la mejor manera es actuar desde la mínima edad, desarrollando su sensibilidad mediante ejercicios prácticos, juegos y paseos. En los juegos nocturnos, por ejemplo, *Emilio* desarrolla sus capacidades sensitivas, el raciocinio, la creatividad y la bondad. En este caso, en las corridas, el joven vencedor es convencido por el preceptor a repartir el premio, un dulcecito, con aquellos que disputaron y no tuvieron la misma suerte. Hasta porque “ejercer los sentidos no es solamente hacer uso de ellos, es aprender a juzgar bien por ellos” (Rousseau, 1973, p. 130). Y así es que la acción unida por demás maestros completa la obra de preparar bien los sentimientos, los juicios y la moralidad. Si nacemos sensibles y somos luego incomodados (*affectés*) por todo lo que nos rodea (Rousseau, 1973), la tarea de cultivar el orden natural y formar el hombre de acuerdo a los atributos de la naturaleza comienza con el nacimiento y se extiende por toda la vida. La familia principalmente en la persona de los padres, tiene la responsabilidad de conducir bien ese relacionamiento inicial con la manera. Por lo tanto, basta observar la regla de la naturaleza en el camino que ella indica. Al final, la dolor, la dentición, el endurecimiento de los muslos, las necesidades vitales, las intemperies climáticas y los diversos otros recursos naturales

proporcionan el desarrollo de la sensación como el primer material del conocimiento. “¿Queréis que conserve su forma original? Lo conservé desde el momento en que llegue al mundo. Luego al nacer os apropiáis del niño, no lo dejéis antes que sea hombre: nada conseguiréis sin eso. Así como la verdadera ama es la madre, el verdadero preceptor es el padre” (Rousseau, 1973, p. 24). Diferente de la imposición pedagógica de los jesuitas y de otros métodos educacionales, la obra rousseauniana sugiere que una dedicación interactiva, espontánea, divertida, práctica y contextualizada con las lecciones de cosas – que es la mejor manera de desarrollar en el niño en sus habilidades intuitivas, en su capacidad sensorial. Para tanto, Rousseau presenta en su *Emilio* un conjunto de experiencias empíricas realizadas en el ámbito de la vida cotidiana que, sin duda, pasó a ser el ejemplo pedagógico por excelencia, el modelo de educar de modo práctico, con total utilización de la naturaleza: tanto la naturaleza física, como la naturaleza humana.

Palabras-clave: Rousseau, educación y naturaleza, el método intuitivo, lección de las cosas.

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Lecciones de Cosas: influencias del método intuitivo en la historia de la educación brasileña (Español)

Maria Zeneide Carneiro Almeida (PUC-Goiás)

El objetivo de este texto es evidenciar las influencias del método intuitivo, o "lecciones de cosas" como también se hizo conocido en Brasil en los compendios, cartillas y materiales utilizados en las escuelas brasileñas de educación fundamental, es decir, para niños y jóvenes, con el fin de modernizar las escuelas al inicio del período Republicano. El método intuitivo, o lecciones de cosas, resultó de las ideas y experiencias del pedagogo suizo Johann Heinrich PESTALOZZI (1746-1827), que esbozó un proyecto de un Instituto de aprendizaje industrial y agrícola para niños pobres, establecido en su propiedad rural en Neuhof. En Brasil las recepciones de tales ideas fueron significativas y desde el inicio del siglo XIX la concepción de una educación natural, basada en Rousseau, así como las prácticas educativas sensoriales fueron acatadas como una de las mejores salidas de una educación tradicional. El cuerpo de la investigación de campo, aquí presentada, tuvo su construcción sistematizada tanto por medio de las fuentes orales como de fuentes escritas. Los datos fueron recolectados utilizando entrevistas, cuestionarios, observación y análisis de documentos, en archivos públicos, institucionales y particulares. El recorte temporal contempla los acontecimientos y escenarios del inicio a mediados del siglo XX. El aporte teórico que ilumina los análisis tuvo eje orientador las contribuciones del abordaje Historia Cultural y sus articulaciones con la Historia de la Educación. Los resultados de la investigación apuntan a la constatación de las influencias del método en las orientaciones pedagógicas de las cartillas y libros de las escuelas brasileñas, incluso en escuelas rurales del Gran Sertão minero.

Palabras claves: Método Intuitivo; Licencias de Cosas; Pestalozzi; educación y métodos de la naturaleza; Historia de la Educación Brasileña.

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Experiência e Natureza no discurso pedagógico brasileiro do início do século XX (Espanhol) Elianda Figueiredo Arantes Tiballi (PUC-Goiás)

Este painel tem o objetivo de explicitar a apropriação dos conceitos experiência e natureza pelo discurso pedagógico escolanovista brasileiro, no início do século XX. O procedimento metodológico inicial compreendeu a análise destes conceitos na obra Experiência e Natureza de John Dewey e posteriormente a análise do discurso de Anísio Teixeira publicado em sua obra Educação e Filosofia. Esta obra de Anísio Teixeira reflete o seu pensamento pragmatista, bem como a presença das formulações de Dewey em seu discurso. Este estudo investigativo permitiu explicitar que para Dewey o exercício do pensamento inteligente se dá através da ação inteligente, que produz uma ordenação lógica. A razão para Dewey é, portanto ato, é experiência. A experiência, por sua vez, se concretiza na continuidade entre os fenômenos naturais, os acontecimentos sociais e a experiência humana. Esta, a experiência, desencadeia o ato reflexivo que unifica pensamento e ação, possibilitando a aprendizagem. Esta premissa básica do pensamento de John Dewey foi traduzida e difundida por Anísio Teixeira, historicamente reconhecido com um dos principais precursores do movimento escolanovista no Brasil. Como conclusão deste painel fica expresso o entendimento de como a relação entre experiência e mundo natural foram considerados por John Dewey como possibilidade de entendimento dos processos cognitivos da aprendizagem. A relação entre a natureza cognocente do sujeito e o mundo natural promovem o contiuum experiencial, sendo este processo considerado por Dewey a condição natural para o pensamento lógico que desencadeia a aprendizagem

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3.6 SWG MIGRANTS, MIGRATION AND EDUCATION (1/3) MIGRANT STUDENTS

Higher Education on the Move: Student Migration and the Shaping of Higher Education in Colonial Asia (1850s-1940s) (English)

Sara Legrand Jacques (CHAC – University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Based on my ongoing PhD research, this paper discusses the impact of migration on the shaping of higher education in colonial Asia. To do so, it focuses on the experiences of students from British India and French Indochina, from the 1850s to the 1940s. Using materials available in different European (France, UK), Asian (Vietnam, India) and North-American archive centers, I will argue that mobility was one of the main components of higher education in colonial Asia.

Students from British India and, to a lesser extent, from French Indochina have started to go and study abroad since the second half of the 19th century. On the one hand, these firstly imperial migrations were linked to higher education's non-existence or incompleteness in the students' native lands. In Indochina, no higher school existed before 1902: mobility quickly became a way to fill this gap. On the other hand, some metropolitan and foreign institutions benefited from a prestigious reputation. However, the Indian case underscores that the creation of colonial schools did not prevent students from leaving. The foundation of the first Indian universities, in 1857, was concomitant to the setting up of student flows within the British Empire, which never decreased afterwards. Moreover, mobility was sometimes compulsory in order to reach some professional positions. For instance, the Indian civil service examinations could only be taken in the United Kingdom until 1893. It emphasizes the diversity and complexity of student migration, showing its possible use by imperial powers.

The turn of the 20th century confirms this complementarity between further education and student mobility in colonial Asia. Whilst flows were becoming more and more international, integrating Japanese, North-American and, later, Soviet schools, migrations aroused specific issues. Student circulations contradicted and challenged imperial ideas of what colonial higher education should have been: when law studies dedicated to the natives were poorly regarded in Indochina, many students used their metropolitan sojourn to enroll in law courses. These departures eventually participated in the opening of Hanoi law school in the early 1930s. On the Indian side, law studies entailed other stakes: inequalities between Indian and British law degrees fed mobility. Becoming a barrister in England was easier than becoming a *vakil*, a lawyer who graduated from an Indian faculty, and offered better professional opportunities. Therefore, in spite of official attempts of supervision associated with the development of local institutions, students, often supported by their families and communities, were also modelling educational plans in colonial Asia, following their own strategies and interests.

The study of the migrating feature's impact on colonial higher education also leads to some methodological thoughts: which kinds of material can be used to write the history of student mobility? And, more broadly, how can history nurture the social sciences' debate about mobility and migration?

Migrating Towards Play: An exploration of the benefits and challenges of examining migrant children's play as historical examples of informal education (English)

Emily Barker (University of Greenwich)

Historians in education have invested a healthy portion of research into the impact of play in education as well as the experiences of education for migrant children; however, almost nothing has been done to connect the two. Play is recognised as an act that facilitates both learning and cultural participation. Historians of education recognise that many experiences of learning occur outside of the formal classroom. This paper argues that combining the historical fields of education, migration and play opens a window into the experiences and agency of children.

This paper examines the historiography of play (as a type of informal education) in conjunction with the agency of children throughout the migration experience to highlight the importance of considering migrant children's play as a form of assimilation, cultural integration and self-determination. This paper examines two case studies of migrant children from the 20th century to outline only a few of the potential benefits of turning to children's play within the field of migrant history. To illustrate the rich analytical implications of this topic, this paper utilises two different primary sources: an autobiography and an oral history interview.

The autobiography offers a useful source to outline a more linear experience of migration. This paper will consider how this child adjusted to new social groups and cultural expectations. As the autobiography will be the more edited of the two types of source material, the aim is to examine the structure of the story and how play was featured as a norm or aberration from the author's understanding and description of displacement due to conflict.

In contrast, the oral history is considered as a form of semi-structured source material. Notions about the emotional remembering of play as a product of collective memories is utilised. Rather than a historical source that has been through many revisions by an editor, the oral history is a source that has been revised by time and the subsequent experiences of the narrator as one who moved through childhood into adulthood.

Migration and play are the two themes highlighted in these two sources to understand how play, as a cultural and social process impacted migration from the perspective of these two narrators. Rather than a comprehensive study of play's educational benefits for child migrants, this paper attempts to focus on a process that occurs spontaneously and consistently in children's lives no matter whether they feel close to home.

The aim of this paper is to call for more research on the importance of play as informal education within the history of child migration and reinforce the value of it as a method of centring children in historical research.

The Voice of Immigrant Children: Emigration, Absorption and Identity of Jewish Immigrants Children to Israel during the Mandate Period (English)

Zehavit Schenkolewski (Ashqelon Academic College)

Between 1928 and 1945, 28,059 Jewish children aged 0 to 10 and 29,028 Jewish children aged 10 to 16 immigrated to Mandate Palestine. The immigration policy of the Jewish

community was not intended for the immigration of children, but for the emigration of young people who could work, and will not constitute an economic burden. Indeed, these children constituted a small minority of all Jewish immigrants to the Land of Israel during those years.

The founding assumption of the institutions of the Jewish community in relation to immigrants in general and to Children of immigrants in particular was that the immigrant had to adapt on his own to the existing reality. The prevailing belief was that the child had unique mental powers that enabled him to adjust to the new environment he had reached, so he did not need the assistance and support of the surrounding society. When there was intervention in the absorption of children, it derived from the needs of the adults rather than the needs of the children. For example, many immigrant children were placed in dormitories in order to facilitate their parents' job search and initial economic acclimatization. In contrast to the founding assumptions of the leaders of the Jewish community, the immigrant children experienced difficult absorption experiences. They found it difficult to acquire the language and adopt new cultural practices. These difficulties affected their fate. Some were forced to remain in the same class for another year, others were forced to go to work to help their parents support the family. And there were children who wandered the streets and deteriorated to crime.

The aim of this paper is to expose the difficulties of migration of immigrant children through their own life stories, as reflected in children's essays published in the Hebrew school newspapers. The use of immigrant stories to understand migration processes is a well-known and widespread tool in immigration research. In their stories the immigrants organize their memories from the process of emigration, thus enabling the construction of the new identity. The new identity makes it possible for the immigrant to rely on the past and have an expression of longing for a world that disappeared and at the same time to create a disconnect and to establish itself in the new world. The question whether the immigrant chose to emigrate voluntarily or was forced to emigrate against his will is very important to the process of building the new identity, especially among children who are often not involved in decision-making processes related to the immigration. The children's compositions are for me 'migration stories', from which one can learn to what extent the experience of emigration was a constructive experience or a destructive experience.

Examination of the migration stories through the children's eyes enables the researcher to analyze the processes the children have undergone and to offer the teachers new ways of working with their immigrant students.

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3.7 PREFORMED PANEL VISIONS OF NATURE, HUMANHOOD, AND EDUCATION AND THEIR INTERSECTIONS WITH

SPIRITUALITY AND INSTITUTIONALIZED RELIGION

Chair: Gabriela Ossenbach Sauter (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

RNDM/Our Lady of the Missions and education in Canada: From neo-scholasticism, through social justice, to an inter-relational universal cosmology (English)

Rosa Bruno-Jofré (Queen's University), Veronica Dunne (RNDM)

In the long nineteenth century, the Catholic Church and its plurality of formations, in particular, its teaching congregations, were fully engaged in educational and health work that was often within the context of colonial enterprises. We use the Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions/ Our Lady of the Missions and its work in Canada as a case study of a changing notion of the relationship with nature (Bruno-Jofré, 2015 and 2017).

The Holy See built in the long nineteenth century (from the end of the eighteenth century to the death of Pius XII in 1958, as used by O'Malley, 2008), a conception of education framed by neo-scholasticism (a form of neo-Thomism) that was contained in the notion of the "Catholic mind", the collective Catholic world view (Rymarz, 2010; McCool, 1978). This conception of education was also grounded in a western cosmology within a patriarchal and hierarchical institution and sustained by a dualistic theology. The relationship with nature could vary following the charism of the congregations, but humans were at the center and in a unique relationship with God. Nature was a site at which to relax or a source to be used in a hierarchical cosmology.

In the long 1960s (from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s), at the intersection with Vatican II, Catholic religious congregations went through profound transformations. The RNDM, like other congregations, recreated their selfhood as individuals and as a community, and, in the process, embraced social justice. However, this was not their final destination. In the 1990s and 2000s, the RNDM, and in particular the Canadian Province, went through an epistemological shift that led to the adoption of a new cosmology. It was a vision of an emerging era of Earth as a sacred community, a vision that recontextualized human lives. The Sisters construed new meanings grounded in an inter-relational universal cosmology that motivated them to reposition their own selves beyond the parameters of modernity. The RNDM's educational work by then had moved to various forms of community work and to non-governmental organizations.

This paper is written using primary sources obtained in the various RNDM archives.

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Education in nature: a contradiction? (English)

Christopher Beeman (Brandon University)

Robert Greenway (1993) distinguished between using wild places for healing or understanding, and building a relationship with nature as an intrinsically meaningful action. A parallel could be made to the current practice of using the natural world as a location in which standard curricular learning is “delivered” contrasted with the potential of moving beyond human-place distinction and in so doing, learning through building a relationship therewith. (And perhaps, in addition, moving past the binary quality of the preceding claim.) In other words, if current educative goals persist, it might be that the presuppositions undergirding education in the global, modern West, preclude the possibility of other than an instrumental relationship with the natural world.

Two points of reference may help to situate this central notion. The first is an exploration of what an Indigenous stance on relationship with the more-than-human world might look like. I propose to trace this through the words of Indigenous elders with whom I have worked for the past 15 years, and my own experiences in wilder places. I will look at how, during the historical period of Residential Schools in Canada (from the 1600's to 1996) the natural world was used in educative practice, for example, in the growing of food gardens. I will contrast this with what elders currently say about the kind of relationship with the natural world that is needed. The second point of reference I propose to investigate is the recent surge of interest in the new materialisms, especially a claim (Barad 2007) that the natural world is both agentic and responsive. In this model of the more-than-human, the natural world has its own agency. More precisely, via a Spinozistic cosmology, humans and the more-than-human are understood to be of the same stuff, and are thus in some senses incapable of being distinguished from each other in the ways that they have hitherto been. Thus, an ontological interpretation might provide resolution to this apparent environmental dead end where mere inventiveness around educative practice cannot.

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The conception of nature in Rudolf Steiner's thought for the reception of Waldorf education and biodynamic agriculture in Spain in late Francoism (English)

Patricia Quiroga Uceda (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

As it is well known, anthroposophy is the esoteric current developed by Rudolf Steiner during the first decades of the twentieth century, on which he based Waldorf pedagogy and biodynamic agriculture. One of the pillars of his anthroposophical thought is the conception of science and nature that Steiner articulated in his youth, and for which the work of romantic authors such as Goethe occupied a prominent place. Thus, the main characteristic of Steiner's conception of science is pantheism: the philosophical belief or doctrine that establishes an equivalence between God, the universe and nature. This is a starting point of great importance both in his educational and agricultural proposals.

The reception of anthroposophy in Spain began in the late 1960s, during the last years of the Franco dictatorship. Despite the dictatorial context, censorship did not prevent the New Age thought that was popularizing internationally and that gathered followers of modern esoterism from reaching Spain. Waldorf education and biodynamic agriculture, precisely because of their esoteric component, acquired a meaning at a time when aspirations for openness and change converged in the political, social, educational, ecological, religious, and personal spheres. In addition, in Spain, this interest can also be interpreted as a response to the developmentalism that had been promoted from the political level and in a perspective of modernity that contained deficits with regard to the care of childhood and nature. A sensitivity that, for those interested in anthroposophy, was reflected both in the pedagogical and agricultural proposals that Steiner made in the early twentieth century.

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3.8 PREFORMED PANEL NATURE AS A MEDIUM AND SUBJECT OF EDUCATION: WESTERN IMPACT ON WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION IN JAPAN BEFORE THE WORLD WAR II

Development of Physical Education, Domestic Science Education and Newly Introduced Natural Science Education in Higher Normal School for Women (English)

Keiko Sasaki (The University of Electro-Communications, National University Japan)

This presentation explores the curricular development based on two divided educational policies of Higher Normal School for Women: One promoted women's health to nurture 'good wives and wise mothers' and the other aimed to create talented female scientists and doctorates.

In 1897, the new principal Hideo Takamine, who had studied in America to introduce Western teacher training methods and received education in natural sciences such as zoology, biology, natural history, and particularly scientific methodologies, reformed the curriculum of Higher Normal School for Women. To enhance students' academic abilities, Takamine founded the Literature Course and the Science Course and exempted their students from attending sewing and household management classes. Moreover, he founded the advanced Postgraduate Course in 1898. He recognized the necessity of academic research section in the Higher Normal School. Before the Second World War, it was (Tokyo) Higher Normal School for Women which raised female doctorates such as Chica Kuroda, Kono Yasui, etc.

On the other hand, Takamine founded the Domestic Course from the necessity for training domestic science teachers in girls' high schools. Kikuno Gokan was sent to the Medical School of Tokyo Imperial University to learn nursing and hygienics and Sumi Miyakawa (Oe) to England to study domestic science. Besides, Aguri Iguchi was sent to America to study gymnastics, in particular Swedish gymnastic exercises.

Physiology, hygienics and gymnastics were the important subjects for training good minded and strong female teachers. The students of the Domestic Course of Higher Normal School for Women often obtained the license of domestic science teacher and that of gymnastics together.

Jinzo Naruse and Physical Education in Japan Women's College in the Early Twentieth Century (English)

Yuri Uchiyama (Independent Researcher)

Japan Women's College (Nihon Joshi Daigakko) was established as one of the first private women's colleges in Tokyo in 1901. Physical education and outdoor education were actively taught to promote women's health by the founder of the college, Jinzo Naruse (1858-1919), who obtained ideas from American women's colleges and were also affected by national demands for creating strong mothers of Japanese citizens in the Meiji period.

Naruse was the first promoter for women's physical education and wrote a chapter titled 'Physical Education' in his book, Women's Education published in 1896. Naruse appointed Kikuo Shirai (1870-1951), who taught Singing-Dance education in Tokyo Music School and Japanese Physical Education Association Training Institute of Gymnastics, as the leading lecturer of his college. They developed their original physical education by combining new trends within Europe and America in gymnastic exercises, dance and sports. In contrast to

Swedish gymnastic introduced by Aguri Iguchi at Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women, Shirai, influenced by Francois Delsarte (1811-1871), devised a new gymnastic 'Hyojo Taiso' which performed demonstrative and lyric movements to music.

This presentation will focus on Naruse's educational thoughts and practices to explore how physical education has developed in Japan Women's College between 1901 and 1919. Special focus will be given to the annual Sports Festival where Naruse and Shirai's instruction were shown to public through students' performances. Moreover, Sports Festivals were organized by students based on Naruse's educational policy 'Self-Initiated and Self-Educated' (Jigaku Jido). The main sources of analysis will be the materials of the annual Sports Festivals.

Sumi Oe and Tokyo Kasei Gakuin: Interest towards 'nature' in domestic science education and agricultural education in the early twentieth century (English)

Sayaka Nakagomi (Rikkyo University)

Sumi Oe (née Miyakawa, 1875-1948) is one of the most famous female educator in Japan during the early twentieth century. Oe attended Battersea Polytechnic in London to study domestic science between 1902 and 1905 as one of the government-funded student. Following the outbreak of Russo-Japanese War, Oe extended her study abroad by private means to study hygiene at Bedford College, London until 1906. After her return to Japan, Oe was appointed the Professor of Domestic Science at Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. In 1925 Oe resigned her post and established her own school, Tokyo Kasei Gakuin (Tokyo Home Economics Academy).

Oe's work has mainly been judged by her contribution in the field of domestic science, however, her contribution in Japanese female education is not limited to that field. When founding her own school, Oe did not aim to focus exclusively on domestic science education but decided to offer a comprehensive academic education under its name 'Kasei Gakuin' (Home Economics Academy). A wide variety of subjects ranging from Ethics, Education, Japanese, Domestic Science, Needlework, Science, Law, Economics, Social Science, Music, Gymnastics were taught by both male and female teachers, some possessing degrees from institutions abroad or Imperial Universities. Important changes were made after 1931 when a new playground & agricultural training field was purchased to provide practical agricultural education reflecting the general trend in women's higher education in Japan and in the world.

This presentation aims to focus on Oe's experience abroad and its reflection upon her future educational practices concerning 'nature' education. The research questions are: How were Oe's educational view and interest towards 'nature' developed by her study abroad? How were Oe's experience reflected upon her educational practices in domestic science education and agricultural education in Tokyo Kasei Gakuin?

Michi Kawai and Horticultural Education of Keisen Women's School: 'Learning about Nature' (English)

Keiko Sasaki (The University of Electro-Communications, National University Japan)

In 1929, Michi Kawai (1877-1953) established the Keisen Women's School. 'Keisen' means fountain of blessings. According to Kawai's autobiography, My Lantern, 'No one can make a

spring, it is a gift from the Creator. So with my school; it shall be a gift of blessings up from the Source of Life.'

This presentation aims to discuss the educational ideals of Kawai through retracing her background and experiences.

In 1877, Kawai was born in Ise-Yamada as a daughter of a Shinto priest of the Ise Shrine. Owing to the Meiji Restoration, her father lost his post and her family moved to Hokkaido, the Japanese north frontier. In Sapporo, Hokkaido she entered Smith Girls' School (renamed Hokusei Gakuen), a missionary school. In 1900, Kawai studied abroad at Bryn Mawr College in America and became aware of the Garden Clubs in Philadelphia. After her return to Japan in 1904, Kawai taught at Tsuda College and was also active in YWCA of Japan. During those days, Kawai cherished the dream to establish the school of horticulture for women.

In 1926, Kawai inspected schools in America and Europe. Her destination included Pennsylvania School of Horticulture for Women in Ambler, America and Women's Horticultural School at Swanley, Kent, UK. She also inspected the farm life in Denmark and Belgium.

Keisen Women's School was founded at Ushigome, Tokyo in 1929. It had a small gardening course which taught girls respect for manual labour and the love of nature through the art of gardening. Even though the educational policy in the early twentieth century had recognized to mould characters in contact with nature, Kawai's ideal was beyond that. Her vision of education was based on three principles: practical Christian education, international education and learning about nature (horticulture and cultivation by the sweat of own labour).

Chika Kuroda and Pioneering Male Chemists: The birth of female natural scientists in Japan in the early twentieth century (English) Setsuko Kagawa (Nishikyushu University)

Chika Kuroda (1884-1968) is one of the pioneering women scientists in Japan. She was the first woman to obtain BSc. from Tohoku Imperial University. She studied organic chemistry at University of Oxford under Dr. Henry W. Perkin from 1921 to 1923 when she was a teacher of Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women. She furthered her study on pigment of natural plants in RIKEN (the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research) after her return to Japan, and became the first woman to obtain DSc in chemistry by her study on Carthamin. She was also active to train young female students in natural sciences and was elected the honorary president at the start of the Society of Japanese Women Scientists in 1956.

Kuroda's life was very different from ordinary Japanese women who were educated to become 'good wives and wise mothers', having been excluded from university education until the end of the World War II. Being born in samurai class family in Saga, Kuroda enjoyed the highest level of education. After graduating the Tokyo Higher Normal School for Women, she became an assistant teacher in chemistry, and entered the Tohoku Imperial University as one of the first female students.

This presentation aims to consider the questions why and how Kuroda could achieve success in Japanese academic world, focusing her experience of study abroad and male chemist networks. It seems correct to say that she couldn't continue her study and advance her career

as a scientist without supports of three influential Japanese chemists; Joji Sakurai, Nagayoshi Nagai and Rikoh Majima, all of whom having experiences of study abroad and kept broad connections with German and British scientists. The social and educational background of Kuroda's achievement will be explored from gendered and transnational points of view, by examining the writings and biographies of these scientists.

3.9 PREFORMED PANEL ERZIEHUNG UND BILDUNG IM SPANNUNGSFELD VON METAPHYSISCHEN UND NATURALISTISCHEN ÜBERLEGUNGEN

Chair: Tibor Schwendtner (Károly Eszterházy University)

Bedeutungsschichten des Bildungsbegriffs Wilhelm von Humboldts (Deutsch)

Tibor Schwendtner (Károly Eszterházy University)

Im Referat sollen die anthropologisch-philosophischen Voraussetzungen ausgelegt werden, die der Bildungstheorie Humboldts innewohnen. Diese Voraussetzungen rühren heterogenen, miteinander in einer unauflösbaren Spannung stehenden philosophischen Betrachtungsweisen unseres Erachtens her. Die erste als metaphysisch-transzendentalphilosophisch zu nennende Voraussetzungsebene wird zunächst von Leibniz, Wolff und Kant geprägt. Daneben lassen sich auch naturalistisch-biologistische Voraussetzungen nachspüren, die mit dem Begriff des Bildungstrieb zusammenhängen, der Wirkung von Johann Friedrich Blumenbach zu verdanken sind. Überdies kommt den von Herder und Schiller herrührenden geschichts- und sprachphilosophischen Voraussetzungen im Bildungsbegriff Humboldts eine wichtige Bedeutung zu. Das Referat zielt darauf ab, die Anwesenheit dieser drei philosophischen Sichtweisen im Humboldtschen Bildungsbegriff aufzuzeigen und ihrer Beziehung nachzufragen.

1. Diese Voraussetzungen stehen in einer harmonischen Beziehung miteinander, indem das biologistische Prinzip des Bildungstriebens etwa mit der Anwendung des Begriffs der Kraft der Leibnizschen Metaphysik aufs engste zusammenhängt. Das Prinzip der Epigenese bedeutet die Dynamisierung und die situative Entwicklung.
2. In anderer Hinsicht ergänzen sich diese Voraussetzungen gegenseitig, indem etwa der Zusammenhang zwischen der Individualität und der Idealität von Humboldt teils anhand der Leibnizschen Metaphysik teils anhand der Darstellung der griechischen Kultur nahegelegt wurde.
3. Die Voraussetzungen stehen in einer unauflösbaren Spannung zueinander zugleich. Der dem Humboldtschen Bildungsbegriff zugrundeliegende Harmoniegedanke Leibnizscher Prägung läßt sich mit dem Prinzip der Epigenese schwierig in Einklang zu bringen. Laut dessen wird ja die Genese des Lebewesens nicht nur durch die vererbten Fähigkeiten bestimmt, sondern das Lebewesen entwickelt sich vielmehr durch die Anpassung an die sich verändernden Umstände, mit anderen Worten, sind die Situativität und die Kontingenz und nicht die vorgegebene Harmonie in der Ausgestaltung der Lebewesen prägend.

Am Ende des Referats soll die Frage aufgegriffen werden, ob der spannungsvolle dynamische Zusammenhang der philosophischen Voraussetzungen dazu mag beigetragen haben, daß der Bildungsbegriff zum Leitbegriff der bildungspolitischen Tätigkeit von Humboldt werden konnte.

Die ästhetische Erziehung als die Humanisierung der Natur des Menschen in Schillers ästhetischen Schriften (Deutsch)

János Lobočky (Károly Eszterházy University)

Im Vortrag soll zunächst die Auffassung Schillers über die Natur des Menschen, dann die Bedeutung der ästhetischen Erziehung für die Humanisierung der Natur des Menschen entworfen werden. Angesichts des philosophisch-antropologischen Menschenbilds Schillers soll zunächst sein philosophischer Hintergrund skizziert werden. Schiller knüpft sich einerseits an die Philosophie von Kant und Fichte, andererseits an die „popularphilosophische“ Tradition, die als eine außerakademische philosophische Richtung in der Erziehung des Zeitalters der Aufklärung eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Das Gebiet der Popularphilosophie wird in Schillers jugendlicher Dissertation (Versuch über den Zusammenhang der thierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner geistigen) mit dem der Medizin zu verbinden versucht. Es wird sowohl die Einheit des Triebes und der Vernunft, als auch die der Sittlichkeit und der Sinnlichkeit mit der Idee der Totalität der Personalität zusammengebracht.

In den Schriften Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen wird das Ziel der ästhetischen Erziehung darin gesehen, die harmonische Personalität, das „moralische Menschenadel“ zu erschaffen. Während sich die Einheit der Natur und der Kultur im Griechentum in Schillers Ansicht nachspüren läßt, trennen sich die Natur und die Kultur, der Verstand und das Gefühl, der intuitive und spekulative Verstand in der Neuzeit schon voneinander. Indem die ästhetische Erziehung, also die Bildung auf das Ganze des Menschen gerichtet ist, erweist sie sich als die Überwindung dieser Situation. Da sich die ästhetische Erziehung im Schnittpunkt von der Philosophie, der Kunst und der Pädagogik befindet, bildet sie die Verknüpfung der sinnlichen und geistlichen Kräfte des Menschen. Durch die ästhetische Erziehung wird nicht nur die Entwicklung der Rezeption der Kunstwerke, sondern auch die Humanisierung der Natur des Menschen bezweckt.

Naturnähe und Naturverbundenheit in der Erziehung zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn (Deutsch)

Irén Virág (Károly Eszterházy University)

In unserem Vortrag setzen wir uns das Ziel, die Besonderheiten der Erziehung in Ungarn zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts darzustellen. Das ungarische Geistes- und Kulturleben war sehr stark vom deutschen Kulturkreis bestimmt, was sowohl bei der Privaterziehung als auch in den verschiedenen Erziehungsinstitutionen zum Ausdruck kommt.

Zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts lebten in Ungarn die Gedanken der Aufklärung fort. Die Schriftsteller der deutschen Aufklärung erfreuten sich bei einer breiten Leserschaft großer Beliebtheit, was unter anderem durch die aufkommende Verbreitung der deutschen Sprachkenntnisse bedingt war. Weithin bekannt waren die pädagogischen Ideen von Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi und Herder, aber auch die Lehren der Philanthropie (Basedow, Campe, Trapp, Salzmann) und die des Neuhumanismus fanden viel Echo.

Ein besonderer Akzent wurde dabei auf praktische Kenntnisse, das Erlernen lebendiger Fremdsprachen, den Lernprozess durch Demonstration und das enge Verhältnis zur Natur gelegt. Bildung und Erziehung waren in der von Basedow 1774 gegründeten Erziehungsanstalt durch folgende Merkmale bestimmt: pragmatische Vorgehensweise, neue methodische Gedanken, Verspieltheit, Lernen durch eigene Erfahrungen und Lebensnähe. In den meisten

Instituten spielte die körperliche Erziehung in Form von viel Bewegung und Aufenthalt in der frischen Luft eine hervorgehobene Rolle, die Zöglinge machten oft Ausflüge in der Natur.

Der Vortrag versucht nachzuweisen, wie die im Philanthropismus betonte Naturnähe und Naturverbindlichkeit in der ungarischen Erziehungspraxis zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts zum Ausdruck kamen. Als Methode wird dabei eine Quellen- und Dokumentanalyse angewendet.

Der Überwindungsversuch des Naturalismus und des Humanismus in der Erziehungsphilosophie von Eugen Fink (Deutsch)

Péter Sárkány (Károly Eszterházy University)

In meinem Vortrag beziehe ich mich auf die Kritik der früheren Moralphilosophie, die Eugen Fink in seiner Vorlesung im Winter-Semester 1951/52 unter dem Titel „Philosophie der Erziehung“ an der Universität Freiburg gehalten, formulierte. Im Zentrum dieser Kritik steht die alte Trennung von „Metaphysik der Natur“ und „Metaphysik der Sitten“. Dieser Riß zwischen Natur und Geist bestimmt das Theorie-Praxis-Verhältnis in der modernen geisteswissenschaftlichen und tatsachenorientierten Erziehungswissenschaft. Fink fokussiert dagegen auf die „alltägliche Problematik“ der Erziehung und argumentiert in dieser Hinsicht für eine Ethik, die in der Physik gegründet ist. „Die Ethik gründet in der Physik, das bedeutet für uns weder die These, dass das Reich des Sittlichen dem Reiche der Natur aufruhe, noch die naturalistische Gegenthese, das Sittliche sei in Wahrheit, seines moralischen Pathos entkleidet, nichts anderes als ein Feld sublimierter und pervertierter Triebe, eine Art degenerierter Natur“ (S. 69.).

Mein Vortrag geht der Frage nach, wie Fink diese These durch die kritische und phänomenologische Analyse von konkreten Texten des Kant und Hegel zu untermauern versuchte. Dabei handelt es sich vor allem um die Auffassung der Sittlichkeit bei Kant, ausgelegt von Fink in der Vorlesung von 1952/53 („Grundprobleme der menschlichen Gemeinschaft“) und erneut unter dem Titel „Existenz und Coexistenz“ im Winter-Semester 1968/69. So würde ich in meinem Gedankengang darauf hinweisen, dass durch die „Grundphänomene der sozialen Welt“ die von Fink skizzierten Antinomien der Erziehung besser verstanden und ausgelegt werden. Für ihn kann die Spannung, die zwischen den humanistischen und den naturalistisch bedingten Tendenzen besteht, gerade durch die phänomenologische Interpretation der alltäglichen und „vorwissenschaftlichen“ Auffassung von Erziehung gemildert werden.

3.10 SYMPOSIUM CULTIVATING CHILDREN AND YOUTH: TRANSNATIONAL EXPLORATIONS OF THE URBAN AND THE NATURAL (1/4)

Convenors: Tim Allender (University of Sydney), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)

Discussant: Martin Lawn (University of Oxford), Kate Rousmaniere (Miami University)

The Natural World of Elizabeth Brander in colonial India, 1880-1899 (English)

Tim Allender (University of Sydney)

Colonial education in nineteenth-century India for females valorised epistemologies around the body and Europeaness. This was particularly so for females. Over several generations

colonial education separated out girls based on their race, favouring those who were Eurasian, and those who could afford to pay for an accomplishments education based on European sensitivities of femininity and the ability to make a good Western home (Allender 2017).

However, it was to be nature that broke down these strictures at least for some Indian girls, on the periphery, who were poor and who lived away from city-based schools. Amongst some Parsee women, an important European educator, Elizabeth Brander, transformed colonial education for females in Madras, a large province in Southeast India. Her early sponsorship in India, as Miss Bain, was part of the Mary Carpenter 1870s push for Western educated teachers to ameliorate India's social ills. However, in the 1880s, she sought to break the shackles of the raj and begin encouraging the education of Indian females. Resources were limited and her strategy was to build literacy and numeracy through the study of simple Indian forms of nature, most particularly Indian flowers as part of object lessons that could be taught, plein air, adjacent to very modest village schools.

This paper examines Brander's approach that brought poor Indian girls into the colonial ambit by breaking strong race and gender barriers that were at their height in the last two decades of the twentieth century (Brander, 1899). The paper also studies the aftermath of this intervention when Froebel took hold in India. And also the Cambridge middle examinations and European notions of 'Nature Study' (Seton, 2013). Here new commodifications took hold. Schools struggled as only approved natural motifs were acceptable in the interests examination conformity (Firth and Whitehouse, 2009). Precious funds were used up to transport approved genres of flowers for the aesthetic of European drawing examinations without variation. And the classroom was once again brought 'inside' where shapes of nature were replicated by parallel and artificial model making

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The urban and the natural in education reform: The development of Hamburg Schullandheime (rural school hostels) in the 1920s (English) Christine Mayer (Universität Hamburg)

Jean Jacques Rousseau redefined the relationship between nature and education in his 1762 treatise *Émile, or On Education*, laying the foundation for a tradition of nature-centred education that continued to influence pedagogical thinking through centuries. Educational institutions in rural environments that considered nature central to the pupils' learning experiences were already created in the 18th century, with the Schnepfenthal Philanthropin as an important example. The desire to be close to nature, experience it directly and live in tune with it grew as industrialisation, urbanisation and the impact of technology on everyday

life became increasingly ubiquitous at the turn of the twentieth century. Education reformers founded private schools in rural environments (such as e.g. Abbotsholme in England, the Landerziehungsheime in Germany or the École des Roches in France) or in close proximity to nature, as in many open-air schools. With the end of the First World War, the Schullandheim emerged as a new form in Germany. Founded mainly on the initiative of reform-minded teachers and parents, these hostels located in rural areas intended to temporarily provide students of urban schools with access to the 'beneficial educational influence' of rural life. By 1925, there were 120 Schullandheime affiliated with the schools of 30 major German cities, many of them around Hamburg, a centre of education reform. The development of Schullandheim was embedded in discourses on the negative influence on urban environments on childhood development that had begun well before the war and was accompanied by Martha Muchow's empirical study about the living space of urban childhood in Hamburg. My contribution will trace the development of the Hamburg Schullandheim using photographs from the archive of the Hamburg Schulmuseum and connect it to the contemporary discourse on urban youth.

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The Nature of the Child and the Urban in Educational Reform Movements of the 20th Century (English)

Meike Sophia Baader (Universität Hildesheim)

The paper focuses on two educational reform movements in the 20th century and discusses concepts of urban education and nature. The one is situated in the context of progressive education in Berlin at the beginning of the 20th century. The other is located in the context of the Kinderladen movement in Berlin in the 1970s. In 1903, feminist, socialist and social reformer Adele Schreiber (Allen, 1992; Baader, 2015) edited the handbook "Vom Kinde" (Schreiber, 1907), two volumes on education from a progressive educational perspective, including eugenic aspects. The goal was to develop a "consciousness of the naturalness" (Fidus, 1907, 4) linked with a critical view on the emergence of large cities in modernity. The contribution "Child and Nature" (Vosgerau, 1907) in the handbook e.g. emphasizes the importance of children's experiences of and confrontations with "living nature" such as plants and animals and the importance of gardening with children (ibid, 130).

In the alternative child nurseries or anti-authoritarian Kinderläden of the 1970s, public parks became a space to demonstrate the presence of children in urban public spaces, showing their disobedience against prohibitions to enter (Baader, 2012). Parents organised manifestations against parking places in the cities because they reduced public spaces for

children and their playgrounds. Urban space was first of all a place and an educational area for social learning (Baader/Sager 2017). To learn something about “living nature” was less important. In the context of the Kinderladen movement, the “nature of the child” signified a free sexual development of children and the naturalness of being naked, teachers and children, as A. Neill mentioned in his famous book on Summerhill (Neill 1969, 219; Baader 2017).

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3.11 PANEL NATURE AND THE URBAN (2)

Chair: **Susanne Spieker (University of Koblenz-Landau)**

Das städtische Kind und seine pädagogische Umgebung um die Wende des XX. Jahrhunderts (Deutsch)

Dániel István Sanda (Óbuda University)

„Die zweckmäßige Anordnung des Gebäudes, seine Höhe, seine Trockenheit, seine Lüftung, seine Bequemlichkeit und Sauberkeit, die Hübschheit seiner äußeren Umgebung dienen nicht nur der Gesundheitsbewahrung der Kinder, sondern auch üben einen didaktischen Einfluss auf sie.“ (Pál Gönczy, 1888)

Die Hauptstadt von Ungarn hat sich aufgrund ihrer Einwohnerzahl um die Wende des XX. Jahrhunderts zur achten Großstadt von Europa entwickelt, ihre Schulgebäude wurden durch einen langen hygienischen Diskurs des weltstädtischen Rangs würdig. In meinem Vortrag analysiere ich aufgrund Primärquellen die Lern- und Erziehungsumgebung des großstädtischen Kindes, weiterhin den Vorgang, der zur allmählichen Modernisierung der sachlichen und infrastrukturellen Bildungsbedingungen der 6- bis 12-jährigen geführt hat.

Der Begriff der modernen Hygiene war seit der Aufklärung die Fassung der Gelehrsamkeit, die einerseits das Verhältnis des Kindes als Schüler zur seine physischen und körperlichen Äußerungen bestimmenden pädagogischen Umgebung beschreibt, andererseits das Verhalten des Schülers im Gesellschaftsraum der Schule regelt.

Der interdisziplinäre Diskurs über die Hygiene hat das damit zusammenhängende System des Wissens, der praktischen Handlung und der verschiedenen Technologien beinhaltet. Der wirtschaftliche Aufschwung nach dem Ausgleich von 1867, die den Architekt-Konstrukteuren zur Verfügung stehenden neuen, gesünderen Baumaterialien, die Forderungen der Schulärzte und die pädagogischen Argumente der Fachmänner der Erziehungswissenschaft haben zur Verbesserung der Bedingungen des organisierten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens geführt. Insofern wir ihre pädagogische Seite, vor allem ihre Elemente in der Schulhygiene bzw. in der Gesundheitslehre betrachten, können wir festhalten, dass die zentrale Kategorie als normal angesehen wird (normale Körperhaltung und Kleidung, normales Schreiben, die Normen des Schulgebäudes, ihre Möbelstücke nach der Norm, usw.). Die auf solcher Weise konstruierenden Normalen, beziehungsweise die Normalität haben immer mehr eine mit experimentellen Methoden untersuchbare Norm, einen messbaren Durchschnitt bedeutet. Die damals entstehenden Leistungs-, Aufmerksamkeits- und Gedächtnisuntersuchungen begründen die messungsmethodischen Verfahren der sich zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts entwickelnden experimentellen Pädagogik. Die Unterrichtspolitik hat die Verschärfung, bzw. die Einhaltung der schulhygienischen Anforderungen mit einer Verordnung des Kultus- und Unterrichtsministeriums vorgeschrieben. Im Jahre 1905 haben Ärzte und Gesundheitslehrer den Bau einer Musterschule vorgeschlagen, deren Plan ich – nach meinen archivarischen Forschungen – ausführlich bekannt gebe.

Die Zeitgemäßheit, die Differenziertheit und der Funktionenwechsel sind die Folgen der Fachgemäßheit der pädagogisch-psychologischen Grundsätze und Aspekte, kurzum der Pädagogik. Die Verstärkung der Fachgemäßheit und die Effektivität der pädagogischen Arbeit unterstützen symbiotisch einander, und gestalten den pädagogischen Raum, also der Verwirklichung einer neuen Raumkonstruktion gehen die nach den neuen Erkenntnissen abgefassten Anforderungen immer vorher.

Außerdem haben die Diskurse der Schulhygiene die Heilpädagogik bzw. ihre pädagogische Methode bezüglich der Behandlung der verschiedenen Behinderungen, später die Entfaltung des Kinderschutzes beeinflusst. Dies hat das Erscheinen der sozialen Aspekte befolgt: die Aufdeckung der moralischen Gesundheit und der Vernachlässigung; die Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen der Kinder und der Jugendlichen wurden immer betonter. Die Manifestation dieser Prozesse können wir um die Jahrhundertwende in der Entwicklung von Ungarn, vor allem im Schulwesen der Hauptstadt nachfolgen. Für die großstädtischen Kinder hat sich die - in jeder Hinsicht bis heute - vorbildliche Lernumgebung in den Schulpalästen des Jahrhundertanfangs verwirklicht.

La educación natural y urbana de las élites en Brasil del siglo XIX: las prácticas y los agentes (Español)

Maria Celi Chaves Vasconcelos (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)

En Brasil, el siglo XIX fue el periodo en que la educación doméstica, o educación en casa, se hizo largamente practicada por las elites, particularmente, en la capital del Imperio del Brasil,

la ciudad de Rio de Janeiro. La casa era el lugar dónde la aristocracia educaba sus hijos e hijas, por medio de preceptores y profesores particulares. En el domicilio de la familia vivían los preceptores que eran maestros o maestras, acompañando sus discípulos en todas las actividades, contratados para la educación de los niños y jóvenes de la casa. Los profesores particulares eran los que daban las tareas “por casas”, de primeras letras o de conocimientos específicos, en días y horarios preestablecidos, en los cuales comparecían para enseñar a sus alumnos. Entre los preceptores que anunciaban sus servicios por los periódicos brasileños de gran circulación en la época, se encontraban muchas mujeres extranjeras, principalmente, inglesas, francesas y alemanas, cuyos servicios de educar niños y jóvenes se apreciaban demasiado. Se hizo la práctica preceptora, inicialmente utilizada en Brasil por la nobleza, poco a poco, un modelo de “buena educación” y, copiando a la aristocracia, otras capas de la población, capaces de arcar con los costos financieros de mantener una preceptora o distintos profesores particulares, se van adhiriendo a la práctica de la educación doméstica de hijos e hijas. Este contexto abre un largo campo de trabajo para mujeres europeas que necesitaban de mantenerse, haciendo con que las centenas de viajeras extranjeras se aportasen en Brasil para ejercer las funciones de preceptora o profesora particular en las casas de la Corte Imperial. Centrado en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, el estudio tiene como objetivo general demostrar la incidencia de la llegada de estas mujeres viajeras para actuar como preceptoras en las casas de las elites ochocentistas y las prácticas de educación doméstica que desarrollaban para enseñar niños y niñas. En un plan más específico, el objetivo del estudio se refiere a las representaciones acerca de estas mujeres extranjeras y lo que se esperaba de su actuación en las casas brasileñas. Se trata de una pesquisa histórico-documental, cuyas principales fuentes incluyen anuncios y reportajes de periódicos y revistas de educación y de instrucción destinadas a las familias y a las mujeres, además de ego-documentos, como diarios y cartas, escritos por las propias preceptoras o por testigos de esta práctica. Se concluye que la movilidad de la educación doméstica estaba impregnada de las circunstancias y de la mentalidad de una época y de una sociedad natural y urbana, que se reflejaba en los estándares europeos, y que, lentamente, dejaba los últimos resquicios heredados del periodo colonial, buscando el estatuto de sociedad capitalista industrial, en la cual se aspiraban y ejercían fuerte influencia los estándares europeos en la educación brasileña.

School and Urban Development in Spain: the Introduction of Children’s Traffic Parks in the Later Years of the Franco Regime (Español)

Gabriel Barceló Bauzá (University of the Balearic Islands), Llorenç Gelabert Gual (University of the Balearic Islands)

Spain opened up its economy in the 1960s and left behind the national self-sufficiency policies that had been in place since the end of the Civil War (1939). Although the Régime led by General Francisco Franco held onto power for almost forty years (1939-1975), it was not until the end of the 1950s when a series of economic policies was introduced to help modernise an economy burdened down by many of years of stagnation. In addition to this, a phenomenon had, since the end of the Second World War, been sweeping across Europe and Spain: the so-called car boom. In this new context of expanding motor vehicle ownership, institutions and politicians handed the responsibility for road safety education down to primary schools. In Spain, the Ministry of National Education approved an order in 1961 stipulating the obligatory nature of instruction in the highway code at primary schools. The order included theory and practical learning. This paper focusses on an analysis of the main

education spaces set up for practical training in road safety: children's traffic parks. The parks represented without doubt a new pedagogical resource with wide media impact. Children would role-play being drivers, pedestrians or traffic wardens in a period where the car boom radically transformed the look and safety of Spanish streets and roads. In order to study this phenomenon, we have used different sources (legislation, newspaper articles, illustrated magazines, the recollection of school teachers, photographs, etc.) that have enabled us to gain an insight into the level of implementation of those first parks. Based on an analysis of the different material unearthed we can state that the children's traffic parks have, from their creation to the present day, been educational spaces focussed on training city dwellers in a process of adaptation to an ever more motorised environment. Acquiring a set of knowledge and codes of conduct linked to civic behaviour on public highways, whether as a car driver or as a pedestrian, represented a key element to peaceful coexistence in the society of the time. Here we should also add that motorisation and mechanisation on Spanish roads in the 1960s had a greater impact in those areas where tourism was the driving force of the local economy. This is why we have chosen to focus on one of those areas to illustrate the introduction of children's traffic parks: the island of Majorca.

(*) The following text would be of interest for the section: The urban and the natural child

(**) Project: School Culture and Practices in the 20th Century. EDU2017-82485-P. State Programme for the Promotion of Scientific and Technical Research of Excellence, a State sub-Programme for the Creation of Knowledge, under the framework of the State Plan for Scientific and Technical Research and Innovation 2013-2016. Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (AEI/FEDER, EU).

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Representations of childhood in Greek language school textbooks: from the rural to the urban childhood (English)

Ioannis Mpetsas (University of Western Macedonia), Sofia Avgitidou (University of Western Macedonia), Anastasia Tsiompanou (University of Western Macedonia)

This paper explores the representations of childhood in Greek language school textbooks within a broad chronological period, from 1934 to date. The theoretical background of the study basically draws from the “new sociology of childhood” which perceives childhood as a social construction and is critical towards the “natural childhood” drawn from Rousseau and the classical socialization theories. The study is also framed by understanding school textbooks as social representations of social categories and social phenomena.

Research questions include: how is childhood positioned in terms of time, space, traits, activities and relationships in school textbooks over time? What images of childhood are represented in textbooks over time?

Childhood representations are analyzed through thematic content analysis of data derived from the texts of Greek language schoolbooks from 1934 to date (historical perspective).

Findings show the different positioning of childhood in Greek textbooks through time (historical perspective) and relevant changes in different time periods. One such change is the positioning of childhood in rural and urban contexts respectively. The study also shows that childhood in its positioning in rural and urban contexts is related to specific representations. Specifically, in tracing the representation of the rural child, wealth, good health, neatness, active membership in the household in economic terms, gender discrimination, patriotism and divine providence, constitute an amount of characteristics, which, with a lot of reference to free play, construct a perception of a homogeneous deficit “adult-to-be” childhood, either evil or innocent, but mainly close to John Locke’s conception of the “immanent child”. Rural children are represented to live in an adult-centered world, in which they function as deficient subjects.

On the other hand, as time goes by, and particularly since the 1980s, childhood representations in Greek language school textbooks construct a dominant image of the urban child. Discourses on childhood in an urban locality show children as autonomous and independent agents, creating and experiencing their own separate world. Children playing, joking, teasing in peer groups, creating, sharing tender moments with their families and solving problems are perceived as representations of the tribal childhood discourse with references to the agentic childhood.

Overall, our findings show that childhood as a social category is represented in terms of time and space that shapes the context of childhood and accordingly the ways it is represented in school textbooks. In this way our study has shown that childhood is not represented as an unchangeable continuum but is affected by changes observed in the time period in which textbooks are written. The rural versus the urban childhood is related to distinct qualities that children should have such and these are presented as both expected and dominant and thus “naturalise” the forwarded representations of childhood in school textbooks. In this way our study shows that textbooks tend to normalize childhood by fostering dominant representations. Last, we show that pre-sociological theories of childhood such as the immanent child, the developing child and the natural child as well as sociological theories such as the minority-group childhood are employed as assumptions for the construction of childhood representations in Greek primary school text books concerning the rural childhood.

While, the images of the tribal and agentic childhood are employed to construct the representations of the urban childhood.

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3.12 PANEL TEACHING NATURE AND THE SCIENCES (3)

Chair: Eckhardt Fuchs (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research)

Anglo-American Influence on the Teaching of the Natural Sciences in Primary Schools of 19th-Century Brazil (English)

Karl Lorenz (Sacred Heart University), Ariclê Vechia (Universidade Tuiuti do Paraná)

In the 19th century there were two transnational movements of educational ideas from Europe and the United States to Brazil. The first, initiated in 1838, resulted in the adoption of French curriculum models and science textbooks in Brazilian secondary schools. The second movement, beginning in the 1870s, witnessed the adoption of Anglo-American views and practices on the teaching of the natural sciences in Brazilian elementary schools. The Anglo-American perspective on science education significantly influenced the educational reform of the Minister of the Empire Carlos Leôncio de Carvalho. In 1878 Carvalho introduced the teaching of object lessons, or "lessons of things," in the early years of the elementary curriculum to develop the child's ability to observe and describe phenomena of nature and everyday objects. For the later years, the reform deepened the study of the natural sciences. The reform also reorganized the Normal School curriculum to include more preparation for teaching object lessons and the natural sciences. This paper discusses the Anglo-American perspective on the teaching of the natural sciences and its effects on science education in the Brazilian primary school. The narrative begins by summarizing the arguments about the teaching of science posited by distinguished British and American scientists such as Youmans, Hooker, Tyndall, Faraday, Herschel, Lyell and others, and social thinkers like Huxley and Spencer. Also examined are the ideas of the Brazilian parliamentarian and anglophile Rui Barbosa, who in 1883 vigorously argued for the teaching of the natural sciences in elementary schools. This is followed by an exposition of the directives of the Carvalho reform related to the integrated curriculum of the natural sciences and identifies important educational texts that supported its initiatives. In this regard, the paper discusses the teacher's manual of Norman A. Calkin, *Primary Object Lessons* (1870), and its relation to the Carvalho reform. Calkin, an American and admirer of Pestalozzi, proposed that children in the first years of primary school use their senses to develop their capacity to observe, measure and describe objects and natural phenomena in preparation for advanced studies of the natural sciences.

Calkins manual was translated by Rui Barbosa in 1886 under the title *Licoes de Coisas* and quickly was adopted in Brazilian teacher normal. The paper also discusses a collection of science textbooks intended for use in the latter years of the primary curriculum and titled *Biblioteca do Ensino Intuitivo – As Ciencias Naturaes*. The texts on the natural and physical sciences were written by eminent English authors and published in England and the United States under the title *Science Primers*. The collection was translated in Brazil in the 1880s and 1890s. Based on an examination of the 1878 reform, Calkins' manual and the pedagogy of the sciences primers, the paper demonstrates that the teaching of the natural sciences in the Brazilian primary school reflected the viewpoints of Anglo-American scientists and educators.

Based on Nature: A Local University's Practices of China, 1978-1998 (English)

Jia Liu (Central China Normal University)

As an educational setting, nature plays a significant role in human's teaching and learning activities, affecting education values, regional layout of institutions and services, teaching contents and methods, etc. Meanwhile, education exerts a strong influence on the environment, directly or indirectly. This study examines the educational practices (from 1978 to 1998) of Hubei University for Nationalities which located in Enshi city, one of the poorly remote mountainous areas of Hubei province in China. It uses teaching archives and official documents to demonstrate the shifts on school officials' attitudes toward the relations between education and nature since 1980s. Based on local natural conditions and ecological system, Hubei University for Nationalities had utilized a range of available resources to promote the quality of education through (1) transferring normal education institute only to a multi-discipline university containing agriculture, science, engineering as well as normal education, (2) running new majors and departments such as Forestry, Specialty (TeChan), Food Science, etc. (3) engaging in scientific researches concerning fauna and flora, ethnic herbal medicine and local crops, (4) laying emphasis on students' environmental awareness through the whole process of education, including curriculum system, teaching, extracurricular activities and course practice. Besides, to reduce the negative effect of remote location and strength the ranks of teachers, the university had worked closely with governments and other higher education institutions in terms of personal exchanges. Along with the finding that the changes of attitudes towards nature and the way this local university had treated its natural setting is, to some degree, a microcosm of the interplay of nature and universities' development in China over the past decades, this article also tries a new way to understand patterns in the relationship between nature and higher education.

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“Housing” Exhibition at the Chicago Field Columbian Museum and Practice of Dewey’s Laboratory School (English)

Ai Tanimoto Senga (Hokkaido University of Education)

This presentation focused on the practice of "housing" in history lessons at Dewey’s Laboratory School during 1896 to 1901. The subject of “housing” was related to study on human history, woods, adaptation of nature and climate. Our purpose was to clarify how children and teachers utilized the "housing" exhibition at the Columbian Museum in Chicago where they visited repeatedly. The materials we analyzed were the records maintained by the University of Chicago from 1896 to 1903, the Laboratory School teachers’ work reports, annual reports of the board of trustees of the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago, and annual reports of the board of education in Chicago. We also examined other schools that had visited the Field Museum, and how the museum collaborated with the public schools in Chicago. According to the report by the Laboratory School on December 17, 1896, all groups visited the Columbian Museum every Monday morning for 90 minutes. The younger groups, from 1897 to 1898, had studied the northern part with the tropical forest. Moreover, pictures of homes and rural buildings from around the world seen in the museum, including from Japan and China, were acquired from a collection from the agricultural department of the World Exhibition in 1893. The students visited the museum in order to compare the pictures of Chinese and Japanese homes. Small children observed forests and individual trees in the study of woods and to draw sketches. Moreover, they prepared for a visit to a timber processing plant by studying pictures of furniture and houses and cottages made of wood. In 1894, the botany department of the Field Columbian Museum had forest collections from 25 countries, such as Russia, Brazil, Mexico, the USA, Paraguay, Japan, Turkey, Spain, and Australia. Woods, forest huts, tobacco, rice, trees, and bamboo from Japan were also displayed in the exhibition rooms.

Hein, a researcher at the museum, pointed out that, “Dewey recognized the value of the museum.” In his book, “The School and Society,” he presented the ideal school building and placed a museum room in the center of the second floor. However, according to Hein, his study on the museum’s educational function at the end of 19th century, was focused mainly on a visitor survey, with little consideration given to what school children had learned. Dewey School was not the only one school that visited the Field Museum in Chicago. According to the museum’s annual report in 1899, 41 schools visited a total of 84 times with 151 teachers and 4,582 pupils. While a small number of pupils of public schools had visited the museum, most of the children of Dewey School regularly visited museums. The Dewey School connected history with daily living, and the children learned about different areas of residence, ethnic characteristics, as well as differences in types of wood.

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Nature and the pre-active potential of the Greek curriculum 1913-1942 (English)

Maria Giannakou (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

In Greece, the years between the struggle for independency in 1913 and the struggle for survival during World War II in 1942 are characterized by the efforts for organization and development in the educational era, while the educational policy of 1913 is directly affected by the intensified involvement of the educational demoticism leaders (Dimaras, 2013). The curriculum of 1913 has been modified and completed by the Royal Decrees of 1919, 1934 and 1942 and kept its endurance essentially up to the year 1964 while a new reform was introduced.

From a historical perspective this study reviews the pre-active (Goodson, 1997) potential of the Greek curriculum (1913-1942) and its relevance to nature as part of the content of teaching. More precisely first we collect the weekly programs of the different kind of schools and we identify the subjects that focused on nature, namely we discuss the factor of nature as a target of knowledge. In the second phase using qualitative tools we investigate the books of Greek Language subject in order to detect texts where nature is the vehicle to reach knowledge.

The analysis of data unveils the dimensions of a significant relation between instruction and nature as a perspective of encountering approaches of the broader educational procedure. The conclusions function as a base of timeless comparisons of different educational approaches related to nature. As the different ways of constructing curriculum produce different identities and relations in pedagogical contexts (Bernstein, 2000), the curriculum of 1913-1942 give us the official framework where the relationships within classrooms and the pedagogical climate should had been produced by that time.

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THURSDAY August 30 11:00 - 1:00

4

4.1 MULTILINGUAL PANEL QUESTIONNER LA DIVISION NATURE/CULTURE DANS LES DISCOURS ET LES PRATIQUES EDUCATIVES I: LES FEMMES PEDAGOGUES EN FRANCE, AU BRESIL ET EN ARMÉNIE (1/2)

Chair and Discussant: Diana Vidal (Universidade de São Paulo)

Gender, nature and culture in female education: questioning the confessional aspects of teaching formation (English)

Angélica Pall Oriani (Universidade de São Paulo), Leila Maria Inoue (Universidade Estadual Paulista)

In this abstract are presented the results of research in progress whose purpose is to investigate women and innovative pedagogical practices in Brazil and France (1860-1960). By focusing on the Brazilian context, this article discusses the gender issue from the formation of primary teachers in free regular schools. These institutions were administered by private, confessional or municipal initiatives and were equated to the official regular schools in São Paulo in 1927, aiming to fill the lack of teachers in primary schools located in the inlands of the state. For the purposes of this summary, discussions are centered on the framework of these faith-based teacher formation institutions, considering that many were boarding schools and admitted girls exclusively. Such as the case of the Free Regular School "Sacred Heart of Jesus", created in 1937 in the city of Marília, São Paulo, where Olinda Magarotto dos Santos graduated as a primary teacher in 1956. The memoirs of this teacher, who worked for 25 years in schools in the inlands of the state of São Paulo, and who is currently retired, show the connection with precepts and religious practices in the daily activities of the regular school and the organization of some curricular content somewhat attached to the values of Catholicism. It is possible to question the role of the Catholic Church through faith-based educational institutions for the promotion of girls' education, the challenges faced by these girls and the division between nature and culture. It allows us to discuss the representations built regarding the nature and culture and identity of these students, whose foundations were based on moral and ethical integrity, from the perspective of women's natural ability to deal with children and the preservation and maintenance of these bodies that were domesticated to serve the country, the family and God.

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Sophie Ulliac-Trémadeure (1794-1862) et la pédagogie positive, ou comment la science morale doit émanciper les femmes? (Français)

Isabelle Matamoros (Université Paris Descartes – Université Lumière Lyon 2)

L'éducation des femmes doit-elle être savante ou morale ? Passe-t-elle

par une pédagogie de l'esprit ou du cœur ? Voici quelques-uns des grands questionnements qui traversent le débat sur l'éducation des femmes dans la France des années 1830, et que l'on peut résumer dans l'opposition entre culture et nature. Dans cette communication, je reviendrai sur les principaux arguments contradictoires du débat à partir de la biographie de Sophie Ulliac-Trémadeure (1794-1862), à partir de son autobiographie et d'une série d'articles de presse qu'elle a publiés en 1834 dans divers périodiques féminins. De fait, la vie et les prises de position de cette auteure pour la jeunesse mettent particulièrement bien en lumière le poids des normes de genre lorsqu'il s'est agi, pour des femmes soucieuses de l'éducation de leurs contemporaines, d'en penser les finalités et les possibles innovations.

Sophie, issue de la bourgeoisie, a reçu une éducation atypique pour son époque : jeune, elle est encouragée par son père à étudier, tout en apprenant qu'une femme qui en sait trop déroge à son sexe. Elle devient alors auteure d'ouvrages de morale, puis directrice du Journal des jeunes personnes. Surtout, au début des années 1830, elle publie des articles où elle s'interroge sur le rôle de l'éducation dans l'émancipation des femmes. En lectrice d'ouvrages de pédagogie, elle se saisit de la pensée d'Antoine Raucourt qui, dans son manuel de « philosophie positive », professe que tout homme peut parvenir au bonheur en mettant en œuvre une philosophie pratique et morale quotidienne. Selon Raucourt, il n'est point besoin d'accéder à des connaissances savantes compliquées, puisque chacun possède cette philosophie en lui. De manière originale, Sophie voit dans ces arguments la preuve qu'il existe une « science morale » qui ne repose pas sur l'apprentissage d'un savoir mais sur l'instinct, donc particulièrement adaptée aux femmes, leur permettant de trouver une place dans la société.

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The role of the Sanitary Educator Maria Antonieta de Castro in Brazilian Health Education - 1892-1984 (English)

Claudinéia Maria Vischi Avanzini (Universidade de São Paulo)

This paper will analyze the contributions of a lesser-known Brazilian woman, who, however, contributed significantly in innovations in the São Paulo and Brazilian teaching in the area of Health Education, bringing to light her trajectory, her actions and her theoretical references. The examples developed of an active women in São Paulo who aims to answer the

questioning of the nature/culture divided in educational discourses and practices observed in different Brazilian states, trying to interplay of nature, society, and education in the histories of education. The researched woman is Mrs. Maria Antonieta de Castro (1892-1984), one of the first Sanitary Educators of the country. She was one of the pioneer in the participation in the First Course for Sanitary Educators at the Institute of Hygiene in São Paulo, concluded in 1927. At the course closing ceremony, she delivered a speech, published on December 9, 1927 in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*. By the same year, she became the leader in the Sanitary Education department of São Paulo City, responsible for the installations, organization and management of the first activities related to the state health center and the schools in São Paulo. Also in 1927, she won the Children's Literary Awards, with the children's book entitled *Papagaio Louro*, to disseminate the sanitary education. In 1950, the Standard Oil Company of Brazil honored her as the pioneer in Sanitary Education in São Paulo, however, she was also recognized for the same work in other Brazilian states, which was evidenced, in 1929, by a message from the Espírito Santo State Governor. Her actions can be demonstrated through her responsibility to organize many health education campaigns in the State of São Paulo, (FARIA, 2006, p.193). The temporal cutout starts in 1892, the year she was born and finishes in 1984, the year of her died.

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Natural role or choice of occupation: Armenian women's movement of Fröbelian pedagogy in the late-nineteenth century (English)

Hayarpi Papikyan (Université Paris-Descartes)

In 1880, a group of thirty Armenian women founded a Fröbelian Society in the South Caucasus, annexed by the Russian Empire in 1828. The group opened five kindergartens translating the games and songs of Friedrich Fröbel (1782–1852) into Armenian. The group acquired a gendered and political significance; while for the Armenian community leaders the activities of the group meant that women were carrying out their natural maternal role, for the Russian Government in the Caucasus, they were nurturing separatism in children by teaching them Armenian and undermining the Russian imperial project of Russifying the Caucasus. In 1885, the Russian Government shut down the Armenian Fröbelian Society exerting political pressures on its leaders. This discussion analyses the historical dynamics of Armenian women's educational role in the patriarchal society and an oppressive political system through the biography of one of the Armenian Fröbelian Society leaders, Gayane Hovhannissian.

Born in an upper class family, Gayane Hovhannissian (1852-1900) received a typical education at a private boarding school. Her life, however, was atypical for a young woman of an affluent family. After her education in 1871, she started working in Armenian Church parish schools. Eager to learn more about child pedagogy, she travelled to Geneva, Switzerland in 1881 to take teacher-training courses. After her return to the Caucasus, she continued her pedagogical activities. In 1885, the Caucasus Government exiled her and her newly-wed husband from the Caucasus. Soon, her husband died, and widowed Gayane settled in Constantinople. There, she devoted her life to the opening and supervising eighteen kindergartens in the Armenian quarters of the city. Gayane Hovhannissian became an inspiring figure for her contemporaries with her unique life that surpassed the borders set for the Armenian women during the period.

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La coéducation et l'éducation des filles. Des regards de femmes pédagogues sous l'emprise du genre avant et après la Première Guerre mondiale (Français)

Geneviève Pezeu (Université Paris Descartes (CERLIS))

Il sera question dans cette communication des femmes qui réfléchissent au procédé pédagogique de la coéducation. Elles s'expriment grâce à des articles et des essais diffusés dans le milieu de l'éducation formelle. La première publiée en 1911 sous le pseudonyme de S. Poirson, un plaidoyer en faveur de l'éducation en commun. Elle s'appuie sur des observations glanées en Europe et aux Etats-Unis. Pour répondre aux détracteurs, elle théorise en cherchant à renverser la « nature » des choses. Quant à la seconde, elle expérimente des formes de coéducation dans un collège de garçons du nord-est de la France. Jeanne Peti(t)col, professeure de littérature, exprime un regard critique où se mêlent les difficultés de l'expérience en tant que femme et des analyses pédagogiques empreintes de sexisme.

Leurs regards diffèrent selon leurs expériences. Cependant, défendre les intérêts des filles pour accélérer leur prise d'autonomie et leur émancipation est le point de rencontre de l'une et l'autre. En effet, la mise en perspectives de leurs approches permet d'appréhender ce qu'elles entendent utile pour que l'éducation intellectuelle des femmes soit efficiente. La coéducation est-elle une bonne préparation à la vie pour les femmes ? Peuvent-elles alors conserver leur rôle et leur place dans la société ? Ces questions auxquelles les deux auteures tentent de répondre se distinguent par des points de vue qui se confrontent.

Il s'agirait, dans cette communication de présenter les argumentations de deux femmes pédagogues qui, pour défendre une même cause, se positionnent différemment en fonction de l'emprise du genre sur leur propre expérience de vie.

Publication des deux auteures étudiées :

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4.2 MULTILINGUAL PANEL LA VIE AU GRAND AIR ET LES PEDAGOGIES CORPORELLES: UNE NATURE QUI EDUQUE, SOIGNE ET DIVERTIT

L'Éducation de plein air à São Paulo (1939-1956) (Français)

André Dalben (Université de l'État de Londrina)

Cette recherche historique porte sur un système d'institutions de plein air actif à São Paulo entre 1939 et 1956. Ce système était composé de: a) trois colonies de vacances situées dans la ville côtière de Santos ; dans le village de montagne de Campos do Jordão ; dans une ferme à la campagne près de la ville de Pindamonhangaba; b) une école-modèle de plein air créée à l'intérieur du Parc Água Branca à São Paulo. Le système des institutions de plein air a été conçu et mis en œuvre par le Département de l'Éducation Physique, organe administratif subordonné au Secrétariat de l'Éducation et de la Santé Publique de l'État de São Paulo. En général, les institutions de plein air combinent politiques de santé et éducation de l'enfant. En tant qu'institutions médicales, elles faisaient partie intégrante d'une politique émergente de prévention de la tuberculose, maladie qui affectait de nombreux enfants au début du XXe siècle. Les prescriptions médicales incluaient des thérapies naturelles - utilisées à l'origine dans les sanatoriums - comme l'exposition du corps à la lumière du soleil et à l'air frais, et une nourriture fortifiante associée à l'exercice corporel. En tant qu'institutions éducatives, les colonies de vacances et l'école de plein air ont été fortement influencées par le mouvement de l'École Nouvelle et elles ont tenté de se différencier des modèles scolaires plus traditionnels. La recherche utilise comme sources historiques: a) les documents officiels du Département d'Éducation Physique de l'État de São Paulo; b) les magazines d'éducation physique ; c) les journaux de grande diffusion. Il est possible d'affirmer que les colonies de vacances et l'école de plein air étaient des symboles exemplaires d'une éducation de plein air proposée et mise en œuvre à São Paulo pendant la période 1939-1956.

Mots-clés: éducation de plein air; colonie de vacances; école de plein air; éducation physique

Body, education and nature in the nudist movement in Brazil (1950) (English)

Carlos Herold Junior (State University of Maringá)

The first records of nudist ideas and practices in Brazil date back to the 1930s. However, it was only in the 1950s that the movement became more visible through the circulation of magazines which publicized its activities. Based on those journals, this work aimed at studying the propagation of naturism relating corporeal practices, education and various representations on nature. Texts and photographs published in the nudist/naturist magazines were analyzed considering nudism as an "education of the body" (SOARES, 2016) which rendered new perceptions about the corporeal dimension of men, women, and children. By placing the body and its education at the kernel of their concerns, nudism proponents assumed nature as relevant for a large set of political, cultural, and formative views that gave to the body and nudity a prominent place in Brazil in the 1950s. Several attitudes related to the body were highlighted, among them observations on body appearance, exhortations to leisure practices held in places far away from the big cities, as well as reflections on the female body, and on the sex education of children. As a conclusion, the 1950s expansion of nudism in the Brazilian context should be regarded as an important source of ideas and

practices, which underlined the conjugation of educational concerns, body practices, and nudity, all of them having nature as a key formative parameter.

Key-words: Body practices, naturism, nudity, body.

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Hiking as a means of education in German gymnastics societies in Brazil (end of the 19th century, first decades of the 20th) (Français)

Evelise Amgarten Quitzau (University of the Republic)

German immigrants who established themselves in South and Southeast Brazil, especially from the second half of the 19th century on, created numerous associations with different purposes, including gymnastics societies. The main goal of these societies was the physical and spiritual strengthening of their associates by means of regular practice of gymnastics, more specifically the Turnen created by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn at the beginning of the 19th century. These societies gradually became important spaces of sociability and education for German immigrants that arrived in the country. Besides promoting traditional gymnastics exercises, performed in nighttime sessions during weekdays in closed gymnasiums, these associations also recommended the practice of exercises and games out in the open. As a complement to gymnastics, these different ways of exercising alongside nature should contribute to counterbalance the harmful effects that life in cities had on people's health. These practices, however, weren't limited to their own playing fields. They also involved hiking, which included from short wanderings to places on the outskirts of their towns to larger excursions that could last a few days and even more complex incursions to mountainous areas. This paper aims at comprehending how these wanderings were connected to the purposes of promoting sociability and physical and spiritual strengthening indicated by these associations.

Keywords: gymnastics societies; hiking; German gymnastics.

La vie au grand air: éducation et nature au Brésil (1920-1949) (Français)

Carmen Lucia Soares (Université de l'État de Campinas)

Ce travail a pour objet la constitution d'un ensemble d'idées et de valeurs sur la vie au grand air au Brésil, entre 1920 et 1949. Cette période est celle d'une plus grande attention portée à la nature, vue comme une partie constitutive des procédures d'éducation, comme un moyen privilégié de promouvoir la santé tout autant que comme un divertissement salubre. Cette période fut celle de l'établissement d'un nouvel ordre urbain, d'un remodelage des villes à partir du bâti mais aussi par la création de jardins publics, de parcs, la percée de boulevards et de rues bordées d'arbres, la création de clubs sportifs et d'espaces de récréation. Les sources de l'étude sont les revues et journaux brésiliens de l'époque, c'est-à-dire les discours et les images de presse où la nature apparaît au centre des préoccupations. La presse est en effet une source privilégiée pour comprendre les désirs et les attentes d'une société, ainsi que les valeurs inspiratrices des comportements collectifs. C'est le cas des reportages, des annonces

publicitaires, ou des petits articles relatant les bénéfices d'un rapport plus direct avec la nature. Notre étude se base également sur l'analyse des thèses médicales, des Annales des Congrès médicaux et d'éducation, ainsi que des revues scientifiques. L'objectif de ce travail est donc de comprendre comment se sont élaborés et ont évolué les arguments du discours sur la vie au grand air au cours de la période étudiée, et de comprendre les stratégies et les moyens qui en permirent la diffusion.

Mots clés: vie au grand air; éducation et nature; éducation par la nature; ordre urbain

Les projets d'éducation naturiste en France: leur influence et leur prise en compte institutionnelle (19^esiècle-milieu du 20^e siècle) (Français)

Sylvain Villaret (Le Mans Université)

Dans le contexte troublé du 19^e siècle, marqué par le bouleversement des repères identitaires, par l'accélération de l'histoire, la nature revient au cœur des réflexions éducatives. Alors que l'on s'interroge sur les voies du progrès humain, qu'angoisses et optimismes se répondent, elle s'impose pour nombre d'individus, artistes, pédagogues, médecins notamment, comme la voie à suivre, la source ultime de vérité et donc le moyen idéal de formation des nouvelles générations. Le tournant du 19^e siècle est d'ailleurs marqué par l'essor des mouvements naturistes en Europe, qui, s'émancipant alors d'une visée strictement médicale, promeuvent des programmes de réformes de la vie fondée sur le retour à la nature. Partant de là, leurs chefs de file du naturisme sont amenés à formaliser des projets d'éducation intégrale et tenter de les mettre en place, en œuvre. La place faite au corps, aux sens, à l'individualité est centrale dans leurs propositions. L'enjeu de cette communication est ainsi de mettre en évidence les caractéristiques de ces différents programmes et projets, leurs originalités afin ensuite de mieux juger leur influence, leur réception au sein de la communauté éducative. On verra notamment que les idées naturistes nourrissent de façon notoire le courant de l'éducation nouvelle en Europe. Celles-ci trouvent aussi en France un lieu d'expression privilégiée au sein des écoles de plein air. L'école publique elle-même, notamment sous le Front Populaire, est gagnée par certaines de ces considérations naturistes.

Mots-clés: écoles de plein air; éducation nouvelle; éducation naturiste; éducation et nature

Chair: Oresta López Pérez (El Colegio de San Luis)

Escola de formação de professores de primeiras letras para zonas rurais: tratamento diferenciado para mulheres e para homens (Espanhol)

Flávia Obino Corrêa Werle (Universidade Do Vale Do Rio Dos Sinos)

O estudo mostra a importância do resgate histórico relativo à criação e implantação das escolas normais rurais, instituições reconhecidas pela excelência na formação do professor rural no Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil. Através da abordagem empregada na análise de entrevistas e de documentos de escolas normais rurais que recebiam alunas e alunos, esse estudo avança em relação às produções anteriores pela reflexão sobre a posição e o perfil do público que teve sua formação nos cursos normais rurais. As análises realizadas demonstram que as Escolas Normais Rurais no sul do país se constituíram a partir de uma confluência de forças e interesses, revelando dois momentos diferenciados na criação de tais estabelecimentos de ensino. O primeiro com grande protagonismo da Igreja Católica e o segundo quando outras iniciativas da sociedade civil e do governo do estado atuaram na criação dessas escolas. Uma segunda interpretação possível a partir da materialidade das fontes orais e da escrituração escolar revela a diferenciação no tratamento de rapazes e moças que frequentavam essas escolas.. Ao levantarmos as marcas do passado da escola, refletimos sobre práticas escolares constitutivas de uma cultura escolar “específica e diferenciadora da Escola Normal Rural em relação as demais escolas de formação de professores” (WERLE, 2007, p. 192), permitindo-nos construir um fragmento da memória e da história dos cursos normais rurais a partir da leitura do cotidiano. Os principais achados vinculam-se a temas como alojamento para rapazes e residência para moças, beneficiados com bolsas de estudos, disponibilidade de serviços de alimentação, em especial jantar e refeições de final de semana, cuidados com vestuário, currículo e registros acadêmicos, atividades extraclasse na forma de horas de estudo, utilização dos espaços do refeitório e em atividades curriculares. Pode-se concluir que as práticas dirigidas às alunas eram distintas com respeito às endereçadas aos alunos, embora todos os entrevistados afirmassem haver igualdade de tratamento entre os estudantes.

“Me volví campesina”: saberes inesperados y nuevas identidades en la formación de maestras rurales en el México postrevolucionario (Espanhol)

Oresta López Pérez (El Colegio de San Luis)

En el México postrevolucionario, se dio prioridad a la educación rural con el objetivo de transformar la situación del campo y para sacar del atraso a la mayoría de la población que eran campesinos. A la par se impulsó un proceso de feminización del magisterio, logrando como nunca antes, la inserción masiva de jovencitas a la educación en las regiones. Tras una quimera utópica, diría Monsiváis (2014), en el marco de una política cultural patriarcal según Vaughan (2013), cientos de mujeres se convirtieron en maestras del campo. En su formación, tuvieron que reaprender a hacer las tareas del mundo campesino bajo las prescripciones de la SEP o bien, -siendo urbanas-, adquirir capacidades para el trabajo en el campo, para poder ser agentes de cambio en su labor educativa.

En la presente ponencia, con documentos del AHSEP y entrevistas, se recuperan datos, experiencias y voces de maestras que en formas inéditas, aprendieron con los campesinos y misioneros, a participar de la vida y producción campesina. Mediante intersaberes

campesinos, cultivaron parcelas y huertos escolares, hicieron gallineros entre otras actividades. Los testimonios muestran el autodescubrimiento y empoderamiento de las maestras frente a nuevos oficios, peligros y roles inesperados que tuvieron que asumir. Siendo natural por entonces que las maestras ganaran menos, que no tuvieran novios, que no se casaran ni tuvieran hijos, el reto mayor era conquistar la igualdad de salarios, los derechos maternos y mantenerse vivas, en un contexto donde la violencia e inseguridad, machismo, cacicazgos y hasta epidemias en los pueblos, hacían que las maestras tuvieran vulnerabilidad y una rotación permanente en sus empleos. Muchas de ellas fueron conscientes de su fortaleza y de su papel histórico como pioneras de la educación.

Pathways to freedom: the meaning of teaching enslaved people (English)

Alexandra Lima da Silva (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)

The goal of this paper is to discuss the meanings of education for enslaved people in the 19th Century. Many studies in the field of education historiography point to the importance of various actions regarding the schooling of enslaved people and freedmen. This research attempts to map out existent bibliography focusing on this theme and to indicate the existence of many paths and possibilities around this research object. This project analyzes various sources, such as newspapers, autobiographical writings, travelers' journals and movies, in the search for understanding the paths trod by enslaved subjects. Education is understood as an entry point for social mobility and ascension in times of slavery. Education was part of the resistance for enslaved people and, for many of them, represented a path towards attaining freedom. I support the notion that the meaning of slave education was different for subjects and institutions. Thus, the masters' initiative to promote their slaves' education was different from the slave's initiative, who could pay to learn from a private tutor, for example. The Church's and the State's intentions were also different from those of the abolitionist clubs and black brotherhoods, for example. This research suggests that learning was a form of resistance and survival in a society that persecuted, stigmatized and tried to brand, in body, movement and speech, the slave's place. I understand education as a gap for achieving social mobility in a slave society. Education was a path to earning freedom.

Keywords: Enslaved people. Education. Freedom. Resistance. History of Education.

Utopia: a educação integral como superação da desigualdade (Espanhol)

Lia Faria (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)

O presente texto buscou refletir sobre a concepção político-pedagógica que permeia a experiência educacional dos Centros Integrados de Educação Pública (CIEPs), recuperando, em particular, o pensamento educacional darcyniano na construção daquela proposta. Consideramos ainda o cenário sociopolítico da redemocratização no período de implementação do I Programa Especial de Educação (I PEE/1983-1988). No caso em tela, o fio condutor são os aspectos teóricos, políticos e históricos que dão forma a proposta elaborada e implementada por Darcy Ribeiro no governo de Leonel Brizola no estado do Rio de Janeiro. Desta forma, nosso foco recai sobre o processo de construção do pensamento educacional fluminense, em meio a suas contradições, intentando identificar rupturas e permanências circulantes no imaginário educacional daquele estado. É necessário assinalar que nossa hipótese central se refere a construção dos CIEPs como uma estratégia para garantir a

autonomia e cidadania dos filhos da classe trabalhadora, combatendo assim a desigualdade histórica herdada das raízes colonialistas e escravocratas da sociedade brasileira. Portanto, acreditamos que o mais destacado fazimento de Darcy Ribeiro na educação visava a construção de uma escola republicana para todos. Cabendo ressaltar ainda que, ao destacar o multifacetado cenário político-cultural que viu surgir o projeto darcyniano, apontamos os eixos norteadores que constituem um período importante na história da escola pública fluminense, possibilitando assim, a partir da análise de alguns lugares de memória, a ampliação do debate e de um melhor entendimento acerca da identidade escolar nacional.

Palavras-chave: Darcy Ribeiro, CIEPs e pensamento educacional brasileiro.

El control y descontrol del cuerpo en la mujeres des las Escuelas Regionales Campesinas (Español)

Marcelo Hernández Santos (Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Mexico)

Las mujeres del medio rural que pudieron ingresar a las Escuelas Regionales Campesinas (ERC) en 1930 fueron pocas, comparadas con los hombres que en estas instituciones estudiaban. Las mujeres que permanecieron en las ERC, con internado mixto (hombres y mujeres) se sujetaron a los reglamentos que para ella aplicaban. En la mayoría de las veces, el cuerpo de la mujer estuvo sobrevigilado.

La ecónoma era la mujer encargada del comportamiento de las mujeres al interior de los dormitorios. Estaba prohibido salir o entrar en ellos acompañadas por hombres (compañeros o profesores de la escuela). Cuando llegaba a ocurrir, las estudiantes eran expulsadas o casadas.

El objetivo de este artículo es problematizar sobre el género y el poder dentro de una institución educativa. Se analizan las relaciones de noviazgo y sexualidad entre profesores y alumnas. Se identifican los factores y el contexto de desigualdad que llevaron a culpabilizar a las mujeres, muchas veces fueron expulsadas de las ERC, por sostener relaciones con algún docente, mientras que este último no era sujeto a ninguna sanción.

El artículo aborda la legislación aplicable a la mujer dentro de las ERC y el tipo de relaciones que públicamente podía sostener con sus profesores. Se analizan las condiciones de equidad y se visibilizan relaciones asimétricas en las relaciones entre hombres y mujeres. La consecuencia de este tipo de prácticas (no generalizables, pero existentes) fue que los padres no deseaban enviar a sus hijas a estudiar a las ERC debido al riesgo latente de un embarazo, aumentando los niveles de exclusión en la educación para las mujeres.

Palabras claves: género, sexualidad en las mujeres, profesores.

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4.4 MULTILINGUAL PANEL NATURE ET ÉCOLOGIE: L'ÉDUCATION MISE AU DEFI PAR L'ANTHROPOCENE

Apprendre à lire le temps qu'il fait (Français)

Denise Bernuzzi de Sant'Anna (Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo)

Au cours du XXe siècle, la météorologie scientifique gagne une importance inédite tandis que les prévisions du temps marquent une présence de plus en plus assidue dans les moyens de communication de masse. Tendance mondiale, la nécessité de savoir la température, l'intensité des vents et des pluies s'ajoute à celle de se prévenir à l'égard des intempéries et des changements abrupts du climat. Au Brésil, les journaux commencent à diffuser les prévisions météorologiques dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. Cependant, l'apprentissage scolaire des données climatiques et de leurs effets sur l'environnement était encore lié à la supposition que l'homme subit les influences du milieu plus qu'il y agit. A partir de 1920, avec le développement de la géographie scolaire d'inspiration française et allemand, l'apprentissage du temps qu'il fait commence à se montrer de plus en plus sensible à l'action humaine sur la planète et aux dangers de l'homme sur l'environnement. Dès lors, l'étude du temps qu'il fait permet aux jeunes et enfants de prendre conscience de l'espace géographique brésilien, avec ses spécificités tropicales, ses dangers et ses effets sur la santé. À partir de sources historiques variées - telles que les manuels scolaires et les articles sur la prévision du temps publiés dans les journaux - nous allons présenter quelques caractéristiques de cet apprentissage et de leurs changements à partir de 1920. Notre intention est celle d'apercevoir les transformations dans la définition du climat et de ce qui représente habiter dans un pays tropical dont la tradition a toujours souligné les richesses naturelles, alors que ce sont bien ces richesses-là qui ne cessent d'être menacées.

Education et la fin de la nature – de Rousseau à Arendt (Français)

José Luís Câmara Leme (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

C'est un lieu commun d'attribuer à J.J. Rousseau le mérite d'avoir été l'un des premiers auteurs contemporains à défendre l'importance de la nature dans l'éducation. La nature serait la pierre de touche du bien et de l'authentique, par opposition au mal et à l'artificiel caractéristiques de la civilisation. A partir de cette opposition manichéenne, tout un ensemble de corollaires a été déduit afin de légitimer les positions les plus disparates en éducation. Ce manichéisme est une équivoque car la pensée pédagogique de Rousseau est beaucoup plus complexe qu'un simple éloge romantique de la nature. Cependant, il est possible de reconnaître que ce lieu commun est actuellement traversé par un malaise. Celui-ci ne relève pas d'une lecture plus rigoureuse de Rousseau, mais plutôt du fait que la nature célébrée par lui et les romantiques est devenue mythique. La notion de nature a été remplacée par celle de la fin de la nature, c'est-à-dire par l'idée que nous sommes proches du moment où rien dans l'environnement matériel n'a échappé à l'intervention humaine. Cette préoccupation avec la nature menacée est connue depuis l'industrialisation, mais sans préjudice de cette anticipation, je soutiens qu'il s'agit d'une nouvelle réalité. Au lieu de célébrer la nostalgie d'une nature comprise comme un recueil du bien et de l'authentique, on apprend à connaître la fin de la nature, une « nature » qui ne sera point mythique. Or, comment comprendre l'impact pédagogique, politique et philosophique de ce nouvel apprentissage ? Qu'est-ce qui est en jeu dans ce nouveau programme ? Je soutiens que nous sommes devant une nouvelle expérience d'aliénation qui n'est pas simplement une perte du monde. Elle représente la possibilité tragique des hommes de faire face à ce qu'ils sont capables de faire. L'œuvre philosophique de H. Arendt nous permet de comprendre l'importance de ce défi et la signification de cette aliénation.

Environmental education: from ethics to aesthetics (English)

Davide Scarso (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

The traditional approach to environmental education is based on infusing the need to “love” and “respect” nature, while stressing the negative effects many human activities have on the environment. However, as Nature has progressively lost its status as a separate, self-contained, autonomous domain, and has become enmeshed with human life. Tracing an ethical framework for environmental education has become problematic and seems not actually effective. Does respect for nature include, for instance, driving trout and salmon upriver by truck because hydroelectrical dams block their migration patterns? Does loving nature means we should genetically modify honey-bees so to improve their resistance and pollinating effectiveness? Sustainability is a useful conceptual tool, but what exactly it is to be sustained is not always easy to tell. Life? Biodiversity? Human life? Human population? Economic development? It seems that words and discourse, even when properly grounded in scientific evidence, are not making it. Environmental education needs to shift from ethics to aesthetics. What we need then is to develop and disseminate new sensibilities and try to ‘make sense-able’ the invisible interconnectedness of life on earth in its plural and differentiated aspects. It is through promoting multidisciplinary aesthetic experiences, connecting connect hard science, the humanities and arts, that we may bring ourselves to “see” the many tortuous threads that connect our life on this planet to the life of the many

different non-human beings we share it with. A web of life that, in its multiple entanglements, includes such diverse entities as water hyacinths, mineral coal, cellphones and wild salmon.

Understanding the nonhuman: a comics approach (English)

Hugo Almeida (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

In a famous paper entitled “What Is It Like to Be a Bat?”, Nagel addresses the difficulties in understanding nonhuman animals, observing that bat sonar “is not similar in its operation to any sense that we possess, and there is no reason to suppose that it is subjectively like anything we can experience or imagine”. To us, the perspective of the nonhuman is necessarily mediated by proxies, as the human cannot phenomenologically assess the experience of the nonhuman. This delocalisation of perspective must operate through communicative devices that at least try to describe how the non-human function. This communication discusses comics-making as a possible tool to represent the nonhuman, in an attempt to “decolonise” the mind of anthropocentric traditions. Dominant models of narrative favour teleological narratives of the individual, ignoring the many possible agencies that exceed this narrow framing. To avoid common pitfalls, these comics integrate in form and content insights from the biological sciences, filtering discussions about the relationship between humans and their surrounding environment through pop cultural references such as Playmobil, Pokémon and Godzilla.

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4.5 MULTILINGUAL PANEL NATUR UND ERZIEHUNG „ANORMALER“ KINDER IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT

Chair: Patrick Bühler (Pädagogische Hochschule der Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz)

Discussant: Vera Moser (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

„Heilung“ des „psychopathischen“ Kindes durch die Natur (Deutsch)

Nina Balcar (Universität Bremen)

Im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert fielen „schwer erziehbare“ Kinder nicht nur aus der Norm, man schrieb ihnen auch eine spezifische Natur zu. So konstruierten Kinderforscher, zu denen in erster Linie Psychiater und Pädagogen gehörten, für auffälliges Verhalten die diffuse Modediagnose „Psychopathie“ und forderten gleichzeitig besondere Einrichtungen für die „psychopathischen“ Kinder. 1890 gründete Johannes Trüper, einer jener Kinderforscher, die Heilerziehungsanstalt auf der Sophienhöhe bei Jena und legte damit den Grundstein für die sogenannte Psychopathenfürsorge der Weimarer Republik. Im Kaiserreich blieb die Sophienhöhe den wohlhabenden Gesellschaftsschichten vorbehalten. Und doch besaß die Heilerziehungsanstalt fernab der „unheilbringenden“ und „nervenzerrüttenden“ Großstadt einen Vorbildcharakter, vor allem für die Landerziehungsheimbewegung, dessen Gründer Hermann Lietz zuvor auf der Sophienhöhe gearbeitet hatte. Die Sophienhöhe avancierte zum Knotenpunkt einer transnationalen Kinderforschung, die in Jena in Kooperation mit den dortigen Universitätsprofessoren der Psychiatrie und Pädagogik ein heilpädagogisches Zentrum errichten wollten.

Vor diesem Hintergrund wird der Beitrag sich mit folgenden Fragen befassen: Welche Auswirkungen hatten die Vorstellungen der Kinderforscher vom „psychopathischen“ Kind auf das Bildungskonzept der Sophienhöhe? Um letzterem nachzuspüren, soll vor allem die Rolle der Natur in den Blick genommen werden. Schon die in den Anstaltsprospekten vielbeschworene heilende Kraft der Natur legte den Verdacht nahe, dass die Natur nur zu Werbezwecken instrumentalisiert wurde. Deswegen geht der Beitrag der Frage nach, welche Rolle die Natur eigentlich in der alltäglichen Erziehung spielte.

Miniaturen einer vermeintlich spezifischen Natur des erziehungsschwierigen Kindes. Das Wissensarchiv der Heil- und Heimerziehung: Die Mündel- und Krankenakte (Deutsch)

Michaela Ralser (Universität Innsbruck), Flavia Guerrini (Universität Innsbruck), Ulrich Leitner (Universität Innsbruck)

Auch für Österreich gilt – wie für andere Länder –, dass die Sorge um das erziehungsschwierige Kind und den verhaltensauffälligen Jugendlichen im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert eine Fülle von Sonderanstalten hervorgebracht hat, die mit wenigen Ausnahmen und geringfügiger Anpassung an die jeweilige Zeit lange 100 Jahre Bestand hatten. Parallel zur Intensivierung der Heimerziehung in den beiden Nachkriegsjahrzehnten – nie zuvor und nie wieder waren so viele Kinder in Erziehungsheimen untergebracht – etablierte sich ein

österreichweites Netz von Heilpädagogischen Ambulatorien, Beratungsstellen und Kinderbeobachtungen. Sie waren angetreten, das Feld der Fürsorge zu professionalisieren und den Entscheidungsvorgängen und Maßnahmenempfehlungen zur öffentlichen Fürsorgeerziehung eine psychiatrisch-heilerzieherisch informierte, wissenschaftliche Grundlage zu verschaffen. Die österreichische heilpädagogische Landschaft war medikal geprägt und politisch einflussreich. Ihre wesentlichen Akteur_innen verband eine Bildungs- und/oder Berufssozialisation im Nationalsozialismus. Bis weit in die Zweite Republik sind die „Degenerationslehre“ und die in den Kindern aufgesuchten, körperlichen Degenerationszeichen handlungsleitend, werden äußere Beschädigungen als „Defekte“ im einzelnen Kind aufgesucht und als Gefahr für den Gesellschaftskörper stilisiert und dient das „Psychopathie Konzept“ samt Nachfolger als Passepartout für den Rechtsbegriff der „Verwahrlosung“, der den Jugendwohlfahrtsbehörden bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit als maßgebliche Pauschal-diagnose zu Rechtfertigung einer Zwangserziehungsmaßnahme diente.

Der Beitrag will vor dem Hintergrund zweier größerer Forschungsprojekte (Regime der Fürsorge und medikalisierte Kindheiten) an ausgewähltem Quellenmaterial – den Mündel-, Zöglings- und ISCHE 2018, Berlin, Education and Nature Dr. Michèle Hofmann michele.hofmann@fhnw.ch Kinderkrankenakten – Bedingung und Wirkung dieser spezifischen Naturalisierung des sogenannt erziehungsschwierigen Kindes in den Wissensordnungen der Heil- und Heimerziehung in Österreichs Zweiten Republik zeigen. Drei Miniaturen erzählen die Bedeutung dieser Aktenstücke für die Biografie der in ihnen verhandelten Kinder und Jugendlichen. Der Panelvortrag schließt mit einer Diskussion über den methodischen Gehalt und Erkenntniswert von Fragment, Vignette und Miniatur in diesem Forschungskontext.

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Natur und Erziehung „geistesschwacher“ Kinder um 1900 in der Schweiz (Deutsch) **Michèle Hofmann (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)**

Dieser Beitrag will am Beispiel der Schweiz untersuchen, welche Ausprägungen von Natur in den Debatten um Erziehung und Fürsorge „geistesschwacher“ Kinder und in den Bildungsbemühungen für diese Kinder um 1900 zu finden sind.

Mit Bezug auf den Oberbegriff „Idiotie“ etabliert sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum eine dreigliedrige Klassifikation geistiger Schwäche. Unterschieden wurden die Schweregrade „Schwachbegabung“, „Schwachsinnigkeit“ und „Blödsinn“. „Schwachbegabte“ Kinder galten als voll, „schwachsinnige“ als mehr oder weniger bildungsfähig. „Blödsinnige“ hingegen wurden als bildungsunfähig angesehen. Die Schulpflicht sollte daher nur für die beiden ersten Gruppen durchgesetzt werden, die dritte war davon ausgenommen. Auf schulorganisatorischer Ebene korrespondierten die drei Gruppen mit verschiedenen Einrichtungen. „Schwachbegabte“ Kinder sollten in sog. Spezialklassen, die ab den 1880er-Jahren geschaffen wurden, unterrichtet werden. Für „Schwachsinnige“ war der Besuch von Anstalten vorgesehen, wie sie seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts vereinzelt entstanden waren. Und für „Blödsinnige“ sollten sog. Asyle eingerichtet werden, wo sie Nahrung und Pflege, aber keine Bildung erhielten.

Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Klassifikation und den Einrichtungen für „geistesschwache“ Kinder stellen sich folgende Fragen, die der Beitrag beantworten will: Welche Vorstellungen einer spezifischen Natur „schwachbegabter“, „schwachsinniger“ und „blödsinniger“ Kinder existierten im ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert in der Schweiz? Wer war an der Aushandlung dieser Vorstellungen beteiligt und welche Kontexte (z.B. die Medizin) waren dabei von Bedeutung? Inwiefern beeinflussten die Vorstellungen einer spezifischen Natur „geistesschwacher“ Kindern die pädagogische Praxis und den Umgang mit diesen Kindern? Welche Rolle spielte die umgebende Natur für die verschiedenen Einrichtungsformen? Gab es weitere Formen oder Dimensionen von Natur, die für die Erziehung „geistesschwacher“ Kinder bedeutsam waren?

Turning a deaf ear to the past: Reconstructing the soundscape of the Belgian method of speech training, 1906–1945 (English)

Pieter Verstraete (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

When one listens to the word ‘nature’ one is inclined to think visually. The things that pop up in our mind are mountainous horizons, the extensiveness of planes, the dazzling colors of a sunset and so forth. Nature, however, is much more than only what is to be seen. It equally implies innumerable sounds and silences that throughout time continuously have been present in ever-changing ‘soundscapes’. In this presentation we will take up Murray Shafer’s notion of the soundscape in order to examine one particular fragment of the history of deafness from an acoustic point of view. What we will focus on is a Belgian educational method that was invented by Alexandre Herlin and named the Belgian method of speech training (La méthode belge de démutisation). Herlin was a teacher working at the Provincial institute for the Deaf and the Blind [Original term] in the first half of the twentieth century and clearly influenced by the nineteenth century move from manualism to oralism. Instead of making use of sign language in the education of the deaf one increasingly expected the deaf institute to learn the deaf to communicate orally. On the basis of Herlin’s own publication, the way his method was received in the international (mainly French) specialized press as well as the up till now underexplored archives of the institute itself, we will zoom in on the particular soundscape/s that reigned in the classes where the oral Herlin method was implemented.

Wider die Natur - Die Lautspracherziehung gehörloser Kinder als fragiles Integrationsmittel (Deutsch)

Vera Blaser (Universität Bern)

Seit dem frühen 19. Jahrhundert wurden gehörlose Kinder [1] in der Schweiz in Taubstummenanstalten unterrichtet, wo sie die Lautsprache erlernten, die sie zum Kontakt mit Hörenden befähigen und zu vollwertigen Mitgliedern einer hörenden Gesellschaft machen sollte. Dabei wurde stets von einer spezifischen Natur der Gehörlosen ausgegangen, die aufgrund ihrer Sinnesbeeinträchtigung unter anderem als ausgesprochene „Augenmenschen“ mit einer „grossen Sensationslust“ bezeichnet und deshalb als einer Sondererziehung bedürftig angesehen wurden (Muggli 1939).

Die Gehörlosenpädagogik hat sich nach dem sogenannten Methodenstreit der 1880er Jahre mit dem Konsens zur Lautsprachmethode (mit Fokus auf Lippenlese- und Sprechkompetenz) das Ziel gesetzt, die Gebärdensprachkommunikation, zu überwinden. Gebärden wurden von den hörenden Fachpersonen systematisch abgewertet und als unzureichendes Kommunikationsmittel bezeichnet. In der 1859 gegründeten Taubstummenanstalt St. Gallen wurde von Beginn weg ausschliesslich die Lautsprachmethode angewendet. Damit setzten die Gehörlosenpädagog_innen auf eine Methode, die darauf abzielte, die „natürliche“ Kommunikationsform Gehörloser zu unterdrücken.

1942 wurde an der Taubstummenanstalt St. Gallen eine Fürsorgestelle gegründet. Die zwischen 1942 und 1960 durch die Fürsorgerin erstellten Dossiers von ehemaligen und aktuellen Schüler_innen umfassen standardisierte Fragebogen zu geistiger und körperlicher Verfassung der Kinder, Schulleistungen sowie Protokolle der Interventionen durch die Fürsorge in Gebieten wie der Berufswahl oder der Hilfe bei der Stellensuche. Anhand dieser Dossiers wird veranschaulicht, wie der Verweis auf die „naturegegebene“ Devianz der Gehörlosen dazu genutzt wurde, um Disziplinierungsmassnahmen wie Heimplazierungen zu rechtfertigen sowie die jugendlichen und erwachsenen Gehörlosen in ihrer Handlungsfreiheit einzuschränken. Zwar bestand das Ziel darin, die Gehörlosen in die hörende Welt zu integrieren. Gelingt dies jedoch nicht, lehnten die Fachpersonen die Verantwortung für ausbleibende Bildungserfolge durch den Verweis auf die schwierige charakterliche Natur der Gehörlosen ab, anstatt ihre eigenen Methoden zu hinterfragen.

[1] Unter die Kategorie „taubstumm“/„gehörlos“ fielen Kinder mit unterschiedlichen starken Hörbeeinträchtigungen und ungleichen Voraussetzungen zum Lautspracherwerb. References Muggli, Marta, Lebensschwierigkeiten weiblicher Gehörloser nach Entlassung aus der Taubstummenanstalt und Vorschläge zur Überwindung. Eine Erhebung bei 65 weiblichen taubstummen Erwachsenen ledigen Standes im Kanton Zürich, unpublizierte Diplomarbeit, Soziale Frauenschule Zürich, Zürich 1939.

4.6 MULTILINGUAL PANEL VERS UN NOUVEAU MILIEU EDUCATIF SCOLAIRE. REFLEXIONS, EXPERIMENTATIONS SUR LE STATUT DE LA « NATURE » (XXE SIECLE)

Chair: Xavier Riondet (Université de Lorraine)

Discussant: Frédéric Mole (Université de Genève, ERHISE)

Retour sur les relations complexes entre pédagogues et réseaux naturo théosophiques du Trait d'Union pendant l'Entre-deux-guerres. La rencontre de l'Education Nouvelle et des maîtres du naturisme au tour des liens et enjeux entre éducation et nature (Français)

Xavier Riondet (Université de Lorraine), Bérengère Kolly (Université Paris Est Créteil)

L'histoire de l'Education Nouvelle a peu rencontré l'histoire du naturisme (Baubérot, 2004 ; Villaret, 2005). Pourtant, à hauteur d'hommes et de femmes, la question du naturisme a été très importante dans la trajectoire de certains pédagogues de l'Education Nouvelle, comme Ferrière et Freinet (Riondet, 2018).

Cette contribution se propose tout d'abord de décrire, à partir de plusieurs fonds d'archives (Fonds Freinet, fonds Ferrière), dans quels contextes les pédagogues s'intéressent aux naturistes et théosophes et réciproquement. A cet égard, il sera important de mettre en évidence ces nouveaux espaces de socialisations, comme celui du Trait d'Union, réseau naturo-théosophique créé par Jacques Demarquette (1888-1969), dans lesquelles se socialisent ces pédagogues et dans lesquels les hiérarchies culturelles ne sont plus les mêmes que dans d'autres milieux sociaux. Les grandes références évoquées dans ces réseaux se nomment Louis Rimbault, (1877-1949) ou parfois Otto Hanish (1848-1936). D'autres fois, les pédagogues rencontrent virtuellement ou physiquement des gourous locaux comme Spiritus Gay (1865-1927) ou Vrocho (1892-1936). Des échanges stimulants ont lieu entre les deux groupes d'acteurs sociaux, qui s'aident mutuellement en diverses circonstances. Les pédagogues se font publier chez les naturistes (Ferrière, Montessori). Ces derniers citent et s'appuient sur les premiers (Demarquette).

Dans un deuxième temps, nous voulons montrer simultanément pourquoi la pédagogie intéresse les naturistes et comment ce souci de la nature interpelle les pédagogues profondément au point parfois d'accélérer leurs visions des réformes à mener au quotidien pour faire une société pacifiée ou de complexifier leurs pensées éducatives en cherchant à aller plus loin pédagogiquement et politiquement qu'ils ne l'auraient pensé dans leurs pratiques éducatives et scolaires.

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La nature chez les théosophes, une matrice pour les pédagogues d'éducation nouvelle? (Français)

Sylvain Wagnon (Université de Montpellier)

Nous souhaiterions nous intéresser à la nature dans la pensée théosophique. Nous envisageons d'articuler une réflexion plus globale sur la représentation de la nature dans ce courant spirituel très foisonnant au début du XXe siècle, mais aussi percevoir l'influence des idées des théosophes concernant la nature dans les mouvements d'éducation nouvelle de la première moitié du XXe siècle. Notre contribution s'appuiera sur l'étude des revues théosophiques ainsi que sur les archives privées de plusieurs pédagogues d'éducation nouvelle.

Le thème de la nature est omniprésent dans la théosophie, elle représente le pivot de cette « fraternité universelle » et l'idéal du message théosophique. La notion de nature est également perçue par les théosophes comme un moyen pour permettre à l'humain de mieux se connaître et de pouvoir appréhender son rôle sur terre.

L'étude de la nature dans la pensée théosophique nous permet donc de mettre l'accent sur le rôle effectif de ce courant de pensée dans l'élaboration et l'essor de l'éducation nouvelle.

Si tous les pédagogues de l'éducation nouvelle ne sont pas théosophes, plusieurs « figures » de ce courant de rénovation pédagogique, comme Maria Montessori, Rudolf Steiner ou Béatrice Ensor, ont été des théosophes engagés, d'autres comme Adolphe Ferrière ou Ovide Decroly furent des soutiens constants.

La présence des théosophes lors des débuts de l'organisation de l'éducation nouvelle a été explorée par plusieurs travaux pionniers [Haenggeli-Jenni, 2011, Soler Mata, 2011, Brehony, 2012]. Toutefois, l'influence des théosophes a été pressentie mais très rarement analysée comme une des racines majeures de l'organisation internationale de cette nébuleuse de l'éducation nouvelle (Wagnon, 2017).

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L'École Freinet: l'histoire d'un "milieu" paysagé pour l'action éducative (Français) Frédérique Marie Prot (Université de Lorraine), Henri Louis Go (Université de Lorraine)

Compte tenu de l'importance de l'environnement "naturel" qui baigne l'École Freinet ouverte à Vence en 1934 par les pédagogues Elise (1898-1983) et Célestin Freinet (1896-1966) (Go, 2007 ; Go et Riondet, 2018), il est nécessaire d'en décrire le projet éducatif et faire ressortir la singularité philosophique en jeu par le moyen des archives (fonds privés, documents imprimés, témoignages).

En effet, c'est l'institution du paysage qui est première à l'École Freinet. En témoigne dans toute l'œuvre de Freinet et d'Élise la priorité donnée au corps, et au rapport intelligent à la nature. En témoignent les efforts acharnés de Freinet pour construire matériellement son école.

Comme le montrent les archives et les témoignages, ce n'est pas tant la particularité du lieu lui-même qui inspira Freinet, mais plutôt sa position élevée, procurant l'impression de s'affranchir des pesanteurs de l'école close sur elle-même, favorisant un sentiment de liberté, une ouverture sur des possibles... L'intérêt qu'il portait à un tel paysage ouvert était mu par la force imaginaire de l'éducateur, regardant cet espace dans la visée appropriative de ce qu'il voulait y faire. L'idée régulatrice de Freinet qui installe sa réserve, c'est une sorte d'anthropisation qui va à la rencontre de la nature sans la détruire.

En nous inscrivant dans une histoire matérielle et matérialiste de la pédagogie, revenant sur les détails de cette production (architecture, agencement, écosystème), nous voulons montrer que La réserve construite par Freinet ne vise pas à parquer les enfants dans un lieu clos, mais à expérimenter une sorte de paysage scolaire poétique par l'analyse inventive du milieu qu'il opère, dans ce milieu compris comme milieu d'une praxis humaine : si le paysage se laisse voir, il se définit institutionnellement par la façon d'agir des hommes qui inscrivent leur existence dans ce milieu.

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Discovering the Nature between Science and Poetry: Pierina Boranga (1891-1983), Pioneer of the Environmental Education in Italy (English)

Letterio Todaro (Università di Catania)

Looking back to the history of education in Italy across the Twentieth Century, Pierina Boranga proves to be a main character with regard to the promotion of an educational vision animated by a strong passion for the discovery of the Nature. Despite of the oblivion in which her name has largely been swallowed, her book series 'La Natura e il fanciullo' (The Nature and the Child), (I. vol 1925, II . Vol 1926, III vol. 1940) was the first systematic work published within the Italian pedagogical framework about this subject. After ten years of primary teaching in the experimental school 'La Rinnovata' in Milano – during which she could personally know and enact the reformed educational methods spread by Giuseppina Pizzigoni and thanks to which the open-air lessons, the gardening and the horticulture were kept in high consideration in the children education – Pierina Boranga was encouraged to promote an educational insight centred on a fine feeling of the astonishing vitality of Nature. Her vision was clearly in accordance with the contemporary movement of the 'Active School', which received special suggestions from the educational views of Pizzigoni by one side, and the ones of Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, by the other side. In accordance with the latter, her efforts for directing children education towards a fruitful immersion into the Nature developed both a scientific and a romantic address. Her invitation to discover the Nature in its hidden secrets, starting from an accurate observation of the closest environment and leading children to take care of the vegetation and the little living beings around them, was significantly effective for the divulgation of scientific informations as well as passionate in transmitting an enthusiastic love for the living Nature. Her writings on the subject continued over the second half of the Century, with a series of tales addressed to children and yet rich in scientific notions, conceived as a collection of adventures in the wood, in the meadows, in the garden, in the fields. Her work is thus worthy being recalled in the history of education as it embodies the phase of take off of a more complete educational care for the natural environment, which developed from the first diffusion of the 'Nature Studies' in the educational field, appeared at the beginning of the XIX Century, towards the more actual education for sustainability.

Le milieu transforme la nature. L'approche vygotkienne historicoculturelle du développement de l'enfant (Français)

Bernard Schneuwly (Université de Genève, ERHISE), Rita Hofstetter (Université de Genève, ERHISE)

S'opposant diamétralement aux conceptions psychologiques dominantes d'un développement naturel, à la base des théories en vogue de l'éducation nouvelle dans l'entre-deux-guerres (Egan, 2002 ; Fallace, 2015 ; Hofstetter, 2012), Lev Semenovič Vygotski conceptualise l'idée d'un «développement artificiel» (Vygotski, 1985 ; Sève, 2014; Zavaloff, 2015). Afin de décrire comment il concrétise cette idée, nous analysons en détail des textes produits durant les trois dernières années de sa vie, en voie de publication en français et anglais : ses textes de pédologie rédigés entre 1931 et 1934 – pour la première fois traduits

(Vygotski, 2018a) – et ses Notebooks des mêmes années (Vygotski, 2018b). Ces textes sont rédigés dans le contexte du développement d'un puissant débat sur l'école russe, se référant entre autres à l'éducation nouvelle, mais de plus en plus aussi à d'autres courants (Berelowitch, 1990). Nous montrerons que selon lui le milieu agit sur l'enfant lui permettant de construire de nouveaux systèmes psychiques, des «néoformations», sur la base de formations existantes, fruits d'interactions puissantes entre développement physique, naturel, et psychique, de plus en plus culturel. La manière de vivre le milieu et de le percevoir (perezhevanie – expérience vécue) se transforme en même temps que se construisent et transforment les systèmes psychiques. Nous illustrerons cette conception profondément dialectique qui voit la nature à la fois comme condition et comme moteur du développement, autant comme « formant » que comme matière sur laquelle agit le milieu par l'éducation, donc comme « formée » (« natura naturans – natura naturata » énonçaient les anciens ; Spinoza a immortalisé l'expression), à travers des exemples de l'effet de l'art, comme «technique sociale des sentiments», sur la construction de la personnalité de l'enfant et de l'adolescent dans laquelle se manifeste avec une intensité particulière la profonde intrication entre les deux formes de développement.

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Nature et internationalisme au sein du Bureau International d'Éducation (B.I.E) (Français) Cécile Boss (Université de Genève), Emeline Brylinski (Université de Genève)

Dans le contexte du début du 20^e siècle, la signification politique d'une «nature» biologique et des « différences » de sexe et de race (parfois de classe et nationale) sont des thèmes largement débattus et remis en question par de nombreux internationalistes, dont des éducateurs, sociologues et psychologues (Sluga, 2013). Les transformations dans la manière de concevoir la nature, dans le champ des sciences de l'enfant, ont permis de mettre un accent plus fort sur le développement de l'enfant et son émancipation sans toutefois ne pas réifier des formes de différenciation ou catégorisation (Depaepe, 1993; Depaepe & Smeyers, 2008). Les débats qui en découlent –apparemment scientifiques – permettent aussi de questionner les différentes stratégies des protagonistes, révélant des processus contradictoires de réaffirmation d'intérêts des nations et de spécificités identitaires (fabriquer du national, de l'identité, de la fierté et de l'unité) (Balibar, 1997; Blanchard, et al., 2011).

Les directeurs et secrétaires du B.I.E sont alors les fervents défenseurs d'une approche égalitaire et internationaliste de l'éducation, qui se traduit dans l'idée d'apporter une reconnaissance plus grande à l'enfant, sa nature, son bien-être et ses spécificités. Cependant, au travers de l'idéal éducatif commun s'établit un dialogue où prennent corps différentes conceptions de ce qu'est la nature de l'enfant.

Cette présentation[1] se propose d'étudier tout particulièrement ces différentes conceptions comme elles sont élaborées au B.I.E et au regard du contexte politique internationaliste. Pour cela, des éléments de trajectoires biographiques concernant les protagonistes seront analysés, avec un focus particulier sur un corpus circonscrit de conférences organisées par le B.I.E de sa fondation (1925) à sa redéfinition comme agence technique de l'UNESCO (1952).

Sources

Archives du Bureau international d'éducation (Genève) :

L'ensemble des archives mis à disposition par le B.I.E et notamment la documentation relative aux cours d'été ainsi que les corpus de publications individuelles (Jean Piaget, Pierre Bovet, Adolphe Ferrière, Marie Butts, Pedro Rossello); toutes les publications officielles du B.I.E entre 1925 et 1952, notamment le Bulletin du bureau international d'éducation et les publications relatives aux enquêtes internationales; les archives de différents Congrès, cours et colloques internationaux.

[1] Celle-ci s'inscrit dans le contexte de recherche de deux projets de thèses, initiés dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche : «Le Bureau International de l'Éducation (B.I.E), un laboratoire de l'internationaliste éducatif (1919-1952)» (pour de plus amples informations: <http://blogs.unige.ch/fapse/SSE/erhise/actualites/>)

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4.7 MULTILINGUAL PANEL “CLOSER TO NATURE“? RURAL SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION POLICIES IN A

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (AUSTRIA, FRANCE, MEXICO, PORTUGAL, XIXTH CENTURY- XXTH CENTURY)

Convenors: José António Afonso (Instituto de Educação/CleD - Universidade do Minho), Adelina Arredondo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos), Julien Cahon (UPJV), Ismail Ferhat (UPJV), Bruno Poucet (Université de Picardie Jules Verne), Wilfried Göttlicher (Universität Wien)

Public and private rural education for girls in the nineteenth century: the example of the Somme (Français)

Bruno Poucet (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

We propose to show how, even before the arrival of the Republicans in power in 1879, the political actors in the Department of the Somme have imposed the Secularization of the enrolment of girls in public schools. Indeed, as in many departments, in front of the deficiency on girls education, more than a third of the public schools in the Department of the Somme were held, from the 1820s, by a religious congregation created for this purpose: the Holy family. The "School Sisters" thus settled in the many villages. Sometimes 'free' schools were created, but more often it's public schools: the mayors were using them, insofar as it was free and insured moral. Normal boarding school they had created in Amiens also missed becoming the normal school for girls in the Department. The 1880s, therefore, represent a deep questioning of their action in rural areas and the beginning of their deletion which will worsen with the ban in 1904 to the congregations to teach. We'll try to see beyond issues related to the report private, what consequences these transformations have resulted on the schooling of children in rural areas at the end of the XIXe century.

Sources: archives of the Somme, Diocesan archives: private archives of the Holy family institution, county official newsletter, Statistics of primary education.

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Rural schools in Portugal - perplexities, impasses and challenges in the republican period (1910-1926) (Français)

José António Afonso (Instituto de Educação/CleD - Universidade do Minho)

If the republican isotopy in education is constantly reiterated, the problem of schools in rural space – as an expression of a generalized civic imperative – is latent and of a complexity that is not reduced to a circumstantial affirmation of principles, emphasizing a polyhedral problem in the very delicate articulation of the dimensions political, social, cultural, economic and pedagogical, as a tension between modernity and tradition.

Schools in rural areas have proved to be an important test of the legal framework, precisely because of the fulfilment of the compulsory schooling, but also test for what implied, as a pedagogical challenge for primary teachers, , and a political challenge to governance, while universalizing a right - materialized in a school network with national coverage.

The school time of pedagogical modernity gave way to a social and cultural time that reproduced without any setback. The school in rural areas is a school permeable to political oscillations and changes in social policies. It is also a school that should have had its own character, an identity, in short, that was the object of a reform, which reconciled the dignity and the formation of the teacher, with the cultural dynamization of the villages, with political and civic conviction, so that progress could reach the field. In this sense, probably, there have been no rural schools during the 1st Republic in Portugal, but simply schools in rural areas.

The place of nature in the “Mexican Rural School” (Español)

Adelina Arredondo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

There were rural schools since Colonial times, managed for the communities and supervised by the municipalities. Nevertheless, as part of the huge educational project from the federal government that emerged from the social revolution of 1910, rural schools for boys and girls were strongly impelled. The novelty in the XX Century was that the federal government built a rural school system all around the country (two million square kilometres), with the intention of extending a unique model of primary rural school for modernising the field, as support for developing the industry in the cities, in an accelerated way. The field would produce the food and rug materials, as well as providing arms for a wider labour market. On the other hand, the intention of the federal government was to control public education and spread the free, compulsory and laic educational system, as a way to increase its central power on the regional powers. The basic curriculum for rural schools consisted in reading, writing, arithmetic and civic education, plus subjects related to rural production for the urban markets and healthier daily life, framed in active learning pedagogy. The rural project was strengthened with a net of rural normal schools for training rural teachers.

There are many implications in the relationship between nature and rural schools in Mexico at that time. First, the place of nature in the curriculum. Second, the conception about nature

implicit in the whole conception of the program. And third, the short- and long-term consequences of that program on the culture, particularly the conception about natural environment and about the place of human being in nature; in other words, what was the impact of that program on the self-perception and their place in the world. In brief, my presentation is going to explain the relationship between the Rural School Program and nature, based on primary sources (political speeches, educational reports, proceedings, teacher letters, photos).

Rural space as a natural space. Topoi on the educational qualities of rural space in the discourse on rural school reform in Austria, 1920-1960 (English)

Wilfried Göttlicher (Universität Wien)

The quality of rural space always was an important topic in the debates on rural school reform in Austria, from the end of world war I up to the end of the 1950ies. Rural space thereby was perceived as more natural or closer to nature, compared with urban space. This did not only concern the outer nature (landscape, plants, animals) but also the nature of human relationships. This naturality of rural space was coupled to specific pedagogic qualities: on the one hand it was imagined, that rural space would provide ideal conditions for growing up away from the spoiling influences of urban civilisation. On the other hand, growing up in rural space was also believed to be linked to specific harmful influences like poor hygienic standards, or the opportunity to observe sexuality among animals or adults. In my talk, I will examine this ambiguous perception of rural space within the pedagogic discourse and demonstrate that the specific role that school was ascribed within this setting was to facilitate a process of selection between desirable and undesirable elements.

Rural education and local public policies (1950s-1990s): the example of the French region of Picardie (Français/ English)

Julien Cahon (UPJV), Ismail Ferhat (UPJV)

The French northern region of Picardie has faced since the mid-fifties a complex situation in terms of education. Its schools' results have been regularly below the national average. On the same time, it has been traditionally a rural (or semi-rural) area, with small cities and low densities of population. Therefore, the place of rural schools has been a hot topic in local public policies: has this sector of education been a factor of under-achievement that should be consequently restricted? Or should rural education be seen as a chance to maintain a school offer closer to local communities?

The present communication will investigate, from the mid-50s to the end of the XXth century, how rural education has been perceived, and then, treated by local public authorities (elected representatives, local education authority, Regional council). It will focus on the stereotypes which are attached to this field, and the subsequent debate over the mobility of rural pupils.

Sources: This proposal benefits from the funding and the results of an ongoing multidisciplinary research project, "Preuve" (<https://preuve.hypotheses.org>). It investigates the causes and aspects of Picardie underachievement in education, using new datas and archives collected through this scientific work from local as well as central authorities.

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THURSDAY August 30 2:00 - 3:30

5

5.1 SWG GROWING UP IN OUT-OF-HOME CARE (2/2)

Chair: Jeroen J. H. Dekker (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Assessment and classification: the impact of the expertise in special needs education on governing the difficult child (English)

Markus Bossert (FHNW, Olten), Gisela Hauss (FHNW, Olten)

In German speaking Switzerland the special needs education had a strong influence in complex categorisation processes and in the professional governance of children and youth. The institutionalization of special needs education at the University Zurich (Protestant-liberal) and Fribourg (Catholic) at the beginning of the 20th century initiated a strengthening of concern for a more professional and deepened educational and psychiatric assessment for children and youth, proceeding from the question of their curability and how they should be treated. This led in the 1930s to establishment of a series of new institutions and to a diversifying of options on offer oriented to special needs education. Taking this development as a starting point, the paper will shed light on the processes of categorisation of children and youth and on diversification of institutions and discuss the impact of scientists and experts in special education in the medico-pedagogic field concerned with the “difficult child”.

A growing international preference for foster care (English)

Lieselot De Wilde (Universiteit Gent)

To this day Western societies struggle with the question how to deal best with and organise care for children who for various reasons need to be placed out of their home (De Wilde, 2015; Scholte, 1997; Leloux-Opmeer, 2017). In an attempt to meet the fundamental needs of out-of-home placed children, states have developed different forms of care, varying from residential care (the child is put in an in-patient institution) on the one hand to foster care (the child is put in a foster family) on the other hand (Leloux-Opmeer et al., 2017; Rietveld – Van Wingerden, 2017). While generally out-of-home placement is often deemed inadequate and not in the interest of the child (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980a; Kruithof, 2008), this debate whether and how children need to be taken out of their home has flared up because of a growing number of adult testifying about experiences of physical, sexual and emotional abuse when they lived as an out-of-home placed child in such a residential institution. Consequently, many European countries instigated in a national inquiry into historical abuse (Daly, 2014; De Wilde & Vanobbergen, 2017; Sköld, 2016). My PhD study elaborated this notion of historical abuse by showing that the testimonies do not only relate to extreme cases of abuse or neglect, but also attest about violence due to a lack of information about the reasons and circumstances of the out-of-home placement. In this way, the history of orphaned children showed the importance of argumentation and transparency in the decision-making processes in past, present and future out-of-home care (De Wilde & Vanobbergen, 2016).

On account of these testimonies and inquiries Western societies officially apologized for the historical abuse and residential care eventually downgraded to a place of last resort whereas

the out-of-home placement of children in foster families became increasingly favoured (Daly, 2014; Ferguson, 2007; Hutchinson et al., 2003; Lundström & Sallnäs, 2017; Wilson & Evetts, 2006). Even though placing a child out of their home or not is one of the most intrusive decisions in youth care there has been little systematic research done to fully capture the argumentation grounds on which the intervention is based and legitimised. Equally, the lack of an empirical basis and the degree of subjectivity in decision making processes has been a great concern for policy makers, practitioners and researchers. In this vein, the choice for foster care is internationally often defended as a better alternative for residential care claiming it would be more in 'the interest of the child' (Van den Bruel & Stroobants; 2016). However, without specification of the needs of the child or 'the interest of the child' argument, the decision grounds remain a 'black box'. If we want to avoid apologising again in 50 years' time, the question on what grounds decision makers decide to place a child out of their home and how the argumentation relates to 'the best interest of the child' imposes itself on the present-day research agenda.

Armenian Genocide Orphans between Conversion and Confession (English)

Nazan Maksudyan (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin)

The assumed ability of children to learn new languages, religions, and identities saved many lives during the Armenian genocide (and later during the Second World War). Armenian genocide orphans were treated as nobody's children. They were sold, bought and stolen by Turkish, Kurdish, and Arab households. In addition to the private acts of seizing, adopting, or selling children, the Ottoman state also gave orders for the collection and re-distribution of Armenian orphans, since it was assumed that they can easily embrace a new identity. Since population was the highest measure of national power and prestige in the first half of the twentieth century, nationalist population politics turned children into a commodity to be possessed, kidnapped or reshaped.

In this paper, based on Ottoman and League of Nations archives, contemporary press, and narrative accounts, I focus, first, on conversion, forced adoption, and assimilation of children in the course of the Armenian genocide. The second part, on the 'rescue of children' from Muslim households (1919-1922), delineates the adultist and nationalist nature of a declaredly humanitarian effort and how the "child question" turned into a fight between communities, almost disregarding the welfare of children. The last part hints at the possibility of writing this history from the perspective of children themselves and challenges the historiographical tendency to present children as passive victims.

Room for doubt. Placing children in out-of-home care in The Netherlands between 1945 and 2005 (English)

Marieke Dekker (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

At the beginning of the twentieth century legal child protection measures made it possible to place children in homes when parental care failed. Re-education in children's homes was not new, but the fact that governmental organizations were now responsible for the children's care and upbringing, brought the question to the fore if placement in homes was beneficial for the children involved. Between 1945 and 2005 research into effects of out-of-home care was done regularly. The question we would like to examine in this paper is if results from

these studies can be seen as a justification for placement of children in out-of-home care, or if they should rather be understood as an argument for the decline in children placed in out-of-home care that took place in the second half of the twentieth century.

In the nineteen sixties and seventies serious doubts rose around the question if families and children could be helped in a relationship characterized by coercion, as was the case when help was given within the framework of a legal child protection measure. Processes of democratization and emancipation led to strong criticism of legal child protection, which was seen as especially paternalistic. Criticism focused on out-of-home care in children's homes. This was, not in the least, fueled by a report that had been published in 1959. This report had shown that most homes did not work according to any recognizable pedagogical or therapeutic system and, moreover, that basic care was often lacking.

Between 1965 and 2010 there has been a steady decline in the amount of children placed in children's homes. Since the nineteen seventies policy makers and professionals working in child protection have preferred types of care for children that made it possible for children to remain at home. The so called 'zo-zo-zo beleid', which could be translated as the 'as-as-as policy', was put into words in the 1989 law on children and youth help and stated that care be given that was as light as possible, as close to home as possible and as short as possible. This policy, in combination with cutbacks in funding, led to a decline of the capacity of residential children's homes.

The choice to place less and less children in homes seems to be reflected in scientific research that focused on the question of whether or not out-of-home care was beneficial to children. In this paper I would like to show that research in this area left ample room for doubt. On one hand we will show that researchers were uncertain of the possibility of showing results through scientific studies and that, on the other hand, research that was done in this period yielded uncertain results. If positive results could be shown these were often small or open to debate.

5.2 SWG REFORPRO: REFORMISM(S), PROGRESSIVISM(S), CONSERVATISM(S) IN EDUCATION (1/3)

THE DEBATE ABOUT PROGRESSIVISM IN SEVERAL POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

Chair: Frédéric Mole (Université de Genève), André Robert (Université Lumière Lyon 2)

Looking for the Internal Coherence of Junior High School Teachers' Progressivism: a Comparison between France and Finland (English)

Yann Forestier (CAREF – EA 4697)

Fifty interviews of French and Finnish Junior High School teachers have been conducted for our study. These interviews clearly show the teachers' will to link professional commitment to progressive views. However, they have to adjust these political or philosophical views when confronted to the reality of everyday life and to the development of widely broadcast educational debates, like the ones about the recent reforms concerning the Junior High School level in both France and Finland, conducted at the time of the interviews (2016 and 2017). These adjustments, linked either to the circumstances or to practical realities, challenge the internal coherence of their ethical choices. This paper shows that the reference

principles and the practical implications of such choices are not asserted as sharply in France and in Finland.

Do teachers learn to innovate or to preserve? Some reforms and educational practices in Portugal (1969-2014) (English)

Raquel Pereira Henriques (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

I analyse some of the main Portuguese reforms on the initial training of secondary school teachers that took place since the mid-20th century, namely those of 1969, 1988, 2007 and 2014. Do these reforms highlight the need for change, or do they carry on favouring conservative working methodologies? Do they encourage an actual transformation of practices or is this an absent issue? How do teachers make their didactic choices? Do they adapt or do they transform their work into a creative process, different to the usual one and in accordance to new political and educational times?

Those are the questions that guide the analysis I propose, which resorts to two types of sources:

- 1- Legislation on the initial training of secondary school teachers; the Basic Education System Law and work methodologies proposed by History programmes of study.
- 2- Reports/testimonies produced by teachers, in both roles of trainees and trainers in initial career stages.

In Portugal, the end of the sixties of the 20th century was a period of major educational reforms, some of which anticipated the revolutionary period that lasted mainly from 1974 until the enactment of the Basic Education System Law, in 1986.

In fact, there were many proposals, some of which aimed at the economic, social and cultural progress of the population. But legal changes do not always transform practice, because the fast pace of legislation is not always translated into innovation. Viñao Frago states that "theory, law and practice do not match" (2007, 131), and indeed so it is. Resistance to change is often visible in the insistence with which a particular matter is subject to legislation and, nearly always, neither the personal perspectives of students (Mollo, 1978) nor those of teachers (Henriques, 2010) are taken into account.

Initial teacher training has been subject to specific legislation. I will analyse some key-moments, mentioned above, and will show that these legal documents do not question if teachers should or should not be innovative. This absence must be questioned. Surely, institutions have an extremely conservative nature (see Dubet, 2002), they reproduce internal organisation systems that have acquired great strength and prestige. Changes in these systems affect a chain of various transmitters and receivers, which includes not only students, teachers, staff and parents but also professional associations, external evaluation institutions, publishers of school materials, departments within the Ministry of Education, educational policies, and political power.

Whether or not one is an educator who guides, who reinvents, creates and applies different resources and methods can be more or less disturbing, both to oneself and to those with whom one works (Cros, 2001, 13). I will analyse these questions from what has been legislated and from the testimonies of teachers, but also based on the reflection of Antonio Nóvoa on a future school, a school that must integrate that which already exists and at the same time will have to change (Nóvoa, 2015).

Structure and breakdown(s) in the educational debate in Brazil after the impeachment: A discourse analysis of Paulo Freire's defenders, of the conservative right-wing offences and of the educational avant-garde progressivism (English)

Ouassama Naouar (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco)

Following the impeachment of President Dilma Roussef and in the context of reinforcement of Evangelist groups, of the populist right wing and the far right-wing, a debate grew stronger, refocusing on the common grounds of violence at school, teachers' authority, fundamental competencies, etc. There is nothing specific, a priori, in this conservative swing back of the pendulum. However, this conflict denotes a radical shift of the conceptual and axiological boundaries. Hence, apart from the simple discourses, one should question the positions polarity and how some connections occur without a real ideological basis. At the crossroads of a historical approach of ideas and that of history of current times, an analysis will be made of three distinct poles which are related, opposed and overlapped: i) The first one, which is strongly attacked, represented by the "national patron of education" and corresponds to what Flavio Brayner names as "Paulofreireanism" (seen as the institutionalization of pedagogy). We conceive it as "the circle of Freirean acknowledgement"; ii) the second comprises the avant-garde of militant educational progressivism, the partisans of the introduction of gender studies, minority cultures, marginalized cultural practices such as the *candomblé*, etc., in the curricula; iii) and the third one comprises a condensation of the positions of the traditional right wing, the populist right wing, the nostalgic of military dictatorship and the Evangelists, displaying a rhetorical unity which disguises tensions and structural differences. What happens then to this institutionalized and in many ways conservative Freireanism and yet is ignored as such? How does the progressivist avant-garde get isolated in a condescending snobbery while maintaining a discontinued solidarity with the IPF? How do the new conservatives go beyond the fundamental oppositions and draw the attention, through their discourse, of the former beneficiaries of education promoted by the populism and yet maintaining a moralizing background? Based on a corpus comprising different publications, audio-visual debates, as well as teachers' reactions and their representations, a discourse analysis will be carried out seeking to identify the rapprochement, the connivance as well as the false oppositions in order to convey the real level of the issue of relations between conservatism and progressivism in education in the current context in Brazil.

Educating to democracy, between Progressivism and Conservatism (English)

Dominique Ottavi (Université Paris Ouest-Nanterre-La Défense)

We should add to the history of education (XXth century) the analysis of an emblematic controversy : in the second part of the twentieth century, this controversy has concerned the supporters of the Progressive education and those of a new humanism, who explained their ideas through forgotten books. The Progressive Education (a subject recently studied by Sébastien Akira-Alix), mainly John Dewey and his followers, has emphasized the development of the Child and his activity, with a double stake: the emancipation of the children, make

them free from the authoritarian teaching, and, in the future, to make free the citizen too, giving him early a democratic hexis, with the desire and the skills to be responsible.

Could the knowledge to be taught and the teaching methods to become an obstacle for getting this hexis? John Dewey ask the question in *The Child and the Curriculum*; but, Progressive Education contains the risk of a loss of consistency and accuracy of learning. So, several authors have criticized the progressivism. For example, Arthur Bestor wanted the School to transmit the traditions. Schematically, this shows a fixed tension between two positions which haunt the educational modernity: to privilege the development and the activity of the individual vs the transmission of the culture. We Europeans have inherited this puzzling alternative and the harsh controversies, till the first part of the XXIth century. Is it a legacy? Or, a broad question that transcends the historical conditions of its emergence?

We must read again the important legacy of the new humanism. Progressivists and their opponents, considering themselves as humanists, have proposed different theories of human nature, with a great complexity. We need a precise knowledge about this complexity, in order to build a contemporary progressivism.

Sérgio Niza and the “cooperative self-training”: Reflections on the trajectory of a Portuguese educator and his project for teacher training, within the scope of the portuguese modern school movement (English)

Joaquim Pintassilgo (Universidade de Lisboa), Alda Namora (Universidade de Lisboa)

This presentation is based on a research project whose purpose is to study experiences of pedagogical innovation developed in Portugal during the 20th century, with a special focus on its second half. The Portuguese Modern School Movement (Movimento da Escola Moderna in Portuguese, hereafter MEM), which evolved under the inspiration of the Freinet pedagogy from the 1960s onwards, was one of the great protagonists of this pedagogical renewal effort. Its influence is perceptible in numerous school experiences that were born since then and it still has prominent presence in the Portuguese educational system. This makes it an excellent example to study the constitution of “innovation traditions” (Peter Burke), in this case a “progressive tradition” (Philip Jackson). In addition to its original inspiration, the MEM deepened its theoretical grounds by incorporating theses of a certain sociocultural constructivism, which also leads us to reflect upon the relationship between “tradition” and “innovation”.

Born in Campo Maior in 1949, (Alentejo, Portugal), Sérgio Niza became MEM’s main figure and one of the most important educators of the contemporary Portuguese pedagogical arena. His personal trajectory coincides with the MEM’s course, but his thinking spreads also out of that concrete context. Being a primary school teacher, Sérgio Niza dedicated part of his professional life to the educational integration of children and young people. At an early stage, he was concerned with the dissemination of the so called “Freinet techniques”, but his “pedagogical model” gradually became more autonomous, borrowing from other contributions and thus building its own coherence and originality. The construction of a democratic school and of a democratic society is one of the purposes of this model, hence the valorisation of participation, dialogue, cooperation and contracting of decisions. The importance attached to educational practices, as well as the encouragement given to a shared and collective reflection upon those practices, is a central feature of Niza’s thinking

that is present in the MEM's "pedagogical model". MEM is a context for the training of educators in which educators themselves are the protagonists of their own training, in dialogue with their peers and with reference to the experiences developed. Hence the concept of "cooperative self-training" coined by Sérgio Niza, which emerges from his reflections on the process of teacher training. The idea of a "socially-centred" teacher training highlights the favouring of social interactions as a training strategy. The aim of this presentation is, therefore, to promote a reflection on the project of educators training, as well as on its underlying concepts, as developed by Sérgio Niza and embodied in the MEM. We will use as sources the writings Sérgio Niza has been dedicating to the subject of teacher training throughout his trajectory.

5.3 SWG MIGRANTS, MIGRATION AND EDUCATION (2/3)

TEXTUAL SOURCES, PEDAGOGICAL METHODS AND MIGRATION

Transgression. Teaching About Gender Borders in Academia (English)

Machteld Venken (University of Vienna)

In the second half of the 1970s, Polish opposition against the communist regime was rising and started to organise itself outside of official structures. But when female academic Maria Janion noticed a 'liberating ferment', she set up her seminar Transgression at the university of Gdańsk, in order to change the system from within. The idea of transgression went against the conformist human being academia at that time was supposed to produce. Maria Janion discussed literature with her students. Among the reoccurring themes were 'difference' and 'foreignness'. Soon, she ended up teaching up to 200 people.

In 1970, anti-regime had been put on hold by the military, and in 1980, the Solidarity Movement arose in the shipyards and for the first time during communism gathered almost 10 million inhabitants in a non-regime controlled trade union. In the years the seminar was running, Maria Janion was approached by party officials warning her for her deviate attitude, and she was eventually thrown out of the university following Martial Law. Maria Janion calls her seminary a prologue to the developments of the 1980s. One of her students later stated that the collapse of communism did not surprise him, because Maria Janion had prepared him for 'the jump through liberty'. Whereas there have been written innumerable history books about the Solidarity Movement and its strikes, Maria Janion's seminary has not been the object of historical evaluation. And yet, together with her students, Janion published Transgression. We can follow how individual students interpreted literary texts and came to change their opinions (transgressed) during their discussions; Maria Janion provided a collective scene aimed at transgression within academia.

During the Winter Semester of 2017/18, I, a Belgian historian, used Janion's teaching method during an MA course on 'Bildung. Alterität und Kulturität' at the Faculty of Education of the University of Vienna. 20 MA students from Austria conducted biographical interviews with the former participants to the Mentoring Program for Female Postdoctoral Scientists at UV (2/3th

Austrian, 1/3th international), read literature about gender borders in academia, interpreted their narratives, developed research questions and wrote a course diary (as did their teacher). During my talk, I will use the source materials produced during the course in order to reflect on past interdisciplinary and transnational encounter organised along Janion's teaching method.

Migration and Common Schooling in Urban America: Educating Newcomers in Boston and Cincinnati, 1820s-1860s (English)

Paul J. Ramsey (Eastern Michigan University)

Abstract: This essay juxtaposes two U.S. cities' differing educational reactions to mass migrations prior to the Progressive Era. During the nineteenth century, Boston, Massachusetts, developed a model urban education system, one that was visited and replicated throughout the nation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Boston was a relatively communal city in which a small group of elites dominated civic life. As waves of poor, rural New Englanders and, later, Irish immigrants threatened the supposed cohesive nature and shared values of the community, Boston's public school system focused on assimilating the newcomers through moral training. Like Boston, Cincinnati, Ohio, created public schools that were toured and studied, largely because of the city's renowned German-English program. Unlike Boston, however, the city and the schools were co-developed by migrants. Highly educated German immigrants and settlers from the East developed the public schools together and, unlike the assimilationist schools in Boston, created an educational system that had a relatively pluralistic mission.

Keywords: United States, migration, assimilation, pluralism, bilingual education

Sociology for school teachers in multicultural Australia (English)

Helen Proctor (University of Sydney)

Although in some ways Australia can be read quite straightforwardly as an exemplary migrant nation, the language used to describe 'migrants' is actually quite complex, encompassing, for example, variations in the how the journey to Australia was voluntary or forced (eg convicts, 'settlers', refugees), and, particularly in the post second world war period, the question of 'ethnicity' and relationship of the family of origin with the English language. According to Jean Martin's foundational 1978 study, 'The term, 'migrant' is used in countless different ways, and why it has different connotations in different contexts is an important sociological question in present day Australia' (1978: 16). During the 1970s and 1980s, the term 'migrant' in the context of school education, was most commonly used to describe people from non British, non English speaking countries of origin, often extended to encompass the Australian born children of such people ('migrant families') (eg see Burns and Goodnow 1979). The terminology carried with it the idea that specific support—additional to English language instruction—was necessary for the educational success of migrant children and the children of migrant parents, and that such activity in the field of school education was crucial for the success of Australia's migration program more broadly. Martin argued that school education was also 'the only clearly identifiable area in which there [had] been a comprehensive nationwide response to the presence of non-English-speaking migrants in Australia' (1978, 84).

This paper examines a genre of professional resource material that was developed for—and sometimes by—school teachers working in ‘multicultural’ classrooms in the 1970s and 1980s. Such outputs were facilitated by the growth of sociology as a discipline in universities and in teacher education during the period, and the conduct of their own sociological research by institutions such as the state and federal Education Departments (eg see W. F. Connell (1993) on the incorporation of ‘Foundations of Education’ into Australian teacher education). Examining a selection of published texts produced during the 1970s and early 1980s that tried to make sense of and offer advice about, the ‘migrant’ child, this paper examines attempts by teachers and other people working in and around schools to apply new sociological/anthropological understandings to questions about the relationship about ‘home’ and ‘school’ and about the agency and responsibility of teachers in that relationship. A textual study rather than a social history, the paper focuses on (1) how such material interpreted and deployed concepts related to ‘ethnicity’, ‘culture’ and ‘family’ and (2) how theories of ‘migrants and migration’ were discursively related to theories of the nation state; how migrant education was represented as a ‘problem’ with national boundaries.

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Émigrés’ Elementary Textbooks as a Source for the HE: the Russian Case of the 1920s (English)

Vitaly Bezrogov (Institut Strategii Razvitiya Obrazovaniya RAO), Natalya Barannikova (Academy of Social Management)

The events of 1917-1921 created the Russia as such and the Russia abroad where dissidents had been pushed to. The émigré Russia emerged in Turkey, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, the Baltic countries, China etc.; and education was set up for children taken out of Russia. Thus begins the double history of two Russian cultures and patterns in education (the Soviet Russia and the émigré Russia).

Each country, each city was a special case in the history of émigré everyday life, feelings, mentality, education and publishing. In the Baltic countries the emigrants were included in larger Russian population of the previous citizens of the former Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire. In Czechoslovakia, Serbia and Bulgaria we see bigger or smaller official state supports towards Russian emigrants as émigrés. In Berlin or Paris the Russian emigrant communities were newly born like in Slavic countries and more independent than there. In every locus the conditions of the boundaries between majority and émigrés were different. Even within every locus the boundaries of inclusion (to what? émigré enclave or local native community?) or exclusion (from what? émigré enclave or local people?) had been constructed in different ways and with different accuracy and clearness. An interesting criteria to recognize such boundaries is the emigrant publishing for education.

Russian émigré textbooks set themselves a double mission: to help children prepare for the return to their homeland, and before that, to find “Russia” around and in them. The task was to teach memory of the homeland, to gather the culture, (re)construct it and pass the ‘Atlantis’ the adults lost to the future generation. The task of setting roots in the new land was deemed either secondary or not warranting attention.

It would be particularly apt and important to consider elementary textbooks. Against the background of everyday life in a foreign-language environment, those books served children brought from Russia and born in exile as their first conduit to be included into their lost homeland memory and a shield against a new neighborhood to be excluded from the host country. While a dialog with the native past was set up, a dialog with the present was consciously pushed out of textbooks; if such a dialog did slip in, it only happened through an “oversight” in those parts of a textbook where rational control did not apply. The group politics and textbooks worked on the exclusion from the strange non mother tongue neighborhood and on the inclusion into the warm neighborhood émigré enclave as a more homeland than the Soviet Russia. But the ex/inclusion was not absolutely and one typical case of this complicated interplay of in/exclusions will be told about in the paper in details.

Methods/methodology

If we want to learn what textbooks Russian émigrés used to teach their children, we will not find a clear-cut answer. Mostly first émigré studies on Russians after 1917 expressed the opinion that there were no particular schoolbooks created by emigrants (Basler 1983; Mchitarjan 2006). Few special studies of the books repertoire and schools of the Russian emigration demonstrate that the world of textbooks was not limited to reprints of previous pre-1917 editions or occasional materials to teach like newspapers etc. (Kratz 1987, Sedowa-Terenya 2013, Kosinowa 2016, Shewchenko 2017).

Toward the wide spectrum of various theories of exclusion/inclusion of different migrant groups from/into their social, cultural, educational etc. environments we would like to add a theory of cultural transmission in socio-cultural minorities in a foreign cultural environment to our discussion (Mchitarjan & Reizenzein, 2013-6). We would like to make a focus on the educational activities of minorities and look at cultural transmission going on with cultural impeding at the same time. One can trace the last within the emigrant textbooks very well. The theory mostly says about culture-transmission motives minority groups have got very strong to transmit their culture to the next generation. We would like to argue that such way was and is also because of the rejection of the majority culture by émigrés and the efforts not to allow any important contacts with it. The main methods used in the study are the slow hermeneutical reading; content, canon and visual analysis. The paper will show a spectrum of textbooks and focus on the textbook that typify the reconstruction of the pedagogical routine of the first years of emigration – the primer “Chochu chitat [I want to read]” published by Ewgeniya Akinfiowa in 1922 in Berlin.

Expected outcomes/results

By deep minute studying individual editions, one can see the special “(non)dialog” that contributed to severing inclusion interplay by textbooks in Russian printed in the 1920s in non-Russian states. In the case of (e)migrant communities textbooks can perpetuate marginalisation, protecting the group as a cocoon from cultural diffusion and assimilation. In Russian emigrant textbooks of the 1920s this cohesion strategy is supported and strengthened by representation of external environment as hostile and in-group environment

as humane and safe. We can trace it in the book's design, on the selection of the stories offered to children to read, and on the sequence in which the stories were arranged. The textbooks' authors let slip at least some latent notes of the contemporary émigré life problems in the present while reconstructing the eternal past.

Tracing the nature of individual publications, we observe important processes that could serve as a foundation for future typology of émigré textbooks like a kind of mirror towards boundaries with outside domestic neighbors and ties within emigrants themselves inside. In the context of actual abruptness of cultural continuity with the home culture the strategy of putting the family model and mother tongue to the center of emigrant society was mostly used. Instead cultural transmission between minority and majority we have to say about the model of intergenerational cultural transmission within families which is based on a child's urge to the solely "our" ethnic and confessional values and norms, recommended by adults according to their childhoods spent in the lost homeland. Therefore, emigrant textbooks didn't "allow" children to be included in local networks of dominant culture, but preparing children excluding from it for inclusion into their own culture, exported and kept educationally unbreakable as more as possible.

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5.4 SWG TOUCHING BODIES IN SCHOOL (1/3)

NATURE AND BODIES IN MOVEMENT: EDUCATIONAL DEBATES AND PRACTICES

Interdependent Rehabilitation of Disabled Bodies and Deformed Nature: Re-Education of Belgian and French Physically Disabled Great War Soldiers into Rural Labourers (1914-1925) (English)

Marisa De Picker (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

This paper explores how physically disabled bodies of Belgian and French Great War soldiers became connected with nature inside institutes for re-education, through their shared need for restoration after the war. Consequently, refreshing light is shed on the intersection of two research themes that have recently received increasing attention in the literature on the history of education, the history of the Great War and environmental history: soldiers' complex relationships with nature during the Great War on the one hand, and the vocational rehabilitation of disabled soldiers on the other hand. However, about Belgian and French physically disabled soldiers few (large) studies exist.

During the First World War, industrial warfare deformed large areas of the rural landscape in Belgium and France into a horrifying wasteland of flora and fauna. The restoration of the countryside after the war was therefore a labour-intensive process that would take several years, at a time when both countries also economically needed to rebuild themselves. Especially in the agricultural sector, where numerous Great War disabled men had worked before they were injured in the war, there was a large demand for labour. Already during the

war, institutes for rehabilitation and re-education were created to (re)transform disabled soldiers into agricultural labourers for their homeland or to teach them another, new occupation suiting to their remaining physical capabilities.

This paper discusses the interdependence of the rehabilitation of rural nature and disabled soldiers, based on the discourses found in state documents, visual propaganda and medico-pedagogical reports. These discourses are juxtaposed to the opinions of disabled soldiers found in journals of disability organisations and the personal correspondence of Camille Castryck, an apprentice in the agricultural department of a Belgian re-educational institute. The destruction of the Great War, which implied the destruction of all living, resonated in a complex distortion of disabled soldiers' connection with nature. The artillery and grenades, with which they devastated nature for war and supply purposes, wounded many of them in a similar way to the landscape they destroyed. Firstly, this paper analyses how disabled soldiers were encouraged to convalesce their connection with nature and their own bodies by working in and with nature. More specifically, it takes a close look at the ways in which disabled soldiers were stimulated to work in the countryside or in the open air and with natural materials, plants or animals. Additionally, it examines how disabled soldiers were taught to physically touch and become familiarised with nature's characteristics during practical and theoretical lessons. Subsequently, the action of touching and feeling nature is problematised through the institutes' efforts to increase disabled soldiers' labour efficiency by providing them with prosthetics to replace missing limbs. Through these devices touch became mechanised and dephysicalised. Lastly, it is explored how disabled soldiers by restoring and changing rural nature simultaneously changed their own nature.

Travelling Body: The Educational Tour of Girls in Modern China (1910-1940) (English)
Zhou Na (Central China Normal University), Zhou Hongyu (Central China Normal University)

Keywords: educational tour, girl students, body construction

Travelling is a kind of walking away, which is from the familiar environment into unfamiliar areas. It is also a kind of encounter, which is with stranger's eyes and unfamiliar reality. Since Song dynasty, traditional China has become increasingly strict with women. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, the closed-door life of "women's trip, not out of the boudoir" became normal in the upper aristocratic women. Though, according to Dorothy Ko, there were a few aristocratic women getting opportunity to travel officially with their husbands or fathers in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, to most women, the chance of traveling outside was slim. In modern times, intellectual women got more opportunities to travel. More importantly, their travel style gradually developed from traveling officially with their father or husband to traveling together with their friends or participating in school-organized study tour.

Grounding on travel writings of girl students in memoirs and newspapers and periodicals during 1910-1940, my work analyzes with historical narrative the development of girl students presented in these writings and the possible reasons. By comparing the traveling writings between aristocratic women who went to travel officially with their husbands or fathers in Ming and Qing Dynasties and modern girl students, it can be found that the latter focused more on social issues, such as personal social responsibility, modern national civilization and the image of modern women. In addition, according to the chronological analysis of travel writings of girl students from 1910 to 1940, there is an interesting finding:

Early travel writings are more about social issues, and later private narration is on the rise. These findings show that intellectual girls in modern times go through a process of from being men-attached to being nation-attached to being independent.

Most of the primary sources which this work utilizes are found from the general and ladies' periodical and newspaper in Republican China. I will focus on a close textual analysis of these sources in order to explore the real facet of girl students' development and the underlying reasons. In combination with analysis, I will also use feminist criticism and theory on gender and sexuality to examine these sources to shed light on this fact that the construction of girls' bodies should be interpreted with multiple perspectives, rather than a single one of modernization of nation.

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Körper- und Gegenständedarstellung Im Bildungsprojekt der lutherischen Missouri-Synode in Brasilien (Deutsch)

Patrícia Weiduschadt (Universidade Federal de Pelotas)

Es ist hiermit beabsichtigt ausdrücklich das Verhältnis von Körper und Gegenstände in den Orientierungen der pädagogischen Betreuung der Gemeindeschulen, die zu der lutherischen Missouri-Synode in Brasilien gehörten, zu diskutieren. Die Synode wurde in den Vereinigten Staaten im 19. Jahrhundert von deutschen Einwanderern gegründet. Die Einwanderer sehnten sich in der nordamerikanischen Realität nach einer streng lutherischen Institution, die sich auf orthodoxen und pietistischen Prinzipien begründete und den wachsenden deutschen Rationalismus verurteilte. Ließ sich im Jahr 1900 als Kirche in Pelotas im Bundesland Rio Grande do Sul in Brasilien nieder. Ihr Hauptziel war Kirchen neben Schulen gründen und die Lehrer- und Pfarrerbildung beraten. Dazu investierten sie in Seminareinrichtungen. Daraus bildete sich eine Kette von Gemeindeschulen im Rio Grande do Sul. In diesen Schulen, die zu den Kirchen verbunden waren, wurden die Schüler mit unterschiedlichen Älter und Bildungsniveaus in gleichen Klassen untergebracht und der Pfarrer war im Allgemeinen der Lehrer. Demzufolge war es nötig, den Lehrplan zu vereinheitlichen. Wie bereits in früheren Studien hingewiesen wurde (WEIDUSCHADT, 2012, 2007), die Ausübung der Religion war der Höhepunkt im Lehrplan der Institution, aber die säkularen Fächer wurden nicht vernachlässigt. Denn es wurden Druckmaterialien wie Lehrbücher, theologische und pädagogische Zeitschriften, Zeitschriften für Kinder, Jugendliche und Erwachsene massiv veröffentlicht. Es wurden Zeitschriften mit Lehrplanleitlinien für die Gemeindeschulen herausgegeben. Die werden als Quelle verwendet,

nämlich die technischen pädagogischen Zeitschriften „Unsere Schule“ (1933-1935) und „Wacht und Weide“ (1935-1939). Die zweite wurde später während der Zeit der Nationalisierung der Bildung als „Igreja Luterana“ (1940-1950) genannt. Die Orientierungen der Zeitschriften waren, in den meisten Fällen, an Lehrer und Pfarren, die in Kolonieschulen arbeiteten, gerichtet. Diese Schulen waren an abgelegenen Orten angesiedelt und viele von ihnen hatten Lehrer mit prekärer Vorbereitung. In dieser Mitteilung werden die pädagogische Aspekte der zitierten Quellen analysiert. Wobei allerdings die Lehre der Geometrie, des Sports und das Vorhandensein der Hygienegewohnheiten hervorgehoben werden. Diese drei Bereiche des Wissens dringen durch verbundene Gegenstände, auf denen sich eine körperliche Interaktion der Schüler und das alltägliche Leben der Kolonie entwickelt werden sollte, durch. Was das Lernen der Geometrie anbelangt, verdeutlicht sich die Verwendung der intuitiven Methode (VADEMARIN, 2004), die sich noch in der Periode der „Escola Nova“ verlängern. Es wurde beobachtet, dass die pädagogische Praxis durch die Verbindung der geometrischen Figuren im Leben in der Kolonie betont war. Zum Beispiel, die Schüler sollten einen Meterstab mitbringen, damit sie Gegenstände und sich selbst maßen. Das Turnen, als ideologisches Identitätselement deutscher Einwanderer (TESCHE, 1996), weist in den pädagogischen Leitfäden des Sports nämlich beim Gebrauch von Geräten und Gegenständen auf moralischer Kontrolle und Disziplin hin. (SOARES, 1993). Die Hygienegewohnheiten wurden zur Bekämpfung des Wurmbefalles präsentiert, indem man Medikamente benutzte, saubere Brunnen baute und die Schule reinigte. Diese hygienische Vorsichtsmaßnahmen waren in einer ländlichen Pädagogik (WERLE, 2004) verankert. Diese Bewegung verkündete den Menschen auf dem Land und die Kolonialschulen zu zivilisieren und moralisieren. Die Beweisstücke deuten darauf, dass die Gegenstände und die Körper in dieser Bildungsbereiche benutzt wurden, um den religiösen und moralischen Lehrplan der Institution zu entsprechen.

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Between Theory and Practice: Debates on Agricultural Teaching in the Province of Maranhão in the 19th Century (English)

Alexandre Ribeiro e Silva (University of São Paulo)

This paper deals with debates on theory and practice with regard to agricultural teaching in Maranhão in the nineteenth century. The aim is to analyze how politicians approached this matter regarding an institution called Agricultural School of the Cutim. The conceptual framework used will be the analysis of policy cycles with focus on the context of text production, which permits to identify different conceptions and objectives in elaboration of laws (BOWE; BALL; GOLD, 1992). The historical sources consist in speeches given by legislators in Provincial Legislative Assembly and published in a local newspaper called *Publicador Maranhense*. The Agricultural School of the Cutim was created in 1859 for the purposes of retiring poor children and forming labor for agricultural activities. In addition, it should develop experiences in order to improve the cultivation system of the Province and consequently the exportation of products such as sugar, rice, cotton and corn (CASTRO, 2012). Thus, the school was provided with agricultural instruments, machines, seeds from United States and high-breed animals from Europe (CABRAL, 1984). In 1861, a bill presented in the Provincial Legislative Assembly suggested to expand agricultural teaching by creating three courses: Elements of Physics and Chemistry, Elements of Zoology, Botanic, Geology and Meteorology and at least Agriculture and Rural Economy, whose teachers would give lessons at School of the Cutim. During discussions initiated in August, a legislator called Antonio Marques Rodrigues affirmed that the Province already had a practical agricultural teaching and acknowledged that the bill aimed to incentive theoretical studies. However, he realized many problems; for instance, sustaining theoretical and practical teaching was too expensive. Hence, government should prioritize the second one, like in School of the Cutim. Moreover, due to the intellectual limitations of the apprentices, the simplified explanations given during field activities would be enough to their education (PUBLICADOR MARANHENSE, 1861). One of the authors of the bill, José Belizario, confronted these arguments in a discussion which took place in September. According to him, the real wealth of a nation would come from transformation of nature through human work. Besides, only a properly instructed population could handle such a process, and since Maranhão was an eminently rural Province, it was necessary a course which would provide theoretical agricultural knowledge. Belizario concludes that the School of the Cutim could never give good results because the practical teaching was offered before theory. In fact, the institute received several critics due to all the investments with no return (CASTRO, 2012). To illustrate such precariousness, Belizario reported the bad conditions of the instruments of work, which had been abandoned in a room in the back of school. He also stated, in a tone of joke, that lambs, which had been imported from Europe for the purpose of race improvement, were living among pigs. Therefore, we conclude that, according to those arguments, the relation between apprentices and instruments, machines, plants and animals concerning agricultural teaching should be mediated by theory, whose role would be to prepare people to better manipulate nature.

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5.5 SYMPOSIUM KONZEPTE VON NATUR UND NATÜRLICHKEIT IM DISKURS UM DIE ERNEUERUNG DES LEBENS UND DER ERZIEHUNG – HISTORISCHE, SYSTEMATISCHE UND AKTUELLE PERSPEKTIVEN

(SCHWERPUNKTE: LEBENSREFORM UND REFORMPÄDAGOGIK) (1/3)

LEBENSPHILOSOPHISCHE GRUNDLAGEN, NATURÄSTHETIK IN LITERATUR UND MUSIK, UTOPIEN

Discussant: Christine Mayer (Universität Hamburg)

Natürlichkeit als zentrale Bezugsgröße in Lebensreform und Reformpädagogik – Über den Zusammenhang von „gutem“ Leben und „wahrer“ Erziehung (Deutsch)

Ehrenhard Skiera Europa-Universität Flensburg, ELTE-Universität Budapest)

Die Reformpädagogik und die Lebensreform des ausgehenden 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts zeigen sich als ein außerordentlich facettenreiches Diskurs- und Handlungsfeld, dessen Motive bis heute weiterwirken. In ihm wird das problematische Verhältnis zwischen individuellem Bedürfnis – Entwicklung und Entfaltung des Einzelnen nach seinem eigenen inneren Gesetz – und gesellschaftlicher Notwendigkeit – Anpassung an die gegebenen Verhältnisse respektive Einführung in die Kultur – theoretisch und praktisch in neuer Weise thematisiert, zumeist im Horizont einer alles versöhnenden Vision, die das Heil des Einzelnen und des Ganzen im Medium einer neuen Form des Lebens und Zusammenlebens respektive in der „richtigen“ Erziehung kommen sieht. Beiden Bewegungen geht es primär um die Überwindung der durch die Zumutungen der Moderne tief empfundenen, dreifachen Entfremdung des Menschen von sich selbst, vom Anderen und von der Natur.

Vor allem im Begriff der Natur und der Natürlichkeit liegen ihre partielle Kongruenz und Verbindung. Beiden ist die Natur Ausgangs-, Ziel- und Hebelpunkt der Entwicklung; beide beziehen sich in ihren Programmen und sozialen Konkretisierungen aufeinander, integrieren und fusionieren zahlreiche ihrer jeweiligen Momente zu eigenen alternativen Formen des Lebens respektive der Erziehung.

Das Leben ist durch eine naturgemäße Lebensweise zu reformieren: Natur- oder Reformkost (ggf. aus dem Reformhaus), Naturismus (Freikörperkultur), Naturheilkunde und –anstalten, vegetarische Ernährung (ggf. unter Verwendung des rohstoffschonenden „Reformkochtopfes“), Reformkleidung, naturnahe Siedlungsformen. Dem entsprechend wird das neue Evangelium der Natur in der Reformpädagogik verfasst. So werden etwa das Kind selbst (seine „Natur“), das Lernen und Unterrichten überhaupt sowie zahlreiche fachdidaktische Bereiche mit dem Prädikat des Natürlichen versehen und daraufhin neu konzipiert.

All dem liegen der Glaube und die Hoffnung zu Grunde, ohne Einspruch und schädigendem Einfluss sozio-kultureller Determinanten gleichsam unmittelbar dem Wesen der Dinge und dem Wesen des Menschen auf die Spur zu kommen.

Das Dorf als rettende Gegenwelt – Utopische Konzepte in der ungarischen Literatur der Zwischenkriegszeit (Deutsch)

Beatrix Vincze (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University)

Der Beitrag nimmt die ungarischen lebensreformerischen Konzepte in den Blick, insbesondere in ihrer Beziehung auf Naturvorstellungen in Verbindung mit einem idealisierenden Bild des dörflichen Lebens. Frühere Forschungen beschränkten sich auf soziologische, literarische und historische Aspekte. Diese werden hier mit den Mitteln der Diskursanalyse ergänzt durch pädagogische und erziehungswissenschaftliche.

Einige ungarische Lebensreformer (u.a. Gy. Illyés, Zs. Móricz, L. Németh) vertraten als zentrales Diskursmoment, dass nur das Dorf, das Landleben den wahren Weg zur Selbstverwirklichung des Menschen zeigen könne. Die sogenannte „heterogene literarische Gruppe“ verstand sich selbst als Gemeinschaft volkstümlicher Schriftsteller. Gleichwohl pflegten sie durchgängig einen Diskurs mit dem Urbanen. Die ungarischen Lebensreformer, in ihrer Mehrzahl Künstler, Schriftsteller, Journalisten und Pädagogen, wendeten sich vehement gegen die negativen Einflüsse der Modernisierung. Sie beschrieben in ihren Essays und Romanen das Leben auf dem Lande in Ungarn. Zwar wurde durchaus die Rückständigkeit des ungarischen Agrarwesens aufgezeigt, gleichwohl galt ihnen das Ländliche als etwas Schönes, Wertvolles, das der „grausamen Großstadt“ als rettendes Bild gegenübergestellt werden konnte.

In den romantischen, meist utopischen Vorstellungen stellten die Verfasser die unverdorrene Natur auf dem Lande, die naturnahe Lebensweise und die Arbeit des Bauern als das wesenhaft Menschliche dar. Das Dorf wird geradezu zum Synonym für Natur genommen, und es wird mittels soziologischer (Agrargesellschaft), politischer (Bodenreform) und pädagogischer (Erziehung der Bauernkinder) Reflexionen zu einem rettenden, harmoniestiftenden Ort stilisiert.

Dabei stützen sich die Konzepte auf sehr unterschiedliche politische Richtungen (von linken bis extremradikalen), Ziele, Reformideen und Praxisansätze. Dorf und Bauerntum sollten nicht mehr als Bildungshindernis gelten, sondern als Quelle einer neu zu schaffenden Intelligenz und Elite gesehen und gestaltet werden, und zwar vor allem mit pädagogischen Mitteln. Das ungarische Volk könne und müsse vor den verderblichen Folgen des Kapitalismus wie des Kommunismus geschützt, und so ein „Dritter Weg“ verfolgt werden.

En proximité de la Lebensreform: la danse liquide de l'eau en D'Annunzio et Debussy. Une éducation littéraire et musicale pour la fusion avec la nature (Français)

Leonardo Acone (Università degli Studi di Salerno)

D'Annunzio, en 1902, écrit *La pioggia nel pineto*, opéra où les sentiments forts deviennent manifestation spirituelle, naturel, organique, passionné et sauvage. Les visages sylvestres du poète et d'Hermione se nourrissent du sang de la vie que la pluie leur répand sur la peau, les vêtements, les pensées, les instincts, pour faire partie intégrante de la même forêt qui les accueille et guide les étapes dans une danse fluide: pluie de son, rythme, mots, rimes et assonances. Le panismo dannunziano 'éduque' ainsi à la réévaluation d'une relation directe avec la nature; une sorte de prédécesseur poétique de «l'écologie»; un nudisme littéraire qui

est proche du zeitgeist de la Lebensreform. Le poète des années plus tard admirera la danseuse Charlotte Bara, avec son style sacré et mystique, créatrice d'un des lieux symboliques de la Swiss-Lebensreform: le Teatro San Materno à Ascona; Il l'admirera à tel point qu'il concevra, pour elle, - et pour ses façons saintes pour entrer, avec le corps qui danse, en relation avec le monde - un cycle de Legends pour la musique de Malipiero, que malheureusement le poète n'arrivera pas à réaliser.

Un an plus tard, en 1903, Claude Debussy écrit la pièce pour le piano Jardins sous la pluie, une des nombreuses références au paradigme de la fluidité, sensualité liquide, topos symbolique du dialogue à redécouvrir comme une danse inépuisable entre êtres humains et éléments archétypaux et primordiaux . Dans les années qui suivront, des pièces orchestrales comme La mer, Danse sacrée et la danse profane confirmeront la dimension de la «redécouverte» profonde et esthétique de la vie 'naturelle'.

Le lien culturel et artistique entre les deux auteurs trouvera son épanouissement dans des compositions de Debussy telles que Le martyr de Saint-Sébastien, sur des textes de D'Annunzio.

Les œuvres littéraires et de musique ici proposées représentent un nouveau esprit éducatif pour la relation entre les hommes et les arts, déjà au début du 20ème siècle. La fusion conséquente avec la nature se révèle très proche aux actuelles directions "écologiques" de la pédagogie.

5.6 SYMPOSIUM HOW NATURE IS GIVEN NAMES: THE INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCE OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE POST WORLD WAR TWO YEARS (2/3)

GIVING PEOPLE AND SOCIETY "NATURE": FABRICATING COLLECTIVE BELONGING

Chair: Thomas S. Popkewitz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Discussant: Lynn Fendler (Michigan State University), Noah W. Sobe (Loyola University Chicago)

United States Comparative Education: The Changing "Nature" Given to Society and Nations in the Challenges of the Cold War (English)

Miguel A. Pereyra (University of Granada)

The paper focuses on the "scientific domains" and "social spaces" of academic disciplines through the study of US Comparative Education. Developed at initially in Teachers College, Columbia University in 1898, it was to promote the social efficiency movement of the curriculum. Later and continuing after World War II, the intellectual orientation shifted, first, to the history of education and the cultural-humanistic tradition, and then, to more social science approaches. Focusing on post-World War Two, the paper examines the changes in "the nature" given to society and nations in the theories and methods of the comparative

studies as the classical historical-humanistic visions lost academic relevance in order to address emerging international issues linked to social policy and development and planning.

Comparative Education appeared in the US at the end of nineteenth century but developed in the early decades of the 20th century at Teachers College, Columbia University. David Snedden, a professor in educational administration, gave it the charge of teaching "Comparative Study of Educational Systems" in the teacher education program to promote the curriculum idea of social efficiency. Later Paul Monroe (and his student Isaac Kandel), professor of the history of education, reoriented comparative studies to the history of education. This was continued after World War II, with the newly created endowed professorship of Comparative Education given to the American-Polish George Bereday who continued the intellectual orientation derived from the history of education and the cultural-humanistic tradition. Their approach, however, progressively lost academic and research relevance nationally and received strong criticisms at the time of the incorporation of teacher education into the university.

This contribution explores these changes and the challenges and difficulties of Comparative Education had to confront in the new institutional patterns and research infrastructures on learning and school organization related to policy and reform.

Progressivism, National Awakening and the Social Engineering of the Welfare State Education System in Post WWII Denmark (English)

Mette Buchardt (Aalborg University), Maja Plum (University of Copenhagen)

Theologian, national awakening thinker and democracy-scepticist N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) has during the 20th century become an iconic figure symbolising the particular Nordic string of enlightenment and democratic "schooling for life" directed towards "the people". Recently, for instance, the school innovation program *New Nordic School* articulated symbolic references to the Grundtvigian heritage as well as its uptake in the post war years of the 1950's. In this paper, we will analyse this post war uptake of Grundtvigianism and how it was operationalized in the social engineering of the welfare state educational system.

We will argue that the symbolic reference of enlightenment for "the people" works as a particular matrix through which the inner nature of 'human-spirit and human-heart' (Grundtvig 1861, 60) and the outer nature of Denmark as a nation was sought reconciled by the means of 'life' as a curricular subject and objective. Furthermore, we will argue that the reconciliation between the inner and outer nature was rearticulated as a progressivist politico-pedagogical project in the post war years concerned with the fostering of an inner "democratic spirit" making Denmark a welfare state democracy (Koch 1945). In this project, schooling for 'real life' became not only an answer to fostering "more people of the right kind" (Novrup 1957, 247), but also an opposition to the classical idea of Bildung, instead promoting an undivided school for 'the people' directed towards future labour skills and human happiness. Thus, we will point to the curricular project of 'life' as a mystical abstraction, persistently claiming its immanence and its practicality in the social engineering project of the welfare state (Hansen et al 2008 Buchardt & Plum 2018).

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Entrepreneurial "Nature," "(Under-) Developed Societies," and Social Sciences in the Post-World War II Era in the US (English)

Mariam Sedighi (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

This paper is concerned with the cultural inscriptions about the entrepreneurial "nature" of individuals and populations as produced in the post-world war II social scientific research. It attends to the research on entrepreneurship in the US in the period between 1940s and 1970s—the era in which entrepreneurship research was anchored in the social sciences and particularly in the disciplines of economic history, historical sociology, and behavioral psychology (Lohrke & Landström, 2010; Ronstadt, 1990). It is argued that the failure of behavioral psychology in this period in establishing a correlation between the entrepreneurial traits of individuals and the assumed level of development in different countries produced new understanding of the relationship between entrepreneurial "nature," the role of education, and a nation-state's "development" after the 1980s.

Available literature in English concerned with the proliferation of entrepreneurship education and training in different places around the world since the 1980s tends to highlight the neoliberal ideology of actors like national governments, international development organizations, powerful social groups, etc (e.g., DeJaeghere, 2017; Peters, 2001). Drawing on Foucault's (1980) notion of power-knowledge, this paper argues that the reconceptualization of entrepreneurship as a learnable "behavior"—rather than an inherent "personality trait"—has been an indispensable condition of possibility for the rapid rise to popularity of entrepreneurship education and training programs since the 1980s. It brings to the fore how social sciences were part of the "disinterested" and "unpolitical" forms of knowledge which nevertheless exercised power through their classification, differentiation, and hierarchization of individuals and populations. Moreover, social scientific research on entrepreneurship deployed and (re)produced geopolitical imaginations, and was thus part of the complex webs of power that classified and divided the world into "industrial," "primitive," "developed," "underdeveloped," and so forth.

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The Otherness of the "Adolescents". Historicizing E-generation as a New Kind of Human in the Taiwanese Curriculum Reform (English)

Kai-Jung Hsiao (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

In 2002, Ministry of Education Republic of China (Taiwan) issued a national curriculum reform "Challenge 2008—National Development Plans," and its primary project is the "E-generation Manpower Cultivation Plan." This paper historicizes this modernist project of education through tracing its linkage back to the historical event "Chinese civic war" (1927-1950), which has transformed into the epistemological principles of the reform that commoditize and objectify the "nature" of the youth—the "adolescents" as the "materiality" of the national independence in the modern era. A Foucauldian "history of the present" (Foucault, 1979) is drawn on to unpack the historical, cultural and political elements that become transformed into the modernist styles of reasoning in "making a kind of people" (Hacking, 2007)—the "nature" of the "adolescents" as a "reality" in the present.

The historical approach to the reform focuses on how the "nature" of "the adolescents" becomes inscribed as a modernist "method" that mitigates the nation's historical struggle and strives for its subjectivity. The "method" is embodied in the historical transformations in three cultural theses: from Confucian no-self to the modernist self, from science and technology livelihood to social-scientific modes of Being, and from the People's Power to democratic governance. These cultural theses together orientate particular relations around the ontological "nature" of the "adolescents"—the ideal "Otherness" that is created and becomes operatable through the imposition of a particular developmental form of "nature" for moral and social order accomplishment.

The Otherness of adolescents is transformed historically from the culturalization and politicalization of the youth to the naturalization and problematization of the "adolescents." In the reform, the distinct "nature" of the adolescents is made possible with modernist impulse to/fear not to "change" that enables a mentality inscribed in a technology for care and cure in planning the youth's everyday life and governing the self.

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5.7 SWG MAPPING THE DISCIPLINE HISTORY OF EDUCATION (3/4)

BECOMING GLOBAL? HOW ARE HISTORY OF EDUCATION JOURNALS CHANGING?

Chairs: Rebecca Rogers (Paris Descartes University), Gary McCulloch (UCL Institute of Education)

Are we all transnational now? Disciplinary norms and networks in history of education journals- the case of Australia (English)

Julie McLeod (University of Melbourne), Helen Proctor (University of Sydney), Tamson Pietsch (University of Technology)

During the last two decades, the idea and importance of the transnational has grown to be a major theme within the historiography on education, largely framed as a necessary corrective to an inflated reliance on the nation state as the unit of analysis and a positive response to the interconnectedness of educational histories (Bagchi, Fuchs, and Rousmaniere 2014). At the same and across a range of historical inquiries, the transnational turn has been critiqued for somewhat breathlessly adopting the language of flows, exchanges and connections (Novoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003), which can create a fuzzy, vague feeling of movement and an unanchored sense of connections. More recent adoption of concepts such as ‘entangled’ histories or *histoire croisée* (Burson 2013; Werner and Zimmerman 2006) bring related challenges in specifying the force and effects of exchanges or entanglements. The transnational focus on movement and flows also characterises the corporate narratives of post 1990s capitalist globalisation, while at the same time it remains a heuristic that many who focus on social histories of education have not adopted. What has happened to questions of the national and the nation state in histories of education and in constructions of disciplinary expertise and networks? Are we all transnational now?

This paper will examine the changing ways in which understandings of the nation-state have been represented in Australia’s leading history of education journal, *History of Education Review* since its foundation in 1972 (Campbell 2015). The discussion will encompass attention to presumptions and analytic silences on the status of the nation through to hesitations about the nation state in the thrall of the transnational turn. The paper will draw from a critical review of all the articles published in the journal, mapping their thematic focus relative to our concerns with the national and the transnational and citation patterns over time. In doing so, the paper will focus on the connections between two of the dimensions outlined by the Working Group, namely historiographical synthesis and disciplinary networks around journals.

The impact of internationalisation on History of Education journals. Empirical evidence and critical reflections (English)

José L. H. Huerta (University of Valladolid), Andrés P. Rico (University of Valencia)

Internationalisation is one of the fundamental ideas of the task of an academic: the communication and exchange of ideas, advances, criteria and judgements between researchers and thinkers from around the world, having different cultural frameworks and

personal trajectories. This interplay between academics determines the lens through which any given issue is examined, and enriches the views taken of reality (varied and dynamic in itself). This is nothing drastically new: there has always been global circulation of ideas through academic publications. In recent years, though, internationalisation has been steadily increasing, to the point where it is now transforming the way in which we think about, and practise, the discipline of History of Education. This is due, amongst other things, to the proliferation of historiographic research focusing on comparative, transnational, international or global studies, on the spread of digital information and communication technology (which has given rise to the Open Access movement, for example), and the increasingly important role of policies on assessing researchers' academic production and the quality of publication management. These factors have meant that, over a period of time, journals have become the main channels of academic communication for History of Education.

This contribution, which follows in the footsteps of previous works (Hernández & Cagnolati, 2015; Hernández, Cagnolati & Diestro, 2015) and is part of the activity of the Connecting History of Education Working Group, has three goals: to study the historical process of internationalisation of History of Education through the specialist journals; to analyse certain aspects of the impact of internationalisation on those journals; and to offer a critical discussion of the main effects of this global wave in publication management and researcher assessment. Particular attention is paid to the following aspects: geopolitical regions of academic production; global circulation of researchers and historiographical traditions; the permeability of academic communities to other histories of education; epochs, ideas and languages of internationalisation; the linguistic factor in creation and communication in History of Education; the transformations in the focus of interest, and the perspectives and focal directions of analysis of the research topics; the technical and academic challenges posed by internationalisation for publication management of the specialist journals; and the strategies implemented to deal with the growing demand for internationalisation from the main databases, the agencies assessing journals and researchers, and the working groups themselves.

The sample of journals upon which this study is based comprises 18 titles – see the appendix – which represent 40% of those still publishing at present, and offer an overall view of the process of internationalisation of History of Education, given the geopolitical variety of the publications and the academic communities they serve: the UK, France, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. The selection criterion employed was the international publication management quality standards established by the main worldwide databases: Web of Science and Scopus. In addition, we selected journals having scored maximum points on the latest assessments by national assessment bodies. Of the works published by the journals, only those articles appearing in the 'monographs' or 'studies' sections (or their equivalents) were taken into account. The period of study covers the last five decades, from 1961 – marking the founding of what are now the longest-running publications in this field (History of Education Quarterly and Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education) – to 2016, when at least 45 specialised journals were running (and indeed continue to run today). As with the selection of titles on which to focus, we took a representative sample from fourteen specific years, at five-year intervals: 2016, 2011, 2006, 2001, 1996, 1991, 1986, 1981, 1976, 1971, 1966 and 1961.

The Processes of Internationalization of Periodicals on History of Education in Brazil (1997-2016) (English)

Maria H. C. Bastos (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul), Décio J.R. Gatti (Universidade Federal de Uberlândia), José G. Gondra (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro), Carlos E. Viera (Universidade Federal do Paraná)

The publication of periodicals dedicated specifically to the field of History of Education in Brazil is relatively recent. In 1997, under the name “História da Educação”, on the initiative of members of the Rio Grande do Sul Association of Researchers on History of Education the first Brazilian journal dedicated exclusively to History of Education was established. In the year 2000, based on work done by the members of the Group of Studies and Research on “History, Society and Education in Brazil the journal “Revista Histedbr On-line” was founded. The next year, in 2001, the Brazilian Society of History of Education, founded in 1999, began to publish the Brazilian Journal on History of Education. In 2002, the Center of Studies and Research on History and Historiography of Education, connected to the Federal University of Uberlandia, began to publish “Cadernos de História da Educação”. We will particularly examine their strategies for internationalization, based empirically on the issues published until 2016, in order to compare information and analyze the material published. Since the 1990s there has been a consistent phenomenon of growth in research on History of Education in Brazil, especially since lines of research in this field were created in different Postgraduate Programs in Education. We, thus, found an increase in the number of research groups, exchange actions with foreign countries, interinstitutional research projects, as well as the promotion of regional, national and international events. As regards the internationalization of the field of History of Education, the analysis of this phenomenon should include the development of projects involving Brazilian researchers and investigators living abroad, emphasizing the academic communities of the following countries: France, Portugal, Spain, Argentina and Italy. In addition to this movement, relevant events have been held in this field, especially the Iberoamerican Congress of History of Latin American Education and the Luso-Brazilian Congress of History of Education. Besides these events, Brazilian researchers participated in the International Standing Conference for the History of Education. At the same time as researchers are included in the specialized congresses in this field, a remarkable role is played by exchanges of research in the processes of creating and internationalizing the periodicals on History of Education analyzed. The results are presented around four units, namely: 1) we discuss the strategies for the internationalization of the four Brazilian periodicals; 2) the process of choosing international members of the editorial and advisory boards is examined; 3) we look at the authors and co-authors connected to foreign institutions who published in these periodicals between 1997 and 2016; 4) we discuss the topics of the articles from abroad. At the end we attempt to present a few thoughts on the perspectives for the internationalization of the four journals selected.

“Clio’s Interpretative Framework for a Larger Landscape of History of Education: Disciplinary Journals, Introspective and Exploratory Forays” (English)

Jean-Pierre V. M. Hérubel (Purdue University)

This necessarily exploratory examination will focus on the landscape of history journals that publish history of education topics, especially non-education history journals, within the framing of entangled nature of history of education on an international basis. Historiographic

considerations of this scholarly landscape, based on data gathered from various databases will provide the baseline for discussion of disciplinary cultures as they inform or deform history of education published within non-history of education journals. Animated by historiographic, subject, and methodological concerns, this discussion will mesh with the rubric, Historiographical assessments of histories of education concerning globalization and the transnational turn.

Special emphasis will focus on how intellectual and possible methodologies influence history of education, as different history journals in the main, treat history of education differently depending upon the disciplinary culture to which they adhere. Using this approach, predicated upon the definitional model of disciplinary cultures presented in Chicago, 2016, and extracted and triaged data from various databases, special emphasis and illustration will focus attention on the history of universities and colleges as primary illustration. Instructive intersections will further demonstrate the richness of history of universities, etc. (higher education), that is, history of learning culture, or political and societal interactions, or traditions, or research, training, and history of academic disciplines e.g. selective illustrative topics. Specifically, history of science and/or the history of disciplines within the context of history of education come to mind--history of science with history of education discussion themes will also serve as additional illustrations.

These illustrations will consider the following permutations and topics: journal articles, book reviews, geographical dispersion, language concentrations, institutional loci, as well as publication densities for 1997-2016. To add texture to the study, key topics are examined: tertiary institutions, e.g. colleges, universities, professors, science, and medicine to gain a richer exploration of historical research not appearing in history of education journal venues.

Within the context of history of universities, higher education, and selective attendant illustrations, the typology of disciplinary cultures, introduced during the Chicago 2016 Conference presentation and paper [Clio's Presence, or where is history of Education to be found?] will further frame the discussion of internationalization of history of education. Within the context of entangled disciplines reflecting the leitmotif of the 2018 Berlin Conference entangled histories of history of education it will animate the discussion via theoretically informed historiographical thinking and analysis.

Approach and Projected Objectives:

Embedding this discussion within a bibliometric approach that, in turn is grounded in a historiographical framework. Further grounding is provided by the use of definitional disciplinary alignments first introduced in ISCHE Chicago 2016. Bibliometric data is generated and triaged from Arts & Humanities Citation Index, Social Science Citation Index corroborated by Historical Abstracts and America: History & Life databases. Analysis of data provides empirical rigor to the exploration and illustration of nuances inherent to scholarship appearing in non-history of education journal literature.

A). to situate historiographic discussion within the international context of scholarly history journals for history of education subjects.

B). utilize available databases for triage of pertinent history of education illustrations (history of universities and colleges, history of science, selective academic disciplines) data; frame the data within the larger context of disciplinary formation.

C). apply historiographic discussion to this unique population of data and intellectually situate the international contextualization of history of education within this larger journal environment, including geographical dispersion, etc.

This discussion preliminarily explores the status of the international topography of history-orientated journals animating specific illustrative examples of history of education, extending the previous Chicago 2016 conference presentation and paper.

Accompanying tables and graphics constitute an illustrative measure useful for locating history of education scholarship appearing in non-history of education venues.

Mapping the History of Education in Brazil and Canada: two Academic Journals, between the Specificity of the Local and the Globalization of the Area (English)

Marisa Bittar (Federal University of São Carlos) & Thérèse Hamel (Université Laval)

The creation of the Standing Working Group (Mapping the discipline of the History of Education) under the auspices of ISCHE, was a key initiative for us. This is because it has inspired collaborative studies among researchers from several parts of the world. It has also led to a broadening and deepening of the knowledge in this field, as well as giving rise to systematic reflections on the situation and role played by the History of Education in the scientific life of researchers in the area. Following the orientation of the SWG, we have carried out research into the History of Education in Canada and Brazil which focus on two reviews: Historical Studies in Education (HSE) and the Brazilian Review of the History of Education (RBHE), which were created «respectivement» by the Association Canadienne d'Histoire de l'éducation and the Brazilian Society of the History of Education.

The HSE, which was founded in 1989, is bilingual (in English and French) and has different editors for each language. The RBHE, which first appeared in 2001, is published in Portuguese. Since they have different historical periods, our research adopts the initial timeframe when the first edition of the Brazilian Review of the History of Education began to circulate; and, 2014 as the final timeframe when we closed the collection of primary source material.

In methodological terms, we worked with datasets from two countries with very different histories and features. However, both the journals under study works in the international scientific community and share its rules and regulations which are tending to be increasingly standardized and thus they are able to provide us with common material for reflection and analysis. We set out from the assumption that, unlike what took place in the 1990s when books were the most important means of disseminating knowledge in the human sciences and history of education, currently this responsibility has been devolved more and more to the scientific journals in part because of the transformation of the rules of promotion in the academic world.

This paper presents the final results of our analysis of the two journals under study. Using the articles published by both reviews as primary source material, we have mapped the following: the composition of the editorial committees, the gender of the authors; the international nature (or otherwise) of both the articles and the authors. In theoretical terms, the theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu with regard to the formation of the scientific field, its tensions and the role played by scientific reviews, proved to be of great potential value to our

analysis. This aim of this paper is also adding a supplementary factor that connects the reviews to a reflection about the evolution of the area of History of Education.

Our paper will seek answers to this inquiry by taking account of different contexts and historical factors, as well as the situation of this subject-area in Canada and Brazil. It will also take note of the international influences that govern the scientific production in this field and determine the specific features and future of the History of Education, and even its very existence.

5.8 SYMPOSIUM CULTIVATING CHILDREN AND YOUTH: TRANSNATIONAL EXPLORATIONS

OF THE URBAN AND THE NATURAL (2/4)

Convenors: Tim Allender (University of Sydney), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)

Discussant: Martin Lawn (University of Oxford), Kate Rousmaniere (Miami University)

Natura et urbis in the socio-educational renovation of the Barcelona City Council (1909-1933) (English)

Francisca Comas Rubí (Universitat de les Illes Balears), Sara González Gómez (Universitat de les Illes Balears)

[EDU2017-82485-P. Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness (AEI/FEDER, EU)]

During the first third of the 20th century, Catalonia experienced a significant educational renovation movement. Barcelona turned into a metropolis in full swing, and emerging industry attracted a growing population of immigrants. This situation quickly led to problems in the bustling city. A large number of people were forced to live in seriously unhygienic, overcrowded conditions with a real lack of habitable living spaces. In this context, socio-educational care for children became a priority for policies coming from the Barcelona City Council. To confront the problems present in the city, the Barcelona consortium—with the creation of the Culture Commission (1916) and the Barcelona School Board (1922)—undertook an educational renovation programme centred on hygiene- and nature-based principles as well as new active teaching methodologies and progressive education. Thus, a completely parallel network of institutions was created alongside the public schools—school camps, semi-camps, field trips to the sea, schools in the forest (open air schools), and kindergartens—that intended to improve the living situation of children, most specifically via the promotion of direct contact with nature. At that time, the Barcelona City Council widely disseminated information about all of these initiatives with the publication, between 1909 and 1933, of around 70 publications that included images regarding each and every one of the initiatives. Today, these publications make up part of the “Tasca Pedagògica” (“Pedagogical Task”) endowment of the Artur Martorell Library of the Barcelona City Council.

The main objective of this proposal is, using this collection of publications and analysing the iconography presented in its photographs, to make the discourses that were disseminated and built around the idea of nature known and to understand how this was related to the urban environment.

Key words: nature, urbanity, photography, Barcelona.

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Cultivating an 'earthly paradise': nature, informal education, and citizenship in Birmingham, 1910s-1940s (English)

Siân Roberts (University of Birmingham)

During the first half of the twentieth century socially committed Quakers, and labour and co-operative activists in Birmingham UK participated in a shared utopian vision of the potential of education to bring about a new, more peaceful, and egalitarian social order. Underpinning this vision was a long established social and political critique of the urban and the industrial (Prynn, 1983), and a powerful contemporary discourse of 'nature as educator' and facilitator of a morally and physically healthier populace (Pomfret, 2001, 411). Their vision was manifested in a range of educational and social interventions in the Birmingham area including, for example, adult education, the suburban garden village movement, and the formation of Birmingham Civic Society in 1918. This paper will consider two utopian and pedagogical responses that evolved as part of this broader context. The Camp Fire Girls, an organisation developed by Quaker female educators during the First World War, aimed to provide adolescent girls with a gendered model of citizenship education rooted in the Christian faith (Roberts, 2017). The Woodcraft Folk was first established in 1925 as a secular and co-educational alternative to more militaristic uniformed youth organisations (Mills, 2014). A local branch of the Folk was formed as part of a South Birmingham co-operative society in the late 1920s to complement its existing co-operative education for working class children and young people. Despite their differences, both organisations were motivated by a commitment to informal education and a desire to train the young to take their place as fully engaged citizens of the future through woodcraft and outdoor activities. By exploring the political and religious motivation of the adult volunteers and social reformers who developed

these initiatives, the paper will discuss how ideas about gender and class solidarity informed their vision, before going on to compare and assess how the natural world contributed to their pedagogy.

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Urban Parks, a failed expression of the pedagogical modelling through the nature? A case-study based in historical Parks of Birmingham and Barcelona (English)

Raquel Cercós (Universitat de Barcelona), Karina Rivas (Universitat de Barcelona), Eulàlia Collell demont (Universitat de Vic)

Can we consider parks as a pedagogical environment almost un-institutionalized? And, if so, which pedagogical models are under the designing process? And even more, what were their achievements, were they successful or failed pedagogical expressions?

We present a case study about the visual representations of the urban public parks settled in Birmingham and Barcelona.[1] Our interest is studying the reception of naturalism, romanticism and hygienism at the time when the urban parks were designed in a high-industrialized context.

This study allows us to understand the logics of some modern pedagogical discourses. Together with this, we would like to highlight and the internal contradictions of the discourses, which wanted to cause natural impacts in a very human density environment. We analyse how the parks were designed, which kind of environments they searched and how they organized their space as well as what kind of educational aims they wanted to achieve.

Following this first analysis, we try to determine the potential and pedagogical limits of these represented models. In order to do that study we consider appropriate to analyse the behaviours represented. If we review the collections, we can observe expected practices, although some are clearly disruptive. The study of these "alternative" practices gives us access at the concept of a failed pedagogy. In addition, analysing the representations through the occupation categories can be a way of understanding the current changes on the conceptions of the urban parks, which underline the democratic uses and the sustainable designs.

[1] Specifically, we have studied the Warwickshire Photographic Survey and the digital collection of the Parks from the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.

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5.9 PREFORMED PANEL CONFUCIANISM IN/AND HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Confucianism in Education and State Formation in Republican China (1911-1949): A study of primary school civics curriculum (English)

Yeow-Tong Chia (University of Sydney)

The May 4th movement and New Culture Movement in the early decades of Republican China (1912-1949) rejected Confucianism and traditional Chinese culture and values, regarding them as inimical to modernizing of China. However, the ideals of the New Culture Movement clashed with the Nationalist, or Guomindang government (which ruled China from 1928 to 1949), which was keen to promote Confucian values in education.

This paper aims to critically examine the changing role and relationship of Confucianism in education and state formation of the new Chinese Republic following the October 1911 revolution in China. In doing so, it will elucidate the uses and meanings of Confucianism in education for citizenship and nation building during Republican China. Rather than looking at Confucianism as a part of "traditional Chinese culture", the project investigates how the deployment of Confucianism in education is reflective of the desire for modernity rather than a preservation of an antiquated tradition.

Citizenship and citizenship education will be the main site to examine and interrogate the use of Confucianism in the relationship between education and state formation. In particular, the paper focuses on primary school civics and history curriculum and textbooks, and its relationship to nation building and state formation. In so doing, I hope to contribute to a

greater understanding of the role and place of Confucianism in Republican China's state formation.

Traditional Chinese Primer San Zi Jing and the Nature of Children (English)

Yi Sun (Beijing Normal University)

In ancient China, children of about 4 years old start their study in the Chinese classical school to make a solid foundation for their future studies. San Zi Jing (三字经), also called The Three-character Classic, an important Confucian text, was first written by Wang Yinglin in Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). This is one of the most famous comprehensive Confucian primer in ancient China and remains influential today.

San Zi Jing was used for more than 700 hundred years among about 1300 kinds of primers in China, and it was the very first primer in Qing Dynasty. How did it gain so much popularity for such a long time? What did it convey to children and in which manner it conveyed? Did it conform to children's mental and physical development and cognitive law at that age? What were its influences on children's later studies and lives? The previous studies mainly focused on its authorship, linguistic characteristics, translation skills and the like, but rarely research from the view of the child developmental psychology.

This study will mainly focus on contents, structures, functions, and pedagogy to research the following questions based on the text of San Zi Jing. How does it deal with the relationships between the contents and the experience of children, moreover the relationships between the structures and the cognitive sequence of children? How does it keep a balance between the realistic value of textbook and the preparation for future life? And how does it teach according to the psychological development and needs of children? An exploration of the way that San Zi Jing conforms to the nature of children can help in the understanding and use traditional primers, as well as offer some useful references to textbook editing in the new era.

Combination of Militarism and Confucianism: the "new" ethics in the New Life Movement (English)

Xueyuan Han (Georg-Eckert Institut for International Textbook Research)

In 1934 Chiang Kai-shek, as the head of the government, inaugurated the New Life Movement (NLM), which was a top-down national education movement. Four old Confucian virtues had been propagated and stressed since the beginning of the movement, namely " regulated attitude(Li)" "righteousness(Yi)" "honesty(Lian)" " shame(Chi)". However, although these four virtues came from Confucianism, the implications of them were not the same as their original explanations. In the NLM, the interpretation of "Li" was a disciplined attitude, "Yi" was proper behavior "Lian" was clear distinction. "Chi" was tangible awareness. " Its underlying spirit had greater affinity with modern counterrevolutionary movements than with political attitudes inherited from China's past" . Chiang expected to reach the goal that "making masses multiply,ensuring the society survival and developing people's live" by advocating these four distorted Confucian virtues. In order to instill these virtues into the populace , the action guidelines "militarization" "production" and " aestheticization" were introduced by 1935. If it

is not so easy to perceive the militarism of this movement, it expressed itself clearly so far. By launching the NLM, whose core was militarism decorated by Confucianism, to cultivate the citizen into disciplined obedient preparatory force for the war, meanwhile to reinforce the domination of nationalist party. “For all its seeming contradictions, the New Life Movement was an attempt to give Chiang a position at the head of a national movement that would include, but go beyond, the confines of party, government, and army.” As for the “new” ethics in the NLM, they can be seen as “militarism with the Confucian appearance”.

5.10 PREFORMED PANEL THE CULTURE OF CONVENT SCHOOLING IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE NATURAL ORDER V. EDUCATION CHANGE

‘There’s something about a convent girl’: Loreto convent schools, female identity and academic ambition (English)

Deirdre Raftery (University College Dublin), Ruth Ferris (University College Dublin)

The biographical studies published in *There’s Something About a Convent Girl* (Bennet and Forgan, Virago, 1991), sought to find common experiences in the schooling of prominent women including Germaine Greer, Marina Warner and others. A common trope in the interviews was identity-formation, and in particular women talked about how convent life taught them to be ambitious. A century earlier, girls in most convent schools were given a distinctly mixed message: they should be feminine (model their virtue on Mary, the mother of Christ) and follow the natural order by becoming wives and mothers. Some nuns departed from that dominant narrative. They advocated that girls should be allowed to sit the same public examinations as boys, and have access to university tuition and degrees. Forbidden from participating in public societies and political movements, nuns who promoted female education had to do so within their own convents, and within a deeply patriarchal Catholic education system, dominated by powerful bishops. This paper examines how some sister teachers pioneered academic education for girls in nineteenth century Ireland and Australia, by drawing on archival sources from the international archives of the Loreto Sisters. The contestation of the idea that there was a ‘natural’ profile of a convent girl is discussed, and the experience of sister teachers and pupils is analysed. By seeing convent schools as important loci of academic activity and identity formation, the paper demonstrates ways in which woman’s ‘nature’ was mis/understood.

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A Tale of Two Loretos: Delivering Education to Girls and Young Women in the Long Nineteenth Century (English)

Elizabeth Smyth (University of Toronto)

In Ireland in 1847, during the Great Famine, the Superior of the Dublin-based congregation of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Loreto Sisters), Mother Teresa Ball, sent five sisters to Canada, to establish the congregation's fourth international foundation. It followed the founding of convents in Calcutta (1841), Mauritius (1844) and Gibraltar (1845). The recently-professed Sister Teresa Dease was one of the first five sisters to establish the Canadian mission. Four years later, Sister Teresa was the only member of the initial group remaining within the Toronto mission, and she found herself named as Superior. In the words of Mother Teresa Ball, the Canadian mission was the most challenging and most costly in terms of human suffering. Some of that had to do with the challenges of the Canadian natural environment – yet this was a feature that was also celebrated in the promotion of Loretto education.

Based on archival research in Canada and Ireland, this paper analyzes the interplay between education and the environment as evidenced in the hidden and taught curriculum and instruction, by focussing on the delivery of a 'Loretto education' within two Canadian convent academies: Loretto Convent Niagara and Loretto Abbey Toronto.

At Niagara, the convent boarding school was located at the brink of the Falls. The school's physical location was the key to its identity. Loretto Beautiful, a brochure for the school, said that its 'high and healthy' locale offered unique opportunities for the resident pupils. Loretto Abbey, Toronto, was a convent boarding school located in an urban setting. Its physical and intellectual environment - while not so easily celebrated – also shaped its history and the education its pupils received. Moving three times to 'ever healthier environs', Loretto Abbey stood as the cerebral, albeit culturally rich big sister school, located within the provincial capital. Affiliated with the University of Toronto, and offering programs credentialed in the fields of music, art and business, Loretto Abbey was both a foil and compliment to its sister academy located some 100 kilometers distant.

The paper explores the experience of the pupils and teachers, and the curriculum and instruction at both. It identifies what scholars of women's education can learn from these two schools – both of which are rooted in the vision of the Loreto founding-mother Mary Ward, who wrote in the seventeenth-century of meeting the educational needs of women of the time, in order to assist women to 'do much'.

The nature of the child in the educational thinking and practice of Mother Cabrini and Maria Montessori (English)

Maria Patricia Williams (UCL Institute of Education)

This paper will consider how two Italian Catholic educators, Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini (1850-1917) and Maria Montessori (1870-1952) understood the nature of the child. The educational practice developed by each of these Italian women was mobilised transnationally during her lifetime. Cabrini founded the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (MSC) in 1880, recruiting over 1000 women and establishing 59 schools in Europe and the Americas by her death in 1917. Those who attended Montessori training schools from 1910 disseminated her method throughout the world. These included MSC and many other

teaching sisters (O'Donnell, 2007). What attracted these Catholic sisters to Montessori's Method?

Montessori's 1909 book on her Method made no reference to Catholicism. Research by Fulvio De Giorgi, however, has brought into question the historiography which has placed Montessori in a secular, positivist tradition (De Giorgi, 2013). This paper will use Montessori's lesser known writings on God and the child, to consider how her understanding of the nature of the child brings together her empirical research and her Catholic faith in a synthesis of faith and reason. A selection of Cabrini's 2054 letters and archival materials including school documents and house annals will be used to compare the understandings of the two women. The impact of their understandings will be examined with reference to practice at the 1911 Rome Montessori training attended by Mother Domenica Bianchi MSC and at the MSC London School, to which she returned as headteacher (Williams, 2015).

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Culture and curriculum in Irish convent schools: Presentation education, 1850-1950 (English)

Catriona Delaney (University College Dublin), Catherine Nowlan-Roebuck (University College Dublin)

In Ireland in 1847, during the Great Famine, the Superior of the Dublin-based congregation of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Loreto Sisters), Mother Teresa Ball, sent five sisters to Canada, to establish the congregation's fourth international foundation. It followed the founding of convents in Calcutta (1841), Mauritius (1844) and Gibraltar (1845). The recently-professed Sister Teresa Dease was one of the first five sisters to establish the Canadian mission. Four years later, Sister Teresa was the only member of the initial group remaining within the Toronto mission, and she found herself named as Superior. In the words of Mother Teresa Ball, the Canadian mission was the most challenging and most costly in terms of human suffering. Some of that had to do with the challenges of the Canadian natural environment – yet this was a feature that was also celebrated in the promotion of Loretto education.

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The paper explores the experience of the pupils and teachers, and the curriculum and instruction at both. It identifies what scholars of women’s education can learn from these two schools – both of which are rooted in the vision of the Loreto founding-mother Mary Ward, who wrote in the seventeenth-century of meeting the educational needs of women of the time, in order to assist women to ‘do much’.

5.11 PANEL NATURE, SPACE AND LANDSCAPE

Chair: Fanny Isensee (Humboldt University Berlin)

That dam curriculum: Soviet influence on textbook representations of nature, technology, and hydroelectric power in the North American West, 1930-1943 (English)

Michael William Bowman (Iowa State University)

Drawing on research at the National Archives (College Park, MD and Seattle, WA), the State Archives of Washington, and the Special Collections at the University of Washington and Oregon State University, this paper will examine the Soviet influence on textbook representations of one particularly important aspect of 1930s state planning: dam construction. The paper compares the representations– and accompanying text– of the construction and imagined social benefits of monumental hydroelectric dam projects along the Dnieper River (now Ukraine) and the Columbia River (United States). I argue that three design elements traveled from Soviet publications to a widely-distributed “conservation curriculum” in the North American West in the late 1930s and early 1940s: photo-montage, Isotype, and hydro-imperial mapping. By using these Soviet design elements, American progressive educators sought to demonstrate that nature in the North American West could be transformed into a modern utopia of full employment, cooperative living, and educated leisure.

Significant attention in the historiography has been given to the travels and reportage of American educators and intellectuals in the Soviet Union during the late 1920s through the 1930s. Most recently, E. Thomas Ewing, Julia Mickenberg, and David Engerman each have argued that American progressive educators’ laudatory assessment of Soviet modernization, social planning, and schooling found eager reception within American liberal circles. John Dewey’s “impressions” of his 1928 tour of Soviet cities and schools filled university auditoriums and the pages of the *New Republic*. George Counts’ *The Soviet Challenge to America* (1931) was well-received in left-liberal academic circles and his translation with Nucia Lodge of a Soviet schoolbook, *New Russia’s Primer: The Story of the Five-Year Plan*, “took America by storm” and became a best seller in the USA in 1931.[1]

Most impressive to these American progressive educators was the way in which Soviet officials understood “the intimate union of education and social planning.”[2] As opposed to progressive educators in the United States who strove to inculcate a more cooperative spirit

amongst schoolchildren in the midst of a laissez faire economy and a deep-seated competitive and individualistic national ethos, Soviet education and economy seemed to be united by a “general plan designed to benefit the whole of society.”[3]

When social planning and state-initiated modernization projects gained a foothold in the early years of Roosevelt’s New Deal, American progressive planners and educators began to look to the USSR for examples of how to communicate state policy to children and youth through curriculum.

Drawing on research at the National Archives (College Park, MD and Seattle, WA), the State Archives of Washington, and the Special Collections at the University of Washington and Oregon State University, this paper will examine the Soviet influence on textbook representations of one particularly important aspect of 1930s state planning: dam construction. The paper compares the representations– and accompanying text– of the construction and imagined social benefits of monumental hydroelectric dam projects along the Dnieper River (now Ukraine) and the Columbia River (United States). I argue that three design elements traveled from Soviet publications to a widely-distributed “conservation curriculum” in the North American West in the late 1930s and early 1940s: photo-montage, Isotype, and hydro-imperial mapping. By using these Soviet design elements, American progressive educators sought to demonstrate that nature in the North American West could be transformed into a modern utopia of full employment, cooperative living, and educated leisure.

[1] E. Thomas Ewing, “The ‘Virtues of Planning’: American Educators Look at Soviet Schools,” in *Education and the Great Depression: Lessons from a Global History*, eds. E. Thomas Ewing and David Hicks (New York: Peter Lang), 41-62; Julia Mickenberg, “The New Generation and the New Russia: Modern Childhood as Collective Fantasy,” *American Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (March 2010): 103; David Engerman, “John Dewey and the Soviet Union: Pragmatism Meets Revolution,” *Modern Intellectual History* 3, no. 1 (April 2006): 33.

[2] George Counts, “Russians Educate through Activities,” *New York Times* July 19, 1931, p. 7.

[3] George Counts, *The Soviet Challenge to America* (New York: John Day Company, 1931): 298.

The Nature Image in Anatolian Seljuks Madrasahs (English)

Tolga Bozkurt (Ankara University)

The unique examples of the madrasahs, as an Islamic educational institution emerged in Iran region beginning from the second half of the XIth century. The Nizamiye Madrasahs in Nishapur, Baghdad, Merv, Herat, Belh, Basrah, Isfahan, Amul, Cizre and Rey were constructed by Nizam’ül-mülk, the Great Seljuks Vizier in the aim of to strengthen the Sunni doctrine against to the Shiite sects, being tried to spread in Mesopotamia and Iranian geography by the Fatimids. While the curriculum and the foundation system of these education institutes called Nizamiye Madrasahs in the history sustained as a tradition in the Anatolian Madrasahs, in terms of architectural design concept the original practices, unique for Anatolian Turkish-Islamic Architecture were emerged. One of the important components of the Anatolian Seljuks Madrasahs, being the subject matter here is certainly the architectural decoration program that attracts attention with its iconographical meanings. We can say that together

with the water sound spreading from the pool located in the center of the madrasah courtyard, the bird chirps and also the architectural decorations reflect a natural atmosphere especially for education and training. In regard to the motif repertory, the stone and tile decorations of Anatolian Seljuks Madrasahs both in open and covered courtyard plan types, starting from the portal facade and continuing on the walls and the dome systems in the interior are very rich and meaningful. The decorative compositions including inscription, geometric and plant ornaments of these structures having introverted-close planning principle should have attracted the Turcoman students in medieval age with their excellent plastic influences, colour harmony and symbolic meanings.

In this study, the hypothesis that the Madrasahs of Anatolian Seljuks Age constituted ideal educational spaces both for Islamic mysticism and the positive sciences with their plans and decorative designs integrated with the nature image will be tried to prove.

Building schools in the forest. The Guinean liberation movement experience between 1963 and 1974 (English)

Sónia Vaz Borges (The Graduate Center, City University of New York)

Between 1963 and 1974, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), developed in the deep forest of the liberated territory of Guinea Bissau a network of 164 schools. The education project developed by the liberation movement was then referred to as *educação militante* (militant education) or *escola militante* (militant school). Militant education or militant school, terms used here interchangeably and that can be shortly defined as a committed, engaged and conscious anti-colonial and decolonial principles toward liberation. The school structure where this educational practice was applied, was located in the deep forest of Guinea Bissau with exception of two boarding schools located in the neighbor countries of Guinea Conakry and Senegal. Strategically located the schools in the forest were built through a communitarian process where military, teachers, students, and civil society participated.

Combining oral testimonies and a photographic material from that period, this paper focuses on two important aspects of these liberation schools developed under the context of war. First, I will focus on the natural elements used in the construction process of these educational spaces and its mobility through the territory during the guerrilla struggle against aerial bombings or ground attacks. Second, I will approach the impact that the school characteristics and location had on the militant education curriculum development as well as on its impact on pupil's education.

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Education, nature and local historical patrimony: The project “Rescued Memories” (English)

Ana Madeira (Universidade de Lisboa)

The project Rescued Memories aims at the exploration of memory and the local historical patrimony connected to education and schooling in the rural environment. We aim at, through the gathering of oral and written testimonies, throughout in depth interviews and autobiographies, to fix as sources, for future memory, life experiences of peoples relating to school culture. The project unfolds in three inter-articulated axes: 1) The building of historical sources funded on the gathering, systematization and production of knowledge about schooling experiences, which we name as Memory axis; 2) The identification of the historical educational patrimony at the local cultural level, to which we refer as Patrimony axis; and 3) The production of tangible materials (programmes, curriculum, and thematic modules) associated with teaching and training in the domain of the educational local history, which we name as Education axis.

When we speak of school memory we are not referring to the memory transmitted by the school but to memory related to the school, school times and teaching, i.e. “the memory that individuals, communities and society have built up about the school world and the educational process” (Meda & Vinão, 2017). Nature plays an important part in defining this school culture, particularly in rural settings. In order to reconstruct these processes we mobilize the methodology of life stories and auto-bibliographic approaches according to concrete heuristic objects. We propose to, on one hand, generate memories of School as a formal educational institution, and, on the other hand, to generate memories about scolarization, i.e. memories related to a specific activity, performed in a defined time and space: the school space-time. This procedure allows to achieve, through the subjects’ own voice, a number of testimonies that educational historiography defines as school culture: “a set of theories, ideas, principles, rules, customs, rituals, inertias, habits and methods – ways of thinking and acting, mentalities and behaviors – converted into traditions, regularities and shared rules within educational institutions (Vinão, 2008, p.22). The decodification of this “grammar” of schooling (Tyack & Tobin, 1994: 454) presupposes an incursion into educational institutions and its natural environment, particularly with regards to their everyday-life and the activities within the classroom, so as to understand how this “black box” operates (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The conservation and study of the educational patrimony, including the natural one, creates an opportunity for the enrichment of school curricula. They come together as an educational resource for the teachers, through the development of a curriculum on the local history and other pedagogic activities focused on the cultural and historical identity. We want to raise the awareness of the local population, in a inter-generational fashion, to the preservation and spread of this unique heritage. Besides

curriculum building aimed at formal education practices the project includes the production of materials susceptible of being used in touristic promotion through the creation of local history contents associated with thematic nature circuits and routes, articulating tourism in the rural space with the historical and cultural dimension.

5.12 PANEL NATURE AND THE NATION (1)

Chair: Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

Nature's Role in Nationalist Education: The Hebrew Case (English)

Yair Seltenreich (Tel Hai College)

In the first half of twentieth century, efforts to create a regenerated type of 'New Man' in nascent Hebrew society in Palestine, saw in 'nature' as a major element, underlining both physical and emotional ties to the land and thus most important in redefining Hebrew nationalism.

Nature was allocated with normative values and became an educational instrument. Education introduced two aspects of man/nature relationship. The Hebrew person was ideally conceived as organic part of nature, 'a tree of the field' as a later song defined it. But he was also a domineering element, mastering nature and using it for national benefits, a source of both nutrition and shelter, a home and a stronghold at the same time.

The lecture will consider three methods through which the notion of nature was introduced by early Hebrew educational system, from the end of the Nineteenth century to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

1. Subjecting nature through agriculture. The purpose of this initiative, which took place in rural settlements, was to give pupils a sentiment of mastering nature through agriculture, which symbolized the domination of 'wilderness' through the power of modernity. The study of agriculture was intended to 'scientifize' the notion of nature with the idea of creating a future generation of professional farmers. Aside this, it also meant to impose higher self-control by introducing notions of working discipline.

2. Merging with nature through school study trips. The idea of school study trips, aimed for 'the knowledge of the land' and fortifying 'sense of place', combined notions of feeling, understanding and becoming part of nature. Some trips scrutinized nature in the immediate environment, while others took several days and explored remote regions, mountains and valleys, forests and deserts.

Pupils became thoroughly acquainted through those study trips to local flora and fauna, but equally to national landscapes and local societies. They also turned biblical sites into geographical realities, thus turning nature into an element of 'engineered' collective national memory.

3. Ritualizing nature. Finally, nature was mobilized for the creation of 'secular religion', which clearly included elements of nature in its set of rituals. Nature was used, particularly through ceremonies orchestrated by educational system, to replace religious elements of traditional feasts with elements of agricultural calendar, such as harvesting or reaping.

In that way, nature was mobilized to the needs of Hebrew nationalism through the education system, both formal and non-formal.

Education Abroad as science-based nation-state building in late 19th- and early 20th-century Denmark and China (English)

Jin Hui Li (Aalborg University)

The paper presents a study aiming at historicizing the different ways Education Abroad became part of nation-state building. Though student travels and intellectual migration as individual pursuit dates back much longer (Fry, 1984), this study focuses on the late 19th century and the early 20th century when Education Abroad became a state strategy as part of forming the knowledge for the nation-state's future and its citizens. While comparing two different nations' examples of 'early' state missions of Education Abroad, more specifically Denmark and China, this study aims to contextualize and contribute to understanding the recent trend of the rise in Education Abroad and cross-national cooperation in Higher Education through a transnational historical perspective. Through the concept of entanglement (Sobe, 2013) the study captures the historically, spatially and socially intertwined character of education.

The very different cases of Education Abroad, namely "Chinese Educational Mission" to the US in the late 19th century (Rhoads, 2011) and establishment of health visitors through the Rockefeller Foundation in Denmark in the early 20th century (Buus, 2008), were both based on a rationale that the nation-state is in need of the most recent scientific knowledge and technology to build, strengthen and manage the quality of the nation-state's population. The early state-educational missions were strongly influenced by the ascent of a modern understanding of 'science' and how scientific progress can be part of nation-state building by solving and thereby also constructing the social problems. The social problems could be specific regarding a high infant mortality rate (as the Danish case of sending students and professionals in health care to the US for further education in health science) and more general, such as the need for knowledge in Science and Engineering to build the national infrastructure (as in the Chinese case, where 120 students were sent to the US to study Science and Engineering as part of the Qing dynasty's Self-Strengthening Movement). The policies and strategies of Education Abroad are interpreted as a process of educationalization, meaning that it is assumed that social problems can be solved through education (Depaepe & Smeyers, 2008; Tröhler, 2016). The gradual increase of the processes of educationalization has been a central element in the modernization and construction of the newly emerged nation-states since the 19th century in a European context which have spread out worldwide (Depaepe, 2012). That education became framed as a site for ways of shaping solutions to the social problems seems also to be the case regarding the state-sponsored student/academic mobility. Education Abroad can therefore be understood as imaginaries of the nation's future and its requirements of its citizens through the depicted social problems that the nation-state seems to deal with both in present and in future. Hence the study explores the perceived scientific knowledge about 'human nature', 'the social' and 'technology' which was considered worth to transfer transnationally.

Key words: Human nature; Education Abroad; Nation building; Science-based state, Educationalization; Comparison; Denmark; China

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Estética escolar y construcción de una „naturaleza nacional“ en la escuela Argentina moderna (Español)

Pablo Pineau (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

El desarrollo actual de la historia de las emociones ha permitido desnaturalizar las interpretaciones sobre la vida afectiva y analizar la construcción de distintos sistemas sensibles a lo largo del tiempo. En función de su condición histórica y cultural, las diferentes maneras de expresar y reprimir los sentimientos se transmiten, se aprenden y se enseñan. Pero, llamativamente, el lugar destacado que han jugado los sistemas educativos en estos procesos no ha sido tomado suficientemente en cuenta por ese campo de conocimiento, en especial en lo que afecta a su actuación sobre las infancias y las juventudes, y su impacto en espacios cercanos como los familiares, los comunitarios y los laborales.

Coherente con eso, este escrito se ubica en las indagaciones sobre “estética escolar” en la Argentina moderna que venimos desarrollando desde hace algunos años. Se entiende por tal objeto de investigación al registro de las operaciones escolares que producen sensibilidades individuales y colectivas a partir del otorgamiento de juicios de valor efectivos a las sensaciones percibidas por los sujetos.

Las versiones que sobre la naturaleza y lo natural construyó la escuela también han sido objeto de esas operaciones estetizantes. Por eso, este trabajo busca analizar algunas de las formas de sensibilidad al respecto que se han presentado en la escuela argentina desde fines del siglo XIX hasta aproximadamente mediados del siglo XX.

Es nuestra hipótesis que la construcción de una “naturaleza argentina” ante la cual alumnos y docentes -y por extensión toda la comunidad- debían emocionarse positivamente ocupó un

lugar central dentro de los proyectos de creación de la escuela nacionalizadora que se desplegaron en el periodo señalado. Para tal, se presentarán sus contradicciones y debates internos. Entre ellos, se destaca la oposición entre las sensibilidades producidas por la contemplación de la “Creación divina” manifestada en la naturaleza, y los procesos modernizantes de “racionalidad técnica” vinculados a su apropiación y modificación por parte de los seres humanos.

En lo que respecta al material de archivo, se trabajará con fuentes diversas como las prescripciones curriculares –fundamentalmente en geografía y en las asignaturas que componen las llamadas “ciencias naturales”-, los debates pedagógicos en la prensa especializada, las representaciones icónicas –láminas, mapas, decoraciones, etc.- el tratamiento en los libros escolares –en textos informativos y expresivos- , y la cultura material escolar –en especial a lo que respecta al armado y dotación de laboratorios y otros espacios de enseñanza-.

Making Poles more Western in the Far East: The Sienkiewicz High School in Harbin, 1915-1949 (English)

Klaus Dittrich (The Education University of Hong Kong)

Although an independent Polish state did not exist before 1918, Poles migrated to various parts of the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A considerable group of Poles arrived to Northeastern China (Manchuria) as Russian subjects when the Tsarist Empire started construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway in the late 1890s. Most Poles settled in Harbin, the newly created administrative centre and major railway junction. With the influx of Polish refugees as a result of World War One and the Russian Revolution, Polish schooling in Harbin emerged and expanded considerably in the early 1920s with several primary schools in operation. However, the most prominent Polish educational institution in Harbin was the Gimnazjum im. Henryka Sienkiewicza, founded in 1915. Part of a larger network of Polish schools abroad present in all centres of sizable Polish diasporic communities and funded by the government of the new Second Republic, it was the only Polish secondary school in Asia. Based on archival holdings and interwar publications, this paper discusses the Sienkiewicz High School until its closure in 1949. Beyond the obvious fact that the school aimed at maintaining a sense of Polishness in a culturally diverse environment, it will be argued that state and civil society organisations alike considered the institution as a resource for promoting Polish economic, political and cultural expansion in East Asia. Activists in both Warsaw and Harbin aimed at bringing the Poles out of the Russian-Siberian migration regime, better connect them to the Anglophone Western communities in East Asia and familiarise them with the local Asian culture. This ambition was reflected in a series of reforms carried out during the 1930s. The school’s curriculum considerably enhanced English instruction, while Chinese and Japanese language classes were newly introduced as compulsory subjects and students were offered commercial classes. In this way, activists and community leaders saw the school as a tool to make the Poles in Manchuria more entrepreneurial, more modern and ultimately more “Western”.

5.13 PANEL TEACHING NATURE AND THE SCIENCES (4)

Chair: John Allison (Nipissing University)

Electricity captures schools – interdependencies between technological progress and its implementation to school knowledge in Natural Sciences in Switzerland in the second half of the 19th century (English)

Karin Manz (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

Natural Sciences as school subject was not part of a core curriculum in most of 19th-century Swiss primary schools, contrary to History or Geography. The trias History-Geography-Science in contrast, was taken for granted in Higher Education in the majority of the Swiss sub-states since the beginning of the 19th century. Chemistry and Physics in particular, have been taught systematically only in higher classes. Whereas in primary school the scientific phenomena as such – as part of a daily life – stood in focus: “elementary physical appearances such as gravity, equilibration, sound, light, heat, magnetism and electricity, and chemical knowledge, considering the implication for practical life” (Zurich Lehrplan Primarschule 1861).

Switzerland was part of the few countries where electrification started early and advanced the furthest, in comparison to other European countries, due to its use of hydro power, one of the rare natural resources. In 1910, Switzerland held the highest energy production per citizen, comparable to the USA. Despite this progress, public electrification of towns and private homes only began in the 1890ies at a slow rate. From this prospective, it is interesting to investigate electricity as school knowledge since 1861 – as school kids of this time in the liberal canton of Zurich were not familiar with such a technology.

This paper aims to analyse the interdependencies between technology, promoted early technical progress, and school knowledge in the second half of the 19th century. Curriculum analysis of various Swiss cantons since the 1830ies show enormous differences within Natural Sciences curricula concerning selection, structure, and systematic teaching. It can be confirmed that urban cantons such as Basel or Zurich have the most elaborated Science curricula during the 19th century; e.g. Basel-City introduced the subject for girls’ upper primary schools in 1883. Both cantons are university sites, too. Questions about the urban-rural or center-periphery-cleavage, proximity to university and academic knowledge of Educational Science and Physics will be discussed. This leads to the various actors in the field who were empowered to define a certain school knowledge at a certain period. The reasons and legitimation for introducing new subjects as electricity will be investigated. It must be taken into account that the winners of the new technology, however, were bourgeois entrepreneurs and cities, and by no means the alpine rural producing areas. Second, by using the case study of electricity, the myth of the long delay of any knowledge until being transformed into school knowledge for institutional reasons will be scrutinized. Curriculum theory shows only few empirical analyses of the processes of knowledge transformation into school knowledge – this paper might add one more jigsaw piece. The underlying thesis of this

paper is that there is no automatism of knowledge transformation, particularly in domains such as technological progress. In this area however, school seems to be rather open-minded towards new knowledge.

The role of nature in health education in Hungary (English)

Henriette Pusztafalvi (University of Pecs)

In Hungary, Health education in schools started in the second half of the nineteenth century and by the first half of the twentieth century it became widespread in all spheres of education. Health education was delivered by trained school physicians. Their activities were largely influenced by the preventive approach gaining ground at an international level; their tasks not only included prevention and protection against infectious diseases but also the prevention of pupils' health, with nature, the natural environment playing an integral part.

Research aim:

The aim of our research was to explore and demonstrate the nature-centred approach in contemporary health education. A further aim was to explore the role and activities of organisations appearing within the framework of institutional education. We also aimed at outlining the activities of the people's education committee an organisation outside the system of that were schools under county leadership, within the Hungarian public education system. Among others, these committees propagated the role of nature in health prevention for the people.

Materials and methods: The primary and secondary sources, with Hungarian and foreign materials, documents, books, bulletins, educational films and the school curricula - was carried out by exploration, evaluation, document analysis of my educational and medical history research.

Results and conclusion:

Health prevention was only one small segment of health prevention activity, in which the most important role was that of the school physician. The main focus was on gaining experience with nature and learning about healthy lifestyle. The healing qualities of nature became more and more recognised and emphasized in the work of several associations, foundations and organisations.

Such civil organisations were the Hikers' Association, the Stefánia Association – for the protection of mothers and infants and the Scouts' Association. The growing number of organisations coordinated their activities in collaboration with schools and the People's Education Committee Outside the School System, including a growing number of programmes emphasising the importance of nature or actually, organised outside in nature. Hungary can be said to have followed the international trend in terms of directing people's attention towards nature and the natural environment.

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Ramon Rosa: la enseñanza positiva y su legado en el impreso pedagógico hondureño La Instrucción Primaria (Español)

Andres Eduardo Garcia Lainez (Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Francisco Morazan of Honduras, Universidad do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)

A partir de 1876 Honduras comienza a escribir una nueva página de su historia con la ascensión al poder del Presidente Marco Aurelio Soto quien con la ayuda de su Secretario General, el doctor Ramón Rosa (considerado el ideólogo de la reforma) iniciaron el proceso de modernización del Estado Hondureño conocido comúnmente como La Reforma Liberal, formando parte de la ola de gobiernos reformadores que surgieron en Latinoamérica durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Esta etapa se caracterizó por emprender un amplio programa de medidas en el ámbito político, económico, jurídico y educativo para lograr la estabilidad gubernamental y de esa manera vincular al país con el mercado mundial. Las medidas implementadas en el ámbito educativo vieron la luz en 1882 durante la inauguración de la Universidad Central y el Colegio Nacional de Segunda Enseñanza de Tegucigalpa a través del discurso pronunciado por el doctor Ramón Rosa quien presentaba El Primer Código de Instrucción Pública como un instrumento legal que nacía de la observación: “La sociedad no hace nada; el estado debe hacerlo todo” (Ministerio General de Gobernación, 1882, p. 7). De ese mismo Código nacía, también, la iniciativa de un impreso pedagógico cuyo primer numero apareció en 1895 y en sus páginas iniciales hace mención de la ideología educativa de este personaje. Por tanto, este trabajo tuvo como propósito determinar los fundamentos de la escuela positiva mencionados en el discurso de Ramón Rosa e identificar su influencia a través de las publicaciones de un impreso pedagógico hondureño oficial: La Instrucción Primaria por medio de una metodología que estructuró las ideas pedagógicas sobre el discurso de la enseñanza positiva defendido por Ramón Rosa tomando como eje central el progreso de las ciencias físicas y naturales ante la premisa: “Vivimos abrumados por una naturaleza tan rica y grandiosa como áspera y salvaje” (Ministerio General de Gobernación, 1882, p. 21-22) y así descubrir la publicación de una serie de conferencias, artículos de autores nacionales e internacionales que visaban constituir un sistema educativo utilitario bajo el fundamento de una enseñanza positiva a finales del siglo XIX.

Palabras clave: Instrucción Primaria; Impresos Pedagógicos; Ideas Pedagógicas

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Nature in a teacher's educational practices in the second half of the Twentieth century in Italy (English)

Chiara Venturelli (University of Bologna)

Since the Enlightenment, Nature has played a key role both at the theoretical pedagogic reflection and of educational practices. Nature has become, at the same time, an educative tool as well as a context and an object of learning. Furthermore, the specificity of the natural

environment has been recognized in its educational value and effectiveness alongside and in addition to the artificial one. In some original experiences of the past, but also of the present, the natural world has even become prevalent, determining a long debate between indoor and outdoor education. On the other hand, there have also been experiences where the idea of the nature as a space and instrument of knowledge has been carried out by teachers and educators who were working in traditional school context. Therefore, it appears interesting to investigate how, in their educational practices, nature has occurred as a context and part of the content of teaching and learning itself.

In this regard, several are in Italy the traces and the examples of educational practices that reveal the centrality of natural environment explored and observed during frequent school-excursions and then brought back into the classroom with specific individual and collective schoolwork.

Aim of this paper is to analyse some educational practices of an Italian primary school teacher - during the 60's, 70's and 80's in Bologna - who extensively studied the natural world and the territory with his students, enriching not only their disciplinary learning, but also their education as active and aware citizens in the society. Through the study of unexplored sources belonging to his personal archive and consisting of different types of document (work plans, school exercise books, drawings, posters, photographs, etc. ...) it will be offered a reflection on the contents and methods of his education with and to the nature.

5.14 PANEL EDUCATION AND THE OUTDOORS (1)

Chair: Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

Rivers as Places for Educational and Body Practices: Amusements and Sports in the City of São Paulo (Brazil, 1899-1940) (English)

Daniele Carqueijeiro Medeiros (State University of Campinas)

The biggest Brazilian city in the mid-20th century, São Paulo, was founded in the middle of the junction of the rivers Pinheiros and Tietê and their affluent streams. These rivers were vital to the growth of the city and to the settlement of a population core, for they favored transportation and provided raw material for the buildings in the surrounding area, and were a source of food.

These rivers were also places where educational, body and amusement practices were very common, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This period was characterized by a change in the way the inhabitants related to the city's rivers: from places of fear and observation, they became places that should be used and challenged.

In this period, there were also changes on the ways people should seize the city, derived from a longing for modernization. Sports, a symbol of an urban and republican way of life, were one of the innovations incorporated into the everyday life of the inhabitants. Thus, the first club on the shore of the Tietê River, the Espéria, was founded in 1899, initial milestone of this research. After this, many other clubs arose, gradually transforming local practices and allowing the spread of sport.

This paper aims at analyzing how rivers were used to educate the bodies of the inhabitants of the city of São Paulo, in the first four decades of the 20th century, especially through sporting practices.

Our main sources were: minutes, documents and records from sports clubs; legislation on the uses of rivers; newspapers “Gazeta Esportiva” and “Correio Paulistano”; magazines “Educação Physica” and “Sports”, as well as images such as photographs, paintings and advertisements present in the researched archives, especially those of regatta and swimming clubs. We also use other artifacts from the material culture related to sports that were found in the researched archives.

We conclude that, from the beginning of the 20th century on, rivers became a central space in the city’s public life. The relations of dependency and fear were slowly substituted by amusements, with the organization of sports competitions and picnics, and romantic meetings. Besides, the body practices themselves changed over time, and popular amusements gradually gave space to sports, mostly disseminated by clubs founded on the shore of the rivers.

These practices were frequent on the rivers and their shores until the 1940s. In this moment, waters were contaminated and sporting practices had to be transferred to other scenarios. Besides, property speculation and the construction of large avenues moved the population away from the shores, slowly dispersing body and sporting practices from their waters.

Francisco Giner and the Outdoor Education: About the excursions of the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» in Madrid (English)

Eugenio Otero Urtaza (University of Santiago de Compostela)

Francisco Giner (1839-1915) was the most prominent Spanish educator of the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In 1876 he created the «Institución Libre de Enseñanza» (ILE) in Madrid, which in a short time became an important innovative school, free of religious and partisan pressures. Main hallmark of ILE was the practice of hiking in natural environments and promenades to know industries, museums and artistic monuments in cities, towns and remote villages. Such was the importance of this hiker activity that The Times said on October 2, 1884 that there was no other school in continental Europe that practiced so intensely: «The most important development is in the school excursions, which are carried out by the Institución on a greater scale than in any other school of Europe». A milestone that also the United States Report of Commissioner of Education highlighted it that same year. In 1908, the ILE affirmed that the excursions had been one of their characteristics from the beginning because «they offer with abundance the most propitious means, the safest means for the student to be educated in all spheres of his life».

Manuel B. Cossío (1857-1935), the main disciple of Francisco Giner, explained in 1880, in the Congrès International de l'Enseignement in Brussels, which he considered the school excursion system of the ILE better than the one established by the École Monge in Paris. In 1887 Cossío led the first experience of school holiday camps in Spain, and the following year he presented his results at the Zurich International Kongress Für Ferienkolonien. The disciples of Giner began to defend that the true school was outside the classroom and which, whenever possible, it was necessary to take the children to nature.

With this example the ILE constituted a great educational movement in Spain that would contribute to changing school habits. Until 1936 the number of teachers who received the influence of the ILE was growing, and outdoor school activities were ostensibly leaning towards the procedures that Giner recommended, already recognized by the New School movement, led by Lorenzo Luzuriaga in Spain.

How Francisco Giner discovered the educative energy of nature? What was the originality of his thought? Does ILE educational practice have a bond with other European educational movements? In this paper an examination of his pedagogical ideas is made regarding the importance which he granted to outdoor educational activities, to body games and excursions. He claimed that one field day was much more important than a school day because the outdoor life not only provided health and knowledge but, according to Giner, a continued contact with nature extraordinarily strengthened the moral qualities of children and adolescents and "«edified their personality». Hiking was the most powerful pedagogical medium used by the ILE and Giner disseminated an «ethos» that imprinted a special character of love towards nature and the rural world which penetrated many areas of Spanish culture.

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From school gardens to agriculture classes through entangled history: Hebrew education in Eretz-Israel (1886-1914) (English)

Tali Tadmor-Shimony (Ben Gurion University)

Agriculture classes are known in Hebrew education as a means of a corporeal teaching of nature. The national narrative defines the latter as a symbol of Zionist education. However, examining these classes through entangled history shows processes of adoption, adaptation and exchange of educational ideas. The entangled history approach is a subcategory of the transnational history category, and examines the migration and travel of concepts across national boundaries, applying them to local historical conditions (Werner and Zimmerman, 2006; Sobe 2013).

Gardening was an important part of the naturalistic (romantic) approach of humanistic education, and was considered a pedagogical manifestation of education for labor, that children needed for their physical and mental development. School gardens were compulsory in France since 1887, and also offered in Germany, the Tsarist Russian Empire, the United States, and other countries. In the last two decades of the 19th century, the gardening movement increased in most of the big cities in the west, inspired by naturalist approach of humanistic education. These ideas were transferred to the Hebrew schools in Ottoman Palestine by actors such as the teachers, who became familiar with gardening classes through the pipes network and the scopic system (Sobe and Ortegón, 2009).

One of the main actors was the famous pedagogue S. Wilkomitz, who had formal teacher training in Russia; he founded the first gardening class in his rural school in a village called Rosh-Pina in the beginning of the 20th century. The local condition of the new farmers, who were not used to cultivating the soil in their past, made these classes a means to encourage students to be farmers. These classes could even help the students' families to cultivate the soil more efficiently.

Wilkomitz created a framework of groups of children that farmed the outdoor garden and studied botanical lessons in the classroom. The agricultural crops were sold, and the money was channeled to the students' benefits. This framework of agricultural instruction was transferred to other rural schools by other teachers who adopted the Rosh-Pina school methods (Dror, 2007). Wilkomitz and his teacher colleagues saw themselves as educational agents of the national vision. Therefore, they believed that agriculture class is also a significant component in the creation of a territorial identity.

The transfer of the gardening class from European schools to the Hebrew rural schools and the encounter with the local reality create a new curriculum subject - agriculture classes.

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Die „Wald- und Naturschule“ von E. Storch- die Eubiotik als Mittel für die Schul- und Lebensreform in der Tschechoslowakei 1918-38 (Deutsch)

Tomas Kasper (Technical University of Liberec)

Das Thema der Schulreform war in der Zwischenkriegszeit in der Tschechoslowakei zentrales Thema der pädagogischen Diskussion. Die reformpädagogischen Konzepte waren sehr heterogen, wobei die Bedeutung der „natürlichen“ Erziehung sowohl bei der tschechischen, als auch bei der deutschen Lehrerschaft in der Tschechoslowakei laut diskutiert wurde, wenn auch in beiden nationalen Lagern in unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen. Die tschechischen Pädagogen arbeiteten vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts aktiv mit dem Konzept der Evolution im Darwinischen Sinne (Josef Durdik und sein Besuch bei Darwin in ...), vertraten sie vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg die Konzepte der experimentellen Pädagogik und Psychologie (Studienbesuche und frühe Übersetzungen von W. Wundt, W. Stern und die Musterbedeutung der Institute von Leipzig und Hamburg) und nach der Gründung des Staates studierten und nützten sie die quantitativen Forschungsmethoden aus (intensive langjährige Studienbesuche an den Unis in Chicago und an der Teachers College in New York), um die „Natur des Kindes“ wissenschaftlich und experimentell zu erkennen, bemessen und rekonstruieren zu können, um ihre reformpädagogische Handlung nach den Forschungsergebnissen steuern zu können. Ein Teil von solcher „pedopsychologischer“

Forschung thematisierte auch die Fragen der „gesunden Erziehung“. Dabei war das komplexe Thema der Eubiotik von hoher Bedeutung und zwar nicht nur bei den Schulärzten und Schulhygieniker, sondern auch bei den Erziehern und einer Gruppe von den Reformlehrern.

Eine der prominenten Personen der tschechischen Schulreformbewegung in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Eduard Storch (), der gleichzeitig einer der erfolgreichsten und bewundertsten Jugendliteraturautoren, Amateurarcheologe war, gründete nach der Staatsgründung auf einer Moldauinsel im Prager Viertel Liben seine Reformschule –sog. Naturschule genannt auch als Naturschulfarm. Hier praktizierte er im Zeitraum zwischen 1925-1933 seine Reformidee, die den Unterricht im Freien (ganzjährig) überprüfte, wie auch die Bedeutung der individualisierten Tatschule und des „gesundes Unterrichtes“ wie „natürliche Körperübungen wie etwa Springen, Klettern, Kriechen, Waldlauf, Rudeln, Galoppieren, Fahrradfahren und Wintersportübungen im Vordergrund standen. Selbstverständlich vertrat Storch auch weitere Prämissen des gesunden Lebens im Sinne der Lebensreform. Nach 1925 stand Storch, ein prominenter Mitglied der tschechischen eubiotischen Gesellschaft, gegr. 1924, bei den Plänen einer Gartenstadt und einer Gartenkolonie, die in Prag Troja „die Insel“ eines gesunden Familienlebens werden sollte. Wenn auch nur bei den Plänen geblieben ist, rekonstruiert man nach dem reichen Archivmaterial das eubiotische Bild der natürlichen Erziehung und die Anturschule als ein wichtiges Teil des tschechischen Gartenkoloniekonzeptes.

Das Paper fragt sich, welche Rolle die eubiotischen Prämissen in der „Heilung“ des tschechischen Volkes spielen sollten. Wie die Naturschule mit dem „gesunden“ Familienleben im Einklang stehen sollte. Weiterhin wird analysiert, wie der Kult des gesunden, von den Zivilisationsnachteilen nicht „befleckten“ „freien“ Menschen (Stochs Jugendliteraturromane) aus der Stein- und Bronzezeit, in seinen Jugendliteraturromanen, später verfilmten im Kinofilmformat ästhetisch und pädagogisch inszeniert wurde. Die Fragen sollen auf Grund von reichen Quellen zum Stoch Werk (Nationalarchiv Prag, Nationalliteraturarchiv Prag), von seinen Jugendliteraturromanen und Jugendfilmen beantwortet werden.

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5.15 PANEL NATURE AS AN ARGUMENT (1)

Chair: Attila Nóbik (University of Szeged)

“Without Him Was Not Anything Made.” Twentieth-Century Christian Dominionism and Public Education in the US (English)

Kelley King (University of North Texas)

This paper explores the educational ideas and philosophies promoted by three conservative Christian writers in the US who inspired resistance to progressive education in the mid- to late- twentieth-century. This study introduces the philosophy of Cornelius VanTil and its influence on Christian Dominionists, Roussas Rushdoony and Pat Robertson. Rushdoony and Robertson’s popular writings were key influences in shaping educational discourse, particularly in the United States, from the middle of the twentieth century until today.

“Without Him Was Not Anything Made.”

Twentieth-Century Christian Dominionism and Public Education in the US

In *The Other School Reformers* (2015), Adam Laats argues that “Educational conservatism...has been the long and vibrant tradition of defending tradition itself in America’s schools” (p. 3). Like Zimmerman (2002), Laats explores conservative reactions to “progressive” proposals for educational reform. While Zimmerman and Laats consider the socio- political actions of conservative educational reformers, neither explores in depth their intellectual foundations. Following two studies of the construction of John Dewey within right wing discourse (Author 2015, Author 2017), this paper explores the educational ideas and philosophies promoted by three of the conservative Christian writers who inspired resistance to progressive education in the mid- to late- twentieth-century. This study introduces the philosophy of Cornelius VanTil and its influence on Christian Dominionists: Roussas Rushdoony and Pat Robertson. Rushdoony and Robertson’s popular writings were key influences in shaping educational discourse, particularly in the United States, from the middle of the twentieth century until today.

During the mid-twentieth century, Van Til developed a “presuppositional apologetics” which argued that all knowledge claims must presuppose the Christian Trinitarian god (Frame, n.d.). Rushdoony extended Van Til’s presuppositionalism and, according to sociologist, James Aho, (2012) originated a form of Christian Dominionism that promoted the belief that Christians are ‘commanded by God to ‘reconstruct’ America on the basis of biblical teachings’ (p. 545).

Aho notes that public schools are a 'special target of hostility for Dominionists' because they promote Darwinism, sex education, and 'tolerance' of human difference, a presumed 'buzzword' for homosexual advocacy' (Aho, 2012, p. 550).

Influenced by Rushdoony's Dominionism, televangelist Pat Robertson advocated for the return of authority to the patriarchal family and the church, and for a version of Christian dominion (Robertson, 1994, p. 424). Robertson connected progressive educational ideas to global conspiracy theory, a cabal of Illuminati: atheists, Satanists, globalist bankers and others, using the public schools to dumb down the population in order to maintain global control. Previous studies have demonstrated that these ideas are widespread within the educational discourse of the far-right (Author 2015, 2018).

Significance

The conference theme, "Education and Nature" is central to the concerns addressed in this paper. Christian Dominionists posit a specific understanding of wisdom, knowledge and education based on their understanding of the nature of God, the nature of man, and the nature of all creation. The paper argues that such ontological and epistemological concerns are key to understanding the rise of the Tea Party and Alt-right in the United States, including the election of Donald Trump, and current far-right policy, particularly education policy. Trump has appointed as Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, who is an advocate for educational privatization. DeVos purportedly shares Dominionist views and is familiar with and influenced by the works of Van Til. The school choice platform she promotes allows her to effectively 'starve the beast' of public schools in ways that Rushdoony and Robertson would approve.

Emilia Fogelklou, Anarchist Theory on Education, And the Human Nature (English) Charlott Anna Wikström (Umeå University)

Related sub-theme(s): The nature(s) of the human being in educational contexts and practices

Keywords: Progressive education, women's studies, anarchism, educational philosophy

The aim with this paper is to argue that theory of anarchism can contribute to knowledge about and a broader perspective on educational views of the human nature and society, in the radical pedagogue Emilia Fogelklou's formation ideas 1903-1963. At the turn of the century Fogelklou was a radical voice in the social debate about progressive education in Sweden. Her extensive and multifaceted authorship deals with topics not only within pedagogy, but also theology, philosophy, sociology and psychology. The complexity is evident in her publications, which include novels, essay collections and an autobiographical suite, as well as articles published in various journals (Andrews, 1999).

My overall goal is to add Fogelklou as a thinking subject to the history of Swedish educational thinkers. Methodologically, first and foremost, I intend to break down this conception by distinguishing the woman as a subject (spreading the knowledge individually), and women's common experience of being marginalized by patriarchal structures. A recurring tendency in the analysis of individual women at the turn of century in Sweden, is that women as thinking subjects often are seen as representatives of the liberal women's movement's political emancipation endeavors (Fahlgren, 2010, Johnselius, 2009, Raudvere, 2010).

One way to counteract this is by analyzing Fogelklou's educational ideas in relation to broader ideological discourses. I will argue that the anarchist education philosophy is a useful theoretical tool when analyzing a progressive educator like Fogelklou and her complex ideas about society and human nature. Firstly, the anarchist perspective suggests, like Fogelklou, that it is not enough that the core issues of education should be what should be taught, to whom, and with what in mind, also has to ask the crucial question "by whom." Both anarchist Michael Bakunin, as Fogelklou uses the phrase "human education", which refers to the human nature's moral basis and procedural aspects of education, such as school climate and teacher-student relationship, that should be non-authoritarian and based on mutual respect. By doing this it's also possible to distinguish and point out similarities in relation to liberalism and marxism view of society and human nature (Marshall, 2008, Sandén, 2016, Suissa, 2010).

Despite the fact that anarchist philosophy has been expressed powerfully in various times through history, it has been neglected in texts on philosophy and history of education, even among authors who discuss radical progressive education, (Suissa, 2010). I am convinced that an approach to the topic from an anarchist angle could be a fruitful one. By studying a single woman's contribution to ideas of education and in this case views on human nature, new insights about both educational history and the view of pioneer women can be created.

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The More Natural Schoolteacher: Nature as argument in the fights between teacher cultures in Denmark and Norway 1880-1950 (English)

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (University of Oslo)

The fight for a new curriculum and a renewed role of the schoolteacher dominates the debates on schooling and teacher education from late nineteenth century and into the 20th century. In popular literature, in political debates and in scholarly works on education there was a persistent line of arguing against the exiting schools that used metaphors of unnaturalness, illness and even death. The aim was to argue for teachers and schools closer to the people and closer to the natural child. The Norwegian debate was earlier and had

stronger political and institutional ramifications than the one in Denmark. The Danish debate built strongly on both Grundtvigian ideas of a school for life (as opposed to the black schools of death) and reform pedagogy arguing for more child centred learning. In Norway the opposition to the existing schools was inspired by the same trends. Famous examples from popular literature: Kielland's little Marius became ill and died from an "overdose" of Latin, and the peasant student Daniel was not lifted but disillusioned in the encounter with urban, academic learning in Garborg's novel (both from 1883).

The aim of the paper is to analyse the arguments for a new culture of teaching based on the dichotomy of naturalness vs. artificiality of certain educational methods, contents and teacher roles. It serves as the backdrop for a larger comparative analysis of the clashes of teacher cultures in twentieth century Norway and Denmark. Cultural clashes spur discursive and rhetorical creativity. The overall aim is to characterize different prejudice, agonistic images of the "enemy," and thus defining characteristics of teacher cultures.

Sources are popular literature, political debates and scholarly works on education.

5.16 PANEL NATURE AND MEDIA EDUCATION

Chair: Jona Garz (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

La "lección del músculo". La fiesta del día de la Educación Física en el noticiero cinematográfico "Sucesos Argentinos" durante el peronismo (Español)

Eduardo Galak (CONICET/UNLP-IdIHCS)

En la presente indagación se estudian aquellas notas que sobre la celebración del día de la Educación Física aparecieron en el noticiero cinematográfico. También llamada "Fiesta de la Juventud" o "Fiesta estudiantil" –lo cual es ya toda una declaración de principios–, este evento fue una marca distintiva del peronismo en lo que respecta a la cultura física, convocando a miles de hombres y mujeres para que participen de la misma, tanto activamente de las ejercitaciones como en las tribunas en calidad de espectadores.

Con la frase que se transcribe en el título de esta presentación, pronunciada por el locutor en el "Sucesos Argentinos" nº 521 del 23 de noviembre de 1948, se denota una síntesis de la intención con que el peronismo concibió este evento: la reunión de la masividad del pueblo, activo y joven, demostrando la simultaneidad de movimientos. Justamente, la palabra clave para pensar estos documentos es la simetría, tanto en los cuerpos en movimiento como en las formas, que finalizan formando las palabras "Viva la Patria" o "San Martín". Lo cual representa una interesante vía para re-pensar los dos cuerpos del rey que postuló Ernst Kantorowicz en su clásica teoría medieval: un cuerpo mortal, biológico e individual que se pone en movimiento, y cuya conjunción con otros forman un cuerpo colectivo e inmortal, representado por la masa del pueblo. La posibilidad de mostrar la unidad de los argentinos, en una suerte de "comunidad organizada", acompañadas siempre por la presencia de Juan Domingo Perón en tanto Presidente de la República, permitió articular su figura con la de una Nueva Argentina que se amalgama entre los distintos cuerpos.

Para desarrollar esta investigación se estudiaron las cónicas que aparecieron a finales de noviembre entre 1947 y 1955 acerca de las celebraciones sobre Educación Física en los "Sucesos Argentinos", noticieros cinematográficos que, sin ser oficiales, reprodujeron lo que con Pierre Bourdieu puede llamarse la "retórica de lo oficial". Se parte de la hipótesis de que

se pretendieron mostrar cuerpos educados con la técnica correcta, siempre ejecutados de manera simétrica por todos simultáneamente, al mismo tiempo que se procuró educar los cuerpos mediante esa misma proyección, a través de su masificación en las pantallas de los cinemas del país, en una época en la que el género de cine informativo era obligatorio antes de ver películas, y en la que la asistencia a los cinematógrafos era una salida cultural cotidiana y colectiva. De allí que, en última instancia, se tenga por intención observar los sentidos sobre educación de los cuerpos puestos en juego por las imágenes en movimiento.

The Pedagogical Value of the Natural World in Charlotte Smith's Miscellany Collections for Young Girls (English)

Begoña Lasa (University of A Coruña)

After several years writing novels and poetry, the English writer Charlotte Smith decided to publish didactic miscellany collections, a genre that dominated the literary market for children in the late eighteenth century (Porter, 2008: 34). She wrote three books specifically for young female readers: *Rural Walks* (1795), *Rambles Farther* (1796), and *Minor Morals* (1798). They incorporated a framework in which various young girls were educated by the idealized figure of a female instructor (Trumpener, 2009: 573), usually their mother or a close relative, such as an aunt, by means of dialogues and conversations. Following the pedagogical theories of relevant thinkers and philosophers of the period, such as Locke and Rousseau, Smith promotes physical movement for the young protagonists of her texts, particularly walks, in order to explore the natural environment around them.

In the eighteenth century, science and the natural world became increasingly acceptable topics for women's reading and instruction (Pearson, 1999: 65), and Smith was particularly interested in them. There are entire dialogues or sections devoted to nature in these miscellanies, in which the Romantic vision of an idealized natural world against the corruption of city life is emphasized. In fact, one of the young protagonists of *Rural Walks* and *Rambles Farther*, Henrietta, is always walking around the garden and is constantly asking about the names and the characteristics of different plants and flowers. Similarly, in *Minor Walks*, one of the girls, Mary, likes cultivating plants. Botany was a habitual and relevant topic with Smith, as is illustrated in Dialogue V of *Rural Walks*, entitled "The Lily in the Valley". In this dialogue, Mrs Woodfield and the girls go on a walk in their garden while they converse about different types of flowers, and at the end her daughter Elizabeth recites some verses by Thomson, particularly a section of *The Seasons*, which provides a catalogue of flowers, as a literary corollary (Smith, 1795: 73) for the knowledge acquired during their walk. Animals are also protagonists in the collections here examined. Smith is particularly concerned by animal cruelty, thus expressing how attitudes towards animals were changing during Romanticism (Perkins, 2003: 7). Hence, the aim of this paper is to analyse the didactic power of the natural world and its value as an educational scenario in Smith's miscellanies for young female readers.

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Brazil in the National Geographic magazine (1888-2000): nature, civilization and culture (English)

Marcelo Lapuente Mahl (Universidade Federal de Uberlandia)

This research analyses photographs and articles about Brazil published in the National Geographic magazine, a National Geographic Society publication. This association was founded in the United States of America in 1888, seeking to publicize scientific knowledge – especially geographical, anthropological and historical ones – produced around the world. Throughout the 20th century the association became a true communicational conglomerate, diversifying its publications, catering to many market niches and also producing television programs for the National Geographic TV channel, broadcasting internationally via cable or satellite. With specific regard to the National Geographic magazine, source of this research, our analysis indicates that the editorial of the publication followed this same philosophy, that is, publicizing a specific type of scientific magazine for a layman audience. Therefore, the goal was to reach a greater number of people, and not only people for those with access to education institutions and traditional scientific research. The critical analysis of the magazine comprises issues from 1888 – when it was first published – to 2000, when the publication was no longer translated to Brazilian Portuguese, having then exclusive editions for Brazil. The main objective of this research justifies this chronological cut since it analyses how Brazil is built, interpreted, represented and publicized internationally in the magazine throughout the 20th century, when the idea of the country as a power of nature was consolidated. Therefore, the production, teaching and consumption of representations of the Brazilian nature in its many aspects, published by this source, is of great importance, since it collaborates for the circulation of some recurrent views about the relations between man, society and the natural world. The presentation of this research in the 40 ISCHE will also address the importance of mass communication vehicles throughout the 20th century, since they were essential for the education of individuals' sensibilities, for spreading ways of seeing the world, for the diffusion of ideologies and ways of living. The subject is, therefore, magazines as vectors for the non formal education (not institutionalized) of people. One of the pivotal ideas of this research field is the discussion of the role played by the magazine in the ways of seeing Brazil internationally, specifically the thematization of more recurrent images of the country. It is worth mentioning that this widespread international circulation and has never been analyzed under the perspective of the current historical knowledge despite having been featuring texts and images of Brazil since its very first issue. This critical analysis, therefore, fills a gap in the field, contributing to a greater knowledge of both Brazilian people and nature and respective representations, both nationally and internationally.

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Educational Films and Teaching Knowledge of Nature to the Mass in Republican China Period (1927-1949) (English)

Kaiyi Li (Technische Universität Braunschweig)

The main research question of the paper is how educational films promoted the dissemination of the knowledge of nature and connected it with construction of national identity under the auspices of Nanking Government.

Contextualizing the diffusion of educational films in China within the framework of the development of mass education and national construction, the paper firstly analyses how the knowledge of nature became a symbol of and an essential requirement for the modern citizen in China since the end of 19th century.

Secondly, the paper analyses why and how educational film became one of the most popular mass education tools in China. In this part, the article not only examines the various articles debating the relationship between films and education, especially scientific education, but also how the visit of Alessandro Sardi, the Italian diplomat and educational film experts appointed by the League of Nations to China in 1931, promoted educational films to the Nanking government and convinced the Chinese officials to invest in and take charge of the new media. With the establishment of the semi-official Chinese Educational Cinematography Institute, educational film became an important tool to mobilize the mass and spread modern knowledge.

Thirdly, the article will investigate the contents and visual representations of nature in the educational films and examine how they are connected with national construction of a power country with well-educated citizen and national identity as well as the mobilization of the mass at that that time. Finally, the article will consider the dissemination channels of educational films and the limited feedbacks to see how the knowledge designed by central government was spread/transmitted to the masses.

It has become a consensus among Chinese scholars since the end of 19th century that owning knowledge of nature was a basic literacy of a modern citizen and related to the construction of power nation. For the illiteracy that occupied the most population of China, both the government and scholars tried every endeavour to spread the knowledge of nature. In the 1930s educational film became one of the most popular tools with the support of government. China imported a large amount of educational films from the League of Nations as well as Kodak Company and produced a lot of indigenous educational films with the investment of the Chinese government. Via these films, knowledge of nature could be presented to the audience with a more intuitional and authentic method. Also with the support of government, those films were not merely the vehicle of pure scientific knowledge but also a way to construct national identity.

To understand how educational film became a popular method in mass education in China, the paper takes advantage of the transnational perspective. This means that the paper not only evaluates the national impetus as well as international and transnational influence. In addition, the paper will apply the method of discourse analysis to investigate the voiceovers of selected educational film.

5.17 PANEL 'FORMING' NATURE

Chair: Kira Mahamud Angulo (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

Forming children's spiritual nature by radio and ,Radiovision': collective worship and the methodological challenges of the intermedial (English)

Stephen G. Parker (University of Worcester)

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began broadcasting a Religious Service for Schools (for 8-13 year olds) in the autumn of 1940, with the object of inspiring amongst children a sense of a national religious identity, creating in them an imagined 'community of the air'. Though going through many adaptations over time, the BBC continues to be provide material for Collective Worship 'online'. Tracing the long history of this broadcast provides an opportunity to study producers' intentionality and enacted practice over time. The design and content of the broadcasts reflect the legal and religious framework within which programme-makers operated, but they also illustrate broadcaster's perception of children's natures, and their views upon what constitutes children's religious, moral and spiritual formation. Focusing upon a particular period in the 1960s and 1970s in which producers began to provide broadcasts for secondary-aged children in the Radiovision format (radio with filmstrip) this paper will examine how the Act of Worship (for 11-16 year olds) in Radiovision began to offer something different for a teenage audience than a purely Christian Biblical idiom, additionally using music and the arts to inspire. The paper will also discuss methodological issues in interpreting the intermedial which Radiovision represents, the juxtaposition of text, sound, and visual sources.

Luis Diego Cuscoy y sus propuestas educativas naturalistas: más emociones que contenidos, más razones que imposiciones (Español)

Manuel Ferraz Lorenzo (Universidad de La Laguna)

“¡Pedagogía!... Libros, técnicas, propósitos, afanes; todo se desvanece ante el angustiado maestro. Pero en ese instante, sólo el contenerse es un triunfo sin precedentes” (Diego, 1941:35).

Introducción. Nuestro centro de interés gira en torno al intelectual, maestro, arqueólogo y antropólogo, Luis Diego Cuscoy, nacido en Girona en 1907 y muerto en Tenerife en 1987. Estudió magisterio y durante el período republicano se convirtió en docente de ideas avanzadas, defensor acérrimo de la escuela pública y de las prácticas pedagógicas alternativas próximas al freinetismo. Siguiendo esta línea de pensamiento, criticó los métodos pedagógicos tradicionales, la disciplina, el enciclopedismo, el individualismo o el desarraigo y alejamiento de los niños de sus vivencias cotidianas. Además, como escritor, divulgador, cronista e historiador, los años 40 y 50 fueron los más fecundos. Algunos de sus libros sirvieron de manuales escolares, con temáticas tan dispares como el folklore, la geografía, la arqueología o la historia de Canarias (Diego, 1941, 1942, 1944a, 1944b, 1948, 1950 y 1957).

Objetivos: Esta investigación quiere indagar en sus ideas pedagógicas y en sus prácticas escolares. Sabemos que fue un claro defensor de la cultura y de la educación que les eran propias a los alumnos para fomentar sus señas de identidad. También sabemos que trató de analizar y entender la realidad socio-económica de los pequeños para poder acercarse a ellos el conocimiento de manera más efectiva. De igual manera, impulsó el desarrollo de su creatividad, sentimientos y emociones. Sin embargo, no conocemos cómo abordó estas propuestas con 130 alumnos en sus clases (sic). Tampoco el alcance de las mismas en circunstancias desfavorables para el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje caracterizadas por un entorno educativo manifiestamente hostil: trabajo infantil, absentismo, desmotivación generalizada, falta de implicación de autoridades y padres, etc. Nuestro objetivo prioritario es esclarecer, en parte, estos vacíos en sus teorías y prácticas educativas.

Metodología. Para desarrollar los objetivos expuestos, nuestro estudio parte del análisis textual, de carácter cualitativo, de sus libros y escritos. Asimismo, realizaremos un vaciado de sus numerosos trabajos periodísticos para entender sus planteamientos y la defensa que realiza de la escuela rural. Nos detendremos, de manera especial, en el análisis del concepto de naturaleza que defiende, entendido tanto como contexto político y social en el que los niños y niñas se desenvuelven, como aspecto evocador de la propia personalidad, de las conductas y de las identidades que presentan, tanto dentro como fuera de las aulas.

Conclusiones. Aunque en tiempos de silencio, de dura imposición de normas y de reglamentación eclesiástica de valores (durante el período franquista), su tono fue costumbrista, condescendiente y poco crítico con la realidad social, debemos admitir que muchas de sus aportaciones demuestran el rigor de su investigación y los anhelos por difundir sus resultados para crear conciencia social y aumentar el saber personal. Sus libros se convirtieron en los precedentes directos de los manuales escolares sobre la historia de las Islas Canarias durante el tardofranquismo y la Transición política.

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El higienismo y la configuración de una pedagogía especial para los "anormales" (Español) **Monica C. M. Kassar (Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul)**

Desde los primeros escritos filosóficos, es posible identificar el debate acerca de los orígenes de la naturaleza humana. En la Modernidad, con el desarrollo de las ciencias y, de forma especial, de la psicología, los estudios de la naturaleza humana pasan a ser sostenidos por la concepción de Ciencia Moderna y el comportamiento del ser humano recibe explicaciones bajo la perspectiva de la supremacía de las leyes naturales. La construcción del concepto de inteligencia se encuentra ubicada en esa dinámica, en la lucha entre explicaciones que consideran las fuerzas naturales y las que buscan entender las influencias de otros órdenes. En este rico contexto, el higienismo surge y se fortalece, en diferentes países, como una demostración de apropiación de conceptos caros a la Modernidad: la naturaleza, el orden, el planeamiento, el control, etc. Los preceptos higienistas penetran la mirada al niño discapacitado y posibilita la formación de una pedagogía propia. Esa pedagogía en formación recibe diferentes nombres, como pedagogía especial, orto pedagogía o pedagogía curativa (Rosenblum 1961). Para el planeamiento de ese ramo educacional, fue organizado en 1939, en Ginebra, Suiza, el I Congreso Internacional de la Pedagogía de los Discapacitados, donde participaron representantes de 30 países (Würth, 1939), entre ellos de Brasil y Portugal. El congreso fue un esfuerzo del pedagogo Hanselmann, de Suiza, para desarrollar un movimiento hacia la educación de la niñez discapacitada al nivel internacional (Rosenblum 1961) y una de las acciones de la Sociedad Internacional para la Pedagogía de la Niñez Discapacitada, creada en 1937, con el objetivo de hacer avanzar la investigación científica y las prácticas de ortopedia en todos sus ramos; para orientar e informar a los gobiernos y poblaciones de países sobre los aspectos científicos y sociales de la ortopedia; para ayudar en el entrenamiento de las ortopedias en los diferentes países; organizar congresos y publicar

una revista (Rosenblum 1961). Con atención a ese período histórico, este trabajo tiene el objetivo de analizar la formación de propuestas de una pedagogía especial para niños anormales resultantes de este evento, y la inserción de esas ideas en Brasil y Portugal. El movimiento descrito posibilita la hipótesis de existencia de relaciones entre los países para el desarrollo de una perspectiva compartida hacia la atención a los discapacitados que, probablemente, propiciaron la organización de propuestas pedagógicas similares en sitios distintos. El material empírico se constituye en informes del I Congreso Internacional de la Pedagogía de los Discapacitados y por artículos publicados y en revistas en circulación entre los expertos en este período, como *Arquivos Brasileiros de Hygiene Mental y A Escola*, en Brasil, y *A Criança Portuguesa y Conferências da Liga Portuguesa de Prfilaxia Social* en Portugal. En el Brasil, los informes del congreso fueran organizados, traducidos y publicados por el profesor Thiago Würth, representante brasileño en el encuentro. Se verifica, en ese momento, que la construcción de una educación para los anormales tuvo la finalidad de “demarcar sus propios límites frente a la psicología y a la pedagogía de los normales por un lado y a la psicopatía, a la psiquiatría, a la psicoterapia y a la pisco higiene por otro” (Hanselmamm, 1939 apud Würth, 1939).

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The nature and development of the child at the conception of the Casas da Criança (English)

Luís Mota (University of Coimbra), António Gomes Ferreira (University of Coimbra), Carla Vilhena (University of Algarve)

Philosophical naturalism was a source of inspiration for the New School movement. Concept that refers to the unity of man with nature. An organic and holistic view of the man-nature relationship. Conception that decisively influenced the pedagogical thought of the 19th and 20th centuries. The educational and pedagogical conceptions of Rousseau, Pestalozzi (eg, lessons of things) or Froebel (eg the doctrine of the game), Herbart, Montessori, Decroly or Dewey were elaborated from the point of view of naturalism and holism (Bowen, 2009). The idea of harmony between education and nature would still be reinforced with the development and contributions of biology, physiology and psychology (Dewey, 2007).

A concept that's based on the intrinsic human development potential. Education is a natural process, an unfoldment that arises in being and not imposed externally. It's an expansion of the natural forces that seek the integral development of the child (ie, physical, moral and intellectual). The spontaneous development of the child must be respected because it's without imposition (and without consciousness that's subject of observation) that natural tendencies more easily reveal themselves. The child carries out his activity, carries out his own work, his movements of will carried by a will of his own that forces him to outsource himself in acts. The game, the movement, the experience of multiple experiences, especially in the context of nature, allow children to satisfy their curiosity, activity and growth. Their

observation should ensure that desirable trends have an appropriate environment for their development.

Carrying this set of ideas Fernando Bissaya Barreto (1884-1974) will develop a program of education and child protection, in the region of Beira Litoral (Portugal). From a set of institutions created for a program of public health and maternal and child protection between 1927 and 1974, the Casas da Criança stand out under the slogan “Let us make the children of our land happy” (Barreto, 1970). In order to critically analyze the program, we use a diversified documents (eg speeches, archive documents, periodicals, photographs, plants and building elevations, oral testimonies) that we subject to the critical method and content analysis. The Houses of the Child offer us an ideal of childhood and an understanding of education in its relationship between the child and Nature, through the design of spaces and architecture of buildings, the use of games and the development of activities in the context of nature, such as lessons on objects. The material produced and to be summoned for discussion allows us to see the reach of Bissaya Barreto's pedagogical project.

Key-words: Casas da Criança, Childhood, Child, New State, New School

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THURSDAY August 304:00 - 5:30

6

6.1 PANEL ROUSSEAU'S NATURE

Chair: Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University)

Antonio Gramsci's critique of J. Jacques Rousseau's pedagogic spontaneism (English)

Chiara Libera Meta (Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

Starting from the consideration that the pedagogic question in Antonio Gramsci's reflection is not to be considered a separate issue but an internal perspective to his entire thought, the aim of this contribution is to analyze the critique of what Gramsci defines, in the Letters and in the Prison Notebooks, the naturalistic pedagogic "spontaneism" of rousseauian origin. The acceptance of the assumptions of pedagogic activism, of idealistic derivation, founded on the claim of a free and autonomous development of the child's faculties, considered correct when aimed against a superficial knowledge and authoritarianism, becomes dangerous when it's transformed into the "idolizing" of a natural spontaneity of the child. By doing so, as it will be highlighted in this account, he criticizes that educational tradition which considers formation as a process of mere unwinding of supposedly innate qualities in the child's conscience where the teacher, as a "maieutic guide", should only help those emerge without any coercion, "naturally". To this way of seeing education Gramsci opposes a conception of men as historicist formation obtained inside a dialectic and creative relation between subject and object, person and environment, pupil and teacher. Every generation, in fact, according to the Sardinian thinker, educates, or trains, the new generation and education is a struggle against those instincts related to the basic biological functions, a process of transformation of nature that allows mankind, differently from animals, to modify the environment adapting it to the necessities that are each time essential to the functions of the historical development. Connecting the educative reflection with the theme of hegemony and to the fundamental role of mediation played by intellectuals, Gramsci critiques the pedagogic contents of the liberal ideology: the spontaneism and libertarianism professed by it are considered illusory since there is no relation which doesn't imply the principle of guidance.

In essence, the liberal (libertarian) ideology, invoking the principle of self-teaching, actually conceals a reactionary anti-historical ideology, according to which the non necessity of organizing spaces and manners is asserted; this has a negative impact especially on the subaltern classes that never had the privilege of receiving an education.

Given instead that in a democratic society, where there is equality between those who direct and those who are directed and in which, therefore, everyone is potentially a ruler by "nature", the problem of the education of the masses arises, the State needs to set itself to the objective of fighting the widely held common sense, based on pre-modern elements, and refusing the legitimization of a mythological-inferior education for the subaltern classes.

The praxis philosophy, conversely- lemma on which Gramsci relies in his original interpretation of marxism- doesn't tend to keep the simple people in their primitive philosophy; on the contrary, as this present work will seek to highlight, it aspires to lead simple people towards a superior concept of life, in order to build an intellectual and moral

bloc that can make an intellectual progress politically possible for the masses and not only for scarce groups of intellectuals.

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Society, Education, and Nature in Rousseau: the narratives disseminated in the History of Education course manuals in Brazil from 1939 to 2010 (English)

Décio Gatti Júnior (Universidade Federal de Uberlandia), Giseli Cristina do Vale Gatti (Universidade de Uberaba)

This is an analysis of narratives regarding the concepts of society, education, and nature in the works of Rousseau examined in History of Education manuals by foreign authors that were

translated to Portuguese and published in Brazil from 1939 to 2010, namely: Monroe (1939), Riboulet (1951), Gal (1954), Luzuriaga (1955), Hubert (1957), Eby (1962), Ponce (1963), Larroyo (1970), Snyders (1974), Manacorda (1989), Cambi (1999), and Martineau (2010). These works exhibit the necessity of considering the ideas of society, nature, and education in Rousseau, which led authors to write almost invariably extensive chapters on these ideas, with differences in the quality of the expositions and, above all, differences in position regarding Rousseau's ideas. In fact the radical nature of the ideas of Rousseau in relation to the society of his time, his critique of inequality, his anticlericalism, and the role that he attributed to general will, to legislation, and to education in the process of overcoming what he considered a corrupt society did not allow the authors of the different manuals of History of Education to fail to take positions in their analyses regarding this contribution. Rousseau considered that the natural order could be established as a premise for the social order. For example, in *Emilio*, Rousseau showed that the nature of the child was contrary to inequality and that, therefore, the child could mold civilized man. This was inversion, at least on the metaphorical plane, of the classic sense of preparing a child for social life, whose model was the adult man, and which showed the error of the current social configuration based on inequality. Social critique provided the tone for Rousseau's discourse. The solution he found would be through establishment of the general will and of legislation that corresponded to it, which made the school, in a new society, the place for formation of citizenship, of a second nature, with a unifying character, in which the we of the collective consciousness of a social being is established in each one. It would be a type of naturalized social order, contrary to inequality, through a new concept of freedom, eminently civic, distant from private interests. From analysis of the course manuals of History of Education, we can perceive the predominance of a relatively low level of understanding of the underlying questions related to the articulation among society, education, and nature present in Rousseau, presenting analyses that picked up the thought of Rousseau in a limited way, above all as a precursor of the future developments of the psychology of human development. In addition, there were authors from a Marxist perspective very critical of the educational ideas of Rousseau. This strong ideological critique was intensely repeated in works written by authors linked to the Catholic ideological spectrum, radically against the ideas of Rousseau.

“Thrown upon the waves”: an education of nature on Rousseau's principles near Epping Forest, 1760s-1790s (English)

Mary Clare Hewlett Martin (University of Greenwich)

Despite assertions about the significance of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's influence on child-rearing in the late eighteenth century (Cunningham, 2005), there has been little research into the experiences and future lives of children brought up on his principles. Some of the most well known cases are where children did not turn out as expected, and were sent off to boarding school or sent back to an orphanage.

This paper will focus on three generations of the Forster family, who grew up near Epping Forest, on the borders of Essex and London, between the 1760s and the 1790s. At least two generations were brought up on Rousseau's principles, and overall claimed to have benefited from the experience. The "education of nature" was enhanced by the location near the forest and the opportunity to develop their interests and skills as botanists, which came to fruition in

adulthood. The forest also provided compensations for being kept away from ordinary social pursuits, Yet, their memories were not all positive. T.I.M.Forster later felt that, had it not been for the good influence of older male family members, he would have been "cast upon the waves", as his education lacked formal structure.

The case-study provides the opportunity to revisit the ideas and practice of enthusiasts for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and to consider the lasting effects of the "education of nature" in an English context.

H.Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* , 2nd edn, (Harlow, Pearson Longman, 2005).

Education, Body and Nature in Rousseau's Emile (English)

Rachel Ramos Souza (University of Campinas)

Pedagogical theories that began to emerge from the 18th century brought a new aspect to the Education, namely an education directed to the body from nature. In this context, *Emile*, or on Education, written by Jean-Jacques Rousseau is a milestone establishing new paradigms for Education, especially from the prominence that it gives to the body and its relationship with nature, as a significant part of man's formation as a citizen. Educate from nature is the premise that Rousseau uses to display a novelty of his theory, namely, the education of the body and spirit. The body assumes, thus, a prominent place in the natural education and would be through interaction with the environment that man would begin his learning. Rousseau indicates, in this work, the need to rethink the educational practices, delegating the body an important role regarding the formation of citizens. For this author, both the mind and body should be exercised to provide a full, balanced education. He establishes a model of education that would develop the body in nature, associated with an intellectual education. In this sense, it's emphasized the importance of body movement and physical exercises. Nature, from its elements - water, sun, earth, air, trees - would be the means and the most prolific master for the education of these bodies, which would concern the faculties of the body as strength and flexibility, as well as sensations and moral values. An education based on nature would be able to strengthen and build a healthy man and fit to live in society as a citizen. This work would be, over the next decades, the basis and inspiration for other treaties that would discuss an education of the body that later would be configured as Physical Education. The objective of this paper is to present, through excerpts of the book, some inputs regarding a bodily education centered in nature and explore how nature and education aligned in Rousseau's teaching suggestions could have established as guidance to pedagogical practices from the 18th century and stretched to later centuries. In addition, we seek to expose how this concept of education, from the care of the body in nature, gains strength precisely at a time when European society moves to a process of urbanization and distance nature and the countryside.

6.2 PANEL NATURE, EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Chair: Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Universidad de La Laguna)

Education and nature: the „school huts“ in the Roman countryside in the first decades of the 20th century between literacy and fight against the malarly (English)

Maura Di Giacinto (University Roma Tre)

Addressing the relationship between education and nature, according to the paradigms that guide and direct the historical-educational research also in light of the annalist experience, means privileging the historical-social dimension of educational practices and "hidden" educational destinies, the material and symbolic processes of educational realities and its social protagonists. Secondly, it recalls the question of the relationship between subject and object in which the nature/environment is understood as a synonym of object with which the subject must measure itself, of surrounding environment, of surrounding context; the category of the relationship appears, therefore, central and fundamental: education always takes place within a context - cultural, social or natural/environmental – and, viceversa, the context always presents itself as the place of every educational activity. Within this theoretical perspective and the relationship of mutual interconnection and circularity existing in the relationship between education and nature/environment, the contribution aims to reconstruct the history of the decades-long struggle against the devastating scourge of malaria that has infested and devastated the Agro Romano, a vast territorial area that surrounds the city of Rome for an extension of about fifty kilometers. Over the centuries - following historical vicissitudes, profound social changes and malaria - the territory has experienced an incessant depopulation: fallen under the unrestrained control of nature and long remained uncultivated and abandoned, it has suffered a progressive and ruinous transformation process with dramatic consequences also from a productive, hygienic and residential point of view.

Some intellectuals, scientists, artists and some enlightened politicians between the end of the 1800s and the first decades of the 20th century fought to transform the Campagna Romana into a civilized and advanced territory, denouncing the degradation and misery of these almost deserted lands, with the exception of a few straw and mud huts inhabited by very poor laborers undermined without respite from malaria, a true persecution of those lands and, for this reason, welcomed with fatalism and superstition. The arrival of the doctor and the teacher, not only with regard to the Lazio region territory, starts the process of overcoming that miserable condition and the school huts and the quinine distribution centers constitute the first avant-gardes of that emancipatory process.

Among those who committed themselves to this hygienic and educational campaign, Angelo Celli particularly distinguished himself: in addition to the merit of having identified the methods to fight and to prevent malaria, one must recognize his merit of not having identified the problem exclusively as an health matter, since he connected it to other aspects that were strongly predisposing to the spread of the infection among the agricultural workers, such as the working and living conditions, nutrition, clothing and education. Together with his wife Anna, he founded schools for the peasants of the Roman countryside and the Pontine marshes in order to combat illiteracy and encourage the process of development and protection of the public health of the rural proletariat.

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Éducation à la santé des enfants et des jeunes sur le territoire polonais au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles – la théorie et la pratique pédagogiques (Français) Danuta Apanel (Pomeranian University in Slupsk)

Mots-clés: santé, éducation, territoire polonais, XIXe et XXe siècles

Au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles en Europe et aux États-Unis, une nouvelle tendance apparaît dans la théorie et la pratique pédagogiques, appelée « nouvelle éducation », dite « révolution copernicienne ». Son développement était lié à de nombreuses découvertes et atteintes dans le domaine des sciences médicales et sociales. Les partisans de cette tendance ont souligné la nécessité d'enlever les restrictions et les liens qui limiteraient le développement humain individuel. Par leurs convictions, ils s'opposaient aux contraintes et interdictions à l'école et à une discipline scolaire rigoureuse et sévère.

À l'école ont été introduits : alimentation de masse des enfants, bains d'école, exercices physiques, supervision hygiénique des élèves et aide médicale pour les enfants pauvres. Des expériences de programme audacieuses ont été commencées, sous forme d'activités en plein air et de travaux de jardinage.

A cette époque, sur le territoire polonais, dans des conditions politiques, sociales et économiques difficiles, l'Etat et les institutions municipales et privées, principalement philanthropiques, rejoignaient le mouvement de la théorie et de la pratique de la santé. Sous leur influence, l'état de santé des enfants est devenu l'objet de l'intérêt public et de nombreuses initiatives ont été prises pour l'améliorer. Des colonies d'été ont été organisées pour les enfants pauvres, ainsi que des bains publics gérés par des associations caritatives, des instituts d'hygiène pour enfants et des jardins pour les jeux et des jeux de mouvement.

L'étude présentera les activités des médecins, des éducateurs, des psychologues, des activistes sociaux, des théoriciens et des praticiens mettant en œuvre les idées de l'éducation à la santé sur le territoire polonais au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles, tels que : Stanisław Markiewicz, Henryk Goldschmit / Janusz Korczak, Henryk Jordan, Stanisław Kopczyński, Jan Władysław Dawid et d'autres. Nous analyserons des activités des institutions philanthropiques, telles que : Société des colonies d'été pour les enfants pauvres et affaiblis de la ville de Varsovie, Société « Stella » à Poznań, Société « Sokół » à Lviv. La théorie et la pratique de l'éducation à la santé ont également été mises en œuvre par les centres de santé pour enfants à Nałęczów et Ciechocinek ainsi que par les Instituts d'hygiène pour enfants de Varsovie, Vilnius et Dąbrowa Górnicza, et les établissements d'enseignement: Państwowa Szkoła Higieny [Ecole Nationale d'Hygiène], Wolna Wszechnica Polska [Centre de visiteurs Libre Polonais] et d'autres universités de l'époque.

Un rôle important dans l'éducation à la santé de la société au tournant des XIXe et XXe siècles a été joué par la presse. Parmi de nombreux titres de revues, les plus importants dans ce domaine étaient: « Bluszcz », « Zorza », « Gazeta Świąteczna », « Zranie »,

« Przyjaciel Zdrowia », « Zdrowie », « Przewodnik Higieniczny », « Przegląd Higieniczny ».

Grâce à ces initiatives, avant la Grande Guerre, il existait un système original d'éducation à la santé et de loisirs pour les enfants et les jeunes sur le territoire polonais. L'éducation physique a été transférée des gymnases étouffants et fermés au sein de la nature. Il est devenu populaire de passer du temps libre en jouant, en faisant du vélo ou du patin à glace.

Un rôle important dans la promotion de la théorie et de la pratique de l'éducation à la santé au début du XXe siècle a été joué par les congrès d'hygiénistes tenus à Londres (1907) et à Paris (1910). À la suite de l'introduction de la scolarité obligatoire, toute l'attention s'est concentrée sur l'école en tant que l'institution permettant de toucher de larges cercles sociaux.

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Building a Better Environment for Children's Development: Teachers, Nature, and New Pedagogies in the Modernization of the School in Argentina (English)

Sabrina Gonzalez (University of Maryland)

At the start of the twentieth century Argentine school teachers led a movement toward the modernization of public schools by giving conferences, creating labor unions, and publishing magazines specialized in education. In alliance with medical doctors, they generated scientific interpretations of childhood that translated into new methodologies of teaching, the transformation of school curricula, and the physical reconstitution of the school building and school yard. Influenced by neo-Lamarckian notions of the role of environment in human inheritance, school teachers prioritized environment as the central determinant of children's moral, intellectual, and physical traits. Nature, natural environments, and adaptation became crucial in debates regarding children's development and the role of the school. I study how teachers became mediators and producers of scientific knowledge and claimed scientific authority based on their observations of children, their teaching of scientific ideas, and their experiments with modern pedagogies within and outside the state. My paper puts the histories of science and education into dialogue with one another by analyzing the case of the Modern School in Buenos Aires, which was inspired by the anarchist educator Francisco Ferrer. School teachers, doctors, and activists in Buenos Aires who sought to create alternatives to the state-run school and who envisioned the school as a place of regeneration and liberation for the working class published two magazines between 1911 and 1914. I study these magazines, Francisco Ferrer and La Escuela Popular along with the educational debates that appeared in the official magazine of the National Council of Education, El Monitor de la

Educación Común. I argue that to understand the modernization of the school in the context of nation-building, it is necessary to interpret notions of nature, environment, and inheritance produced in magazines circulating within and beyond the school. The case of the Modern School in Buenos Aires illuminates how scientific debates impacted on teacher's interpretations of the appropriate school building and teachers' methodologies of teaching. While the built environment became a key factor in children's education, teachers of the Modern School promoted nature as the model to construct a more healthy and liberatory habitat for working-class children. My research contributes to the history of education in two aspects. First, I put into dialogue alternative pedagogic experiments run by school teachers with the transformations occurring inside the public schools. Second, by focusing on scientific interpretations of environment and inheritance, I demonstrate that school teachers were key participants in the construction of modern science in Argentina and that the school became a central space for scientific observation and experimentation regarding children's development.

Nature, nutrition and education: The Ministry of Food, the Board of Education, and school meals in England, 1940-1945 (English)

Gary James McCulloch (UCL Institute of Education)

There is a clear link between school meals and the natural world of animals, vegetables and minerals. The processes through which physical nature has been converted into food in the form of school meals, and the ways in which these processes have had educational implications, have attracted some attention from historians (Vernon 1987, Routledge 2016). In the case of England, the history of school meals provision in the twentieth century has been outlined in general terms, although more research is required in some areas of policy, on the links between policy and practice, and on the recipients of school meals (e.g. Garner 1985, Welshman 1997). This paper examines a particularly significant period of policy change that has so far largely escaped the detailed attention that it deserves. The Second World War was a key formative phase in the development of school meals in England, when the Ministry of Food and the Board of Education set out to expand provision to all, leading to universal support under the Education Act of 1944 (Rutledge 2015).

The paper highlights the renewed attention given to school meal provision in the new conditions of war, with the Ministry of Food under Lord Woolton and the Board of Education under R.A. Butler committed to working together to ensure that healthy food was provided in schools, despite the general privations of food rationing. There was some rivalry involved in the relationship, but overall they combined to create the conditions for the successful passage of Section 49 of the 1944 Act, requiring local education authorities to provide milk, meals and other refreshment as a statutory duty. This was perhaps the most notable link between the new educational legislation and animate and inanimate nature in the world beyond.

The role played by the Ministry of Food is also a significant feature of this history. The Ministry set out to develop a scientific basis for the provision of school meals, including precise measurements of proteins and calories. It was the nutritional content of school meals, their quality no less than the quantity of food supplied to the schools, that came under increased scrutiny during these years. The technology involved in the translation of the natural world into food also developed rapidly with greater use of school canteens and

methods of storing food in hygienic conditions. The wartime history of school meal provision is examined in the paper with detailed reference to archival evidence from the National Archives and local source materials.

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6.3 PANEL NATURAL AND SOCIAL EVOLUTIONS

Chair: Michaela Vogt (Bielefeld University)

Nature and the Dawn of Civilization in Ancient Nigeria (English)

Ojebiyi Olufemi Adesola (Obafemi Awolowo University)

In Nigeria, evidence abound that the ancient people were developed into three stages, designated savagery, barbarism and civilization. Savages depend exclusively on collecting, hunting and fishing eating what nature happens to provide. Barbarians in addition made positive contributions to the provision of their own food-production by cultivating edible plants, breeding suitable domestic animals or practising mixed farming. Indeed, civilization is a development from barbarism to specialist services, as craftsmen, warriors, merchants, Kings, chiefs, artisans, medicine-men and farmers. Piggott (1961) have equated 'the beginning of civilization' with the beginning of specialization. As already indicated, a proportion of any civilized society is always engaged, not in directly producing food, but in secondary industry, commerce, religious cult, government, a professional hierarchy, a standardized ceremonial and monumental buildings. Moreover, it symbolizes other peculiarities of civilized life. The most accurate and fruitful employment of the term is to denote the highest stage in social evolution. Apart from this, we know that different countries have different civilizations. But where does the civilization of ancient Nigeria derive its source from? Or where does a civilization come from? Certainly, it is not something that dropped from the sky. A civilization is man-made. It is a set of rules that the people in a country decided to put together for the proper organization and government of the country. So, we can begin to see how civilization comes into being, that is its origin. As earlier stated, nature is the source of all civilizations in the world. Our forebears copied from nature. Civilization in the ancient Nigeria formed the spring board for personal maturity, citizenship training and a bulwark against insidious attack of ignorance, want, economic and social pressures. According to Akinfemi (1973) this is coupled with the fact that civilization serves as a theoretical framework for understanding creative behavior and human relationships. Therefore, any civilization that is not consistent

with it, has no effect. Civilization does not dictate to nature but nature dictates to civilization. Akinfemi (1973) supported this view when he said that through nature men acquire the civilization of the past, and are enabled both to take part in the civilization of the present and make the civilization of the future. The desire for continuous improvement in our civilization through nature has now captured the interest and concern of educational historians more than before. Therefore, this study examined the issues surrounding the nature as a means of giving civilization. Historical research design was adopted for the study and data were collected, using primary and secondary sources of information like oral interviews, publications like journals, textbooks and internet materials. Specifically, the study examined the extent of relationship between nature and civilization. It looked at the roles played by the nature and its impact on the development of civilization. It is in line with the above assertion that the paper believes that at this century (21st century) efforts need to be made in order to ensure that there is improvement in our present civilization.

Keywords: Nature, Civilization, Forebears, Education, Creative behavior

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Nature as principle and science as way: Herbert Spencer's appropriations in the Portuguese-Brazilian axis (1861-1886) (English)

José Gonçalves Gondra (State University of Rio de Janeiro), Paulo Rogerio Marques Sily (State University of Rio de Janeiro), Fernanda Fontes do Amaral (State University of Rio de Janeiro)

This work scenario refers to a complex process of life and society transformation, historically known as "modernity", where speeches were based on innovation, overcoming and progress. Those discourses were affirmed as vocabulary to indicate certain material and human condition self-called by their formulators as "civilization". Society considered as "civilized" invested in the technological progress and time-space redefinition which caused the increase of diverse tensions manifested in the rise of individualism, unbridled competition and large-scale population growth with unequal effects on the working conditions, education and life of the people as a whole. Taking modernization's processes as reference, we aim to reflect about the production, circulation and appropriation of educational proposals articulated to the demands imposed by the new social order in constitution process, focused on the second half of the nineteenth century. In this sense we approximated to Herbert Spencer's postulations, a public man whose propositions circulated on the Portuguese-Brazilian axis. In order to cogitate the circuit and modes of appropriation of Spencer's postulates in the pedagogical field, we chose in Brazil part of Rui Barbosa's production, the president of "Liga de Ensino do Brasil" and deputy-editor of reviews on public education and education reform project. In Portugal, we've worked with José Carrilho Videira's initiatives, an editor and

politician linked to the portuguese republican movement of the late nineteenth century, held as owner and collaborator of the *Revista de Estudos Livres*. In this study, we've selected as sources the book *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* published in this form for the first time in 1861, by collecting articles from Spencer in english periodicals between 1854-1859, translated by Videira in 1886; *Reforma do Ensino Secundário e Superior* and *Reforma do Ensino Primário e várias instituições complementares da Instrução Pública*, set of reviews presented to the Deputies' Chamber in 1882/1883 by Rui Barbosa, Thomás Spindola and Ulysses Viana in which they resort to Spencer's attributed statements; and to legitimize diverse interventions as the so-called "pedagogical press", especially the *Revista da Liga de Ensino* (1884) edited by Barbosa. In the interlacement of these "dramaturgy pieces of real" (Foucault, 1991), we seek to analyze games of appropriation taking into account the historical processes and perspectives, beyond social and educational conditions in England, Brazil and Portugal between 1861 and 1886, seeking to establish and problematize proximities and distances between the projects in process in the three countries. As far as we had gone into this research, it was possible to verify the circulation of pedagogical proposals of the English writer in the Portuguese-Brazilian circuit, highlighting the uses of Spencer's postulations in the worked documents, such as the defense of scientific knowledge to be taught in all levels of education, considered a necessary condition for the civilized man formation, capable of dominating and submitting nature to their needs, contributing to the "evolution" of the individuals, families and prosperity of the nation among other abilities. In this way, the thesis of nature as principle and science as way of civilization were affirmed.

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Exilés, émigrés ou missionnaires: le clergé étranger au Brésil et leurs entreprises éducationnelles. Défis théoriques et méthodologiques pour la compréhension de l'histoire de l'Éducation au Brésil (Français)

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Dans l'histoire de l'Éducation au Brésil, il y a un rôle fondamental joué par les discussions sur une supposée « nature humaine » dont le développement serait le but du processus éducationnelle. Une certaine conception de cette nature est arduement soutenue par l'Église catholique ; elle réapparaît de façon transfigurée dans l'œuvre de quelques-uns parmi les principaux éducateurs brésiliens : Paulo Freire, par exemple, n'a jamais nié l'importance des idées catholiques dans sa pensée. Malgré la stabilité multiséculaire de ces entreprises éducationnelles, la fin du XIXème siècle présente des changements qui ont posé à l'Église un problème structurel : comment survivre à la fin du financement et du contrôle par l'État de leurs activités, mesure adoptée par la nouvelle République laïque proclamée en 1889 ? Serait-il possible de justifier encore la présence des professeurs prêtres et sœurs au sein d'une élite qui bradait l'éloge de la science et de la modernité soufflés par l'Europe ?

Cet ancien problème historiographique brésilien reçoit dans cette présentation une nouvelle réponse, bâtie sur des discussions conceptuelles en dialogue avec l'analyse des données inédites sur la présence des groupements des religieux catholiques professionnels au Brésil depuis 1889, résultat d'un travail de plusieurs années de recueillement d'information sur les congrégations et ordres présents au Brésil, tels comme leur nomes, la date de leur arrivée au Brésil, leur provenance, la quantité de membres aujourd'hui, etc. Au total, ce sont au tour de soixante variables d'analyses disponibles pour chaque groupement.

La présentation discutera, donc, quelques défis théoriques et méthodologiques relevés par le projet et les avantages de cet outil pour penser à la constitution des réseaux d'écoles catholiques comme le résultat d'un effort collectif, prolongé et entamé par des agents avec des propriétés sociaux semblables. Leur présence dans le passé reste encore vivant à nos jours, dans des écoles où se forme une grosse partie de l'élite nationale, ce qui nous permet de conclure que la laïcité n'a jamais été une pratique majoritairement adoptée dans les établissements scolaires. En effet, le projet rend évident la participation des professionnels catholiques dans le territoire brésilien tout entier, soit dans leurs traditionnels écoles, soit dans des projets d'éducation non-formels.

Cette présentation veut évaluer les caractéristiques sociales de ces professionnels de l'éducation et se pencher sur les liens entre leurs propriétés sociales et le genre d'entreprise mené par eux. L'hypothèse consiste à classer leur expérience comme un mélange entre la situation d'exilé, celle de l'émigré et celle du missionnaire ; de la première, on retient l'idée d'un mouvement forcé, une quête par un lieu d'accueil jusqu'à une date sine die ; de la seconde, on relève une situation indéfinie, dont le retour à la terre natale s'annonce possible mais sans certitude. Par fin, la condition de « missionnaire » transforme la personne dans le porteur d'un message fréquemment intolérable vers les différences culturelles en relation à la société réceptrice. Cette classification permet de formuler des hypothèses sur les conséquences pour le projet d'établissements scolaires créés par chaque situation : la flexibilité envers le peuple d'accueil, l'utopie qui se projette envers l'action éducative, etc. Elle permet aussi de penser les multiples relations entre l'Église catholique et les États nationaux à une échelle microsociale, prenant garde des enjeux identitaires constitués par les multiples appartenances des sujets étudiés (à un ou à plusieurs États, à l'Église, etc.)

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6.4 PANEL NATURE AND TEXTBOOKS (1)

Chair: Nelleke Bakker (University of Groningen)

Nature Original and Translated: German and Russian Textbooks on Natural History in the late 18th century (English)

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Problem. In the last third of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, a great interest arose in the translation of the German-language instructing, teaching, training, scientific, pedagogical literature in Russia. Even a special state institution, organizing translations of foreign books functioned in the period 1768-1783. In addition to the translations, the original Russian analogues were also prepared and printed. The situation of reception and dialogue of pedagogical ideas took place. This happened both at the level of the contents and the methods of its presentation, and at the level of the dictionary that was used. The teaching courses on natural in the conditions of interaction between didactic cultures is an important evidence that detects the historical and cultural differences of the two pedagogical traditions. Sources. The report is based on the consideration of original and translated textbooks compiled by J.Blumenbach (1st Russian ed.1796), J.Erxleben (1788), J.Huebner (1770), A.Kaestner (1792), G.Raff (1785), G.Will (1773); N.Ozeretzkowsky (1792), V.Severgin (1792),

K.Ushinsky (1861), S.Usov (1843), V.Zuev (1786). The main focus has been paid to the Raff's and Ushinsky's textbooks as the starting and finishing points of the dialogue. Methodological background. We use the methodology of Translations Studies, the lexicons and receptions reflected the specifics of a pedagogical cultures. Translated texts became inherent parts of an active dialogue between cultures, and one can look at how the receiving culture is shaping itself through re-interpretation of what was being received (D. Bachmann-Medick). The analysis of the translation process elucidates those contacts between pedagogical cultures that demonstrated the capabilities and limits of integration strategies. These strategies are restricted by ties to cultural differences and by creating a product that in some way embodied the traits of both cultures. In this case, translation as a point/area of contact turns out to be the center of the dialog of cultures both in the history of textbooks and in the history of pedagogy of natural history as a whole, when the transfer of ideas shifts from text discourse to discourse style. Results. The textual analysis of textbooks shows (un)conscious differences in understanding, interpreting, and teaching the role and place of nature by the authors, as well as differences in the algorithms of its comprehension that is recommended to the pupils. Discussion and conclusions. In translated and original editions we see three levels of nature (particular living being, their groups and communities, the entire universe as an interconnected system). The first level is represented in similar detailed ways in all types of manuals. The second one in German and translated editions has taken more areas and ranges than in the original Russian editions. In the Russian original textbooks on natural history, the third level embraces not only nature and God but also the Tsar authority as the environmental actor instead plain human beings and animals like in the German editions. Russian textbooks usually have got three actors (God, Tsar, nature) and German textbooks have got four or even five (God, nature, human beings, animals and plants) and don't include state or local authorities in this participation. The comparative analysis conducted in the study shows that at the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century the pupils' interest and volition to study nature in Russian textbooks was less put and their duty to learn more accentuate than in German ones because of the different concept of learning. This difference is due to the distinctive differences between the types of dialogue between education and nature we see within these two regions of the Late Enlightenment epoch.

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Evaluation of textbook that the “Life Science Teaching by Picture“ in terms of children and nature in 1930s (English)

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The first aim of 1930 primary school curriculum was to "educate students as active citizens". According to this purpose, Life Science course was taught as 4 hours per week at 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades in primary school. Since Life Science as a basic course, it was dealt with in more detail than and was associated with the other courses in the curriculum. It was said that the courses in the old curriculum (nature studies/tabiat tetkiki, agriculture, health knowledge/hifzıssıhha, history, geography, citizenship knowledge/musahabat-ı ahlakiye malumat-ı vataniye) were combined under this course at 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades of primary school. The themes of Life Science were: environment-human, research, cooperation and solidarity, history knowledge, production and health knowledge. The topics of each class were listed:

1st grade: Our School, Our House and Family, Republic Day, Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer. 2nd grade: Republic Day, Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer

3rd grade: Republic Day, Autumn, Winter, Spring

Among these topics seasons were in all three grades. These topics were reserved for a certain period of time in all three classes. One of the textbooks that used which generally seasons were taught in this course was “Life Science Teaching by Pictures”. Four seasons were dealt separately in this book. The book was written by Richard Rotke and adapted to Turkey in 1931 by Hıfzırrahman Reşit. “Life Science Teaching by Picture” (4 volumes) is main topic of this study. In the preface of the book, Hıfzırrahman Reşit states that he translated it according to the need of teachers while teaching this course. The book has four volumes and each volume has a name of season:

1st volume: Autumn 2nd volume: Winter 3rd volume: Spring 4th volume: Summer

The book contents pictures of plants, animals, landscapes and natural phenomena. There are about 50 pictures in each volume. Rotke suggests to teachers to free the students while drawing the pictures. Also he suggests to teachers to teach drawing to students step by step in his book. According to understanding of education at the time, “learning by doing” was more effective for students. In this context, it as explained what the teacher would pay attention to during the teaching. Since adapting the book to Turkey, some pictures (Ramadan, Republic Day) and some Turkish stories (Hacivat-Karagöz, Nasreddin Hodja) added into the book and some pictures and stories were changed. In the study, the content of the book will be analyzed and the content will be associated with environment-human which was one of the themes of this course. So the opinion about child and nature in 1930s can be determined.

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Connecting the student to his natural environment through textbooks of natural sciences in Greece from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century (English)

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In the years following the creation of the Greek state, natural sciences seemed to have a prosperous future. Towards this advocated: a) the heritage by the most important schools of Hellenism with the teaching of these sciences in the first two decades of the 19th century; b)

the minimization of reactions of members of the Church to the teaching of Natural Sciences; c) the elimination of fear of alienation from the Western world due to the role the foreign political powers had played in the liberation of Greece.

Another feature is that before the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire, Natural Sciences served the purpose of "enlightening" the nation which would eventually lead to liberation. With the founding of the state, this has been fulfilled and next, pedagogical perceptions of Neo-Humanism, which flourished in German-speaking Europe, have prevailed in state education. According to them, priority is given to general education and to the development of the mental and spiritual potential of the individual. Physical Sciences were considered to be merely "practical" lessons and professional skills and were not included in the educational goods that would lead the individual to self-realization. For Primary Education, the Guide to Peer Education included that Physics and Chemistry would have as a key objective: "To abolish superstitions and bias that ignorant people capture from their appearance." The development of the position of Sciences can also be attributed to the increase in the industrial production in Greece. The Knowledge and understanding of natural phenomena is a common goal in both Primary and Secondary Education curricula. The 1935 Secondary Education Curriculum, which is also the most comprehensive in terms of goals and objectives, also aims to familiarize students with the methods of natural research through observation and experimentation, the search for causal relationships that govern various phenomena and the collapse of these relationships into laws of nature. With this reference, it is conceded for the first time in secondary education curricula that science classes can provide students not only with practical and useful for everyday life and industry skills but with educational supplies in general. The practical applications of Physics and Chemistry by the students themselves was the purpose of the 1935 curriculum, which however, differentiated these applications in home economics and everyday life for lower classes, and in Industry and Technology for the higher ones. Another purpose of science teaching is to strengthen the religious feelings of students. At the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, natural sciences found themselves in intense juxtaposition with representatives of the Church on issues that mainly concerned Astronomy. Views of the Earth's sphericity and its rotation around the sun were thought to contradict the Scriptures and were disfavored. After the establishment of the Greek state, despite the contraction of contradictions, natural sciences were given a theological character so that they could be more easily accepted by the Church and society. So the main purpose of this paper is not only to present the textbooks of natural sciences in Greece at this period of time but also to examine the connection between students and their natural environment through the material of the textbooks.

The method used is the historical-interpretive on both levels: a) the systematic historical-historiographical: school textbooks of natural sciences in Greece from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century are recorded and presented; and b) analytical- interpretative: the analysis and interpretation of the previously mentioned textbooks are based on historical, political, social and educational contexts.

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Key words: textbooks of natural sciences, natural phenomena, environment, laws of nature, superstitions, education

Nature and Education in Eastern Contexts — The Natural Education Thought of China's Pre-Qin (2100 –221.B.C.) Taoist Zhuangzi (English) Shujuan Yu (Jiangnan University)

The natural education thought plays an important role in both Eastern and Western history of educational thoughts. In the West, it has emerged in the works of philosophers in ancient Greek and has been developed into a significant idea which influenced educational theories and practice in modern times. However, the rich natural education thought in Pre-Qin Taoism in China was little known in Western academia. Zhuangzi is the founder and one of the main representative figures of Pre-Qin Taoism philosophy in ancient China and the major founder of China's natural education thought. This study attempts to introduce the natural education thought of Zhuangzi to the world, to reveal the unique understanding of nature and natural education in Eastern civilization, and to explore the contemporary and worldwide significance of naturalism philosophy of education in ancient China.

Taoism philosophy is the only philosophical school which can stand up to Confucianism and Buddhism in the history of Chinese thoughts, and also constitutes the core of Chinese culture together with Confucianism and Buddhism. Zhuangzi is a respectful name for Zhuang Zhou, whose representative work is *Zhuangzi*, also called *Nanhua Jing*. *Zhuangzi* contains rich natural education thought and exerts profound influence both on literature and philosophy of China.

This study will reveal the core contents of Zhuangzi's natural education thought mainly based on the analysis of *Zhuangzi*. It will analyze Zhuangzi's understanding of nature, education, human and society, and relationships among them from a macroscopical view firstly, and then analyze his understanding of the aims, contents, and methods of natural education from a microscopical view, thus to introduce the Eastern understanding of natural education in Taoism philosophy to the world.

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6.5 PANEL NATURE AS ARGUMENT (2)

Chair: Pablo Toro Blanco (Universidad Alberto Hurtado)

Nature as an argument? The reception of aptitude testing in Germany, Sweden and Chile (1960-2010) (English)

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During the Cold War, a certain college admission test made an impressive international career: from North and Latin America and Europe through the Middle East to Asia and Australia, this test was presented as an “objective” solution to the highly controversial university selection problem. Specifically, the paper refers to the US American Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), invented in 1926 and still used by most US universities. Owner of test is the College Board (CB), a private non-profit testing board, while the development, execution and evaluation of the test is in the hands of the Educational Testing Service (ETS), currently the largest private non-profit testing company in the world.

The paper deals with the context-specific reception of the SAT and the related educational discussions in three different national contexts: Germany, Sweden and Chile. Specifically, the paper explores to what extent the reception of the SAT was connected to legitimacy references to “nature” in the sense of “natural” talent and intelligence. The analysis therefore focuses on the reception of the construct “aptitude” underlying the SAT. This construct is to be analysed as a new organizing principle with its own cultural effectiveness and political relevance, because it would legitimise and regulate the classification of human beings (students) and therefore the allocation of life chances (Goschler & Kössler 2016). “Aptitude” is defined as “ability to do college work” (DuBois 1970, p. 125) and thus marks an independence from the acquisition of study-relevant knowledge or subject material. It is assumed that the context-specific reception of the SAT and its construct “aptitude”, was accompanied by new ideas of student’s suitability, which would focus on largely natural, i. e. innate cognitive abilities.

The paper follows social history and history of knowledge research, dealing with the cultural and socio-political connotations of educational debates on talent and intelligence, as for example the “nature-nurture” debate (Goschler & Kössler 2016). The aim of the paper is to analyse how the test and its organizing principle “aptitude” was interpreted, transformed and popularized in the different comparative units. Guiding questions are: on the basis of which models of orders, guiding ideas, narratives, metaphors and practices was the introduction of the test negotiated, processed and legitimized? Which discourse coalitions between actors (education system, science, media, business and politics) emerged? To what extent did the

test compete or connect with existing knowledge and assessment cultures? The paper combines in a methodical sense educational transfer/reception research (Steiner-Khamsi 2006) and contextual comparison (Gita Steiner-Khamsi 2010), with argumentative discourse analysis (Hajer 2004), and is mainly based on the analyses of parliamentary debates and periodicals.

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Evolucionismo natural, evolucionismo moral y evolucionismo material en la prensa brasileña del siglo XIX (Español)

Alessandro Santos da Rocha (Universidade Estadual de Maringá), Italo Ariel Zanelato (Universidade Estadual de Maringá)

La investigación objetivó identificar cómo el concepto del evolucionismo fue diseminado en la prensa periódica brasileña en Brasil de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. En el período la prensa ocupó un importante papel en la formación de los sujetos, principalmente cuando consideramos la escasez de la enseñanza formal en el país. El escenario solicitaba cambios que hicieran a Brasil progresar. Esta idea encontraba respaldo en las diversas teorías que surgieron en diversas partes del mundo y que demostraban que la naturaleza física y la humana estaban en constantes transformaciones. Tales premisas se pueden encontrar en la teoría evolucionista de Charles Darwin (1809-1882) y en el evolucionismo de Herbert Spencer (1820-1903); pero también se identifican en perspectivas que defendían la evolución de las características materiales, como se observa en el Positivismo de Augusto Comte (1798-1857), o aún, en la perspectiva científico-filosófica-religiosa del Espiritismo de Allan Kardec. Todo ese marco de teorías fue validado por la necesidad de transformaciones continuas que tenían por foco el progreso, expresión enfatizada en diversos rincones del mundo a partir de la necesidad de modernizar las relaciones humanas y, consecuentemente, dinamizar los rumbos de la sociedad (HOBSBAWM, 1988). En Brasil, el discurso progresista estampó las páginas de diversos periódicos y revistas, los cuales estaban interesados en crear un modelo pedagógico informal capaz de desarrollar individuos concordantes con los segmentos que aseguraban el avance del país. La discusión pasaba por la necesidad de hacer la evolución, fuera de orden natural, moral, o material (ROSSI, 2000). De esta forma, al realizar la investigación bibliográfica y documental, pautada en el acervo de la Biblioteca Nacional, situada en la ciudad de Río de Janeiro, observamos que innumerables periódicos de la prensa brasileña, publicados a partir de 1850, estuvieron preocupados por consolidar una pedagogía capaz de

garantizar transformaciones en un país que desde su colonización estuvo marcado por relaciones conservadoras. En la Gaceta de Río de Janeiro, por ejemplo, decía que los hombres deberían "tener conocimiento de las faltas que incurre en un drama moral, incompatibles con el desarrollo moral e intelectual del país". El diario del Comercio, afirmaba que "la transformación social dependía de la evolución de la moral humana y natural". Todo el contexto estaba envuelto por debates políticos que requerían un nuevo orden social y económico, en el cual el régimen imperial, erigido en 1822, se modernizara para poder insertar nuevos rumbos de la economía, vista como poco dinámica (DUPAS, 2006). En ese sentido, en la prensa brasileña se observaron discursos que vislumbraban que era necesario evolucionar. Evolucionar significaba ser moderno y avanzar, pero ordenadamente.

La naturaleza como concepto educativo en crisis en el escolanovismo argentino: el caso de La Obra. Revista de Educación (1921-1930) (Español)

Ana Paula Saab

La obra es una publicación argentina de prescripción didáctica para el docente de educación inicial y primario inspirada en las concepciones educativas del escolanovismo. Se trata de una singular publicación entre otras cosas por su extensa trayectoria y por la constancia y regularidad de la publicación a través de distintas etapas históricas en la Argentina del siglo XX. Tuvo periodos de circulación masiva donde fue notable la predilección de los docentes argentinos por la revista. Sus páginas difundieron debates, programas, planificaciones didácticas vinculados a la educación argentina. La revista tenía su propia Editorial y sus notas reflejaban la aprobación, el consenso o el rechazo a las políticas educativas del momento y a los funcionarios de turno. Fue también ferviente difusora de las ideas de la Escuela Nueva estableciendo todo un programa de estrategias didácticas comprometidas con la formación docente y la renovación de la práctica áulica cotidiana. En la década del 20 del pasado siglo se renueva una vez más el debate sobre naturaleza y cultura en el marco de los postulados escolanovistas, relacionadas con la necesidad de redefinir el concepto de infancia. Esto originó en las prácticas didácticas defendidas por la revista una serie de paradojas. Por un lado, persiste la idea de una cierta idea naturalista de la infancia que debe ser preservada, amparándola de la corrupción del mundo social, y por otro una nueva conciencia de la libertad de pensamiento y acción en el niño, llevarían a defender precisamente un mayor involucramiento crítico del niño en la realidad social y política. Las recomendaciones y debates expuestos en la revista atestiguan un cierto concepto de naturaleza humana, una cierta antropología y una cierta idealización del mundo rural. Por otro lado, la revista ha estado fuertemente comprometida con una concepción iluminista de civilización, enfáticamente delimitado por el viejo paradigma argentino, originado en las obras de D.F. Sarmiento, que obligaba a elegir entre "civilización o barbarie". La Obra atestigua importantes paradojas que arrojan una luz imprescindible sobre el debate que articula infancia, naturaleza y entorno social. Un debate que hasta el presente no ha cesado de reactualizarse.

Nature as history, history as nature. The national-liberal reformulation of Bildung in late nineteenth century Norwegian teacher education (English)

Turid Løyte Hansen (University of Oslo)

This paper will look into the reformulation of Bildung as folkedanning in late 19th century Norway, as it was particularly institutionalised in Norwegian teacher education. This reformulation has been identified as background for the non-elitist, popular and down-up processes of modernity that took place in Norway, compared to the same processes on the European continent, that was more elitist and top-down driven (Witozeck 1998, Sørensen and Stråth 1998, Slagstad 2003). The paper will in particular highlight the romantic dimension in the Norwegian concept of Bildung, and more, the educational ideal of teacher expressivism that followed this romanticism, and the intertwined ideal of naturalism and historicism within it, as is also found in the romantic German Bildung theories of for instance Johann Gottfried von Herder. A question that is addressed is how the romanticism of folkedanning differ from the romanticism of the German Bildung-tradition, and how this could contribute to the understanding of different democratic traditions in Europe.

6.6 PANEL NATURE, RURAL SCHOOLS AND RURAL EDUCATION (1)

Chair: Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

Education and Nature in the active school program: appropriation of the theme within rural schools in the State of Espírito Santo, Brazil (1928-1930) (English)

Rosianny Campos Berto (Federal University of Espírito Santo), Regina Helena Silva Simões (Federal University of Espírito Santo)

This study investigates the appropriation of the theme education and nature as a curricular component of the Active School education reform program implemented in Espírito Santo, Brazil, between 1928 and 1930, focusing especially pedagogic and curriculum guidelines aimed at rural schools. As sources, it uses school inspection reports, Public Instruction Secretary reports and a compendium, Scientific Pedagogy, produced by Deodato de Moraes (n.d.), containing part of teachers' formation program, developed in the Pedagogic Culture Graduation Course (Curso Superior de Cultura Pedagógica) and in the Active School of Learning (Escola Activa de Ensaio), both located in the State Capital. Those teachers should disseminate the New School ideas inside the Espírito Santo schools. Among the innovations proposed for education, it is highlighted the emphasis to the relation between education and nature, involving outdoor schools, summer camps, nature studies through museums, aquariums, terrariums, herbariums and also practices related to the work preparation, which included horticulture, gardening and agricultural education. At that time, in Brazil, the Grupos Escolares (model primary schools), created in 1895 by the newly instituted Republican government (1889), represented the modern school prototype, widely disseminated by the governmental policies as pedagogical model. However, in practice, the high costs and the complexity of such enterprise, precluded the diffusion of those institutions all over the country, in a way that the isolated schools predominated for a long time, especially in the rural areas. Most of those schools operated in improvised buildings such as houses or borrowed, donated or rented rooms and sometimes with bad lighting and hygiene. There were no basic materials or furniture available. Some of them, for that matter, did not even offer desks for the students. Before such precariousness, the Public Instruction Secretary, named Attilio Vivacqua, used to argue that in the old, small and poor schools, more important

than the objective conditions of their operation, would be the penetration of the new spirit concerning education. Based on the Ferrière ideas, it was reminded that the children need movement and therefore, the desks, defined as furniture merely intended for the hearing of school contents, would be dismissible. Besides, Vivacqua (1930) proposed that the students themselves produced the school material from the utilization of nature elements, in order to instigate the inventive and collaborative spirit among the children. Under these circumstances, the theme education and nature stood out at the schools located in rural areas. Therefore, it appears that the enthusiastic education defense associated to nature, based on the active school ideas, before strictly representing a didactic and pedagogic strategy, embedded interests of practical and economical order. In conclusion, it is argued that the association established between education and nature should be comprehended not only as theoretically grounded pedagogical innovation but as well as a way to divert the lack of practical and economical order in Espírito Santo from 1928 to 1930.

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La formación del pequeño trabajador rural en el Catecismo de agricultura de Antonio de Castro Lopes (1869) (Español)

Suzana Lopes (Instituto Federal de Educação de Goiás, Universidade de São Paulo),
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Con el ascenso de la Modernidad, el proyecto de instrucción y educación se ha impregnado de un carácter científico; en el momento en que el mundo natural pasó a ser objeto de estudio, observación y control, convirtiendo su saber en "contenido" de enseñanza y aprendizaje en las escuelas primarias. Este trabajo presenta como objetivo tratar el llamado a la formación de la infancia para el trabajo rural en el Imperio brasileño, desde la lente del opúsculo "Catecismo de Agricultura para uso de las escuelas de instrucción primaria de Brasil" (1869), de autoría del profesor y médico brasileño Antonio de Castro Lopes (1827-1901), escritor, médico homeópata, nacido en Río de Janeiro.

La obra fue escrita en forma de modelo catequético de preguntas y respuestas para facilitar el entendimiento e internalización de lo que la patria exigía como formación necesaria para la infancia. En ese contexto, ese trabajo buscará entender el mundo natural como un punto de referencia en el campo de las teorías de la educación; naturaleza que asumía, en aquel momento, la forma de disciplina escolar, permeando el campo de las prácticas educativas.

En el marco de la historia del medio ambiente natural con un carácter científico, este trabajo investiga los proyectos instruccional y civilizador presentes en el Catechismo por la Agricultura, dedicado a los niños brasileños, vislumbrando el uso social y cultural de la tierra, en su relación entre ciencia y práctica la agricultura. La agricultura estaba siendo trabajada en la instrucción pública dentro de un proyecto civilizador, teniendo en cuenta así tanto la lectura y escritura como el oficio, el arte del hacer.

Se observa en este catecismo el objetivo de inspirar gusto y simpatía como manual de orientación para que los niños conocieran desde estaciones del año para preparar la tierra, plantío y cosecha, además de elementos relacionados a la tierra y su composición, cultivo,

plantación, agua, aire, vegetales y creación de animales. En tal obra, el mundo brasileño descrito en su "vegetación frondosa y bella que por todos los montes y valles se ostenta majestuosa" exclamaba a los niños estudiantes a contemplar sobre la agricultura, en su ciencia de "cultivar la tierra", en un movimiento de exaltación de la grandiosidad de las tierras brasileñas que era, incluso, un discurso que llegaba de fuera de Brasil, por viajeros extranjeros como Humboldt.

La metodología utilizada en ese artículo parte del levantamiento y análisis de fuentes circuladas en diferentes provincias brasileñas, utilizando los impresos no oficiales. Nuestra propuesta es investigar la relación entre concepción de infancia, instrucción y agricultura permeadas por la categoría del trabajo que con la agricultura ennoblecería al individuo y a la patria.

. Para tal fundamentación, se analizan textos como de Boto (2012), que trata de la liturgia de la escuela moderna y Choppin (2004), que trata de los manuales didácticos, y aún autores que abordan la categoría de las ciencias naturales y el currículo.

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The farm as a site of reformation and civilisation of children in early twentieth century Australia (English)

Clarissa Carden (Griffith University)

'Farm homes' and 'training farms' became an essential feature of Australia's institutional landscape for children by the early twentieth century. These monikers were used to denote a range of institutions, run by religious organisations and government, and housing orphans, children whose parents wished them committed, and children who had been convicted by the courts of crimes. The latter class of children had previously been held in industrial or reformatory schools. In some cases, such as that of the Farm Home for Boys, Westbrook, reformatories were renamed and became farm homes without any other significant changes occurring.[1] In other instances, such as the Gosford Farm Home for Boys, children who had previously been held in reformatories were moved to a new institution which was declared a farm home.[2]

These institutions almost invariably housed children of mixed ages, with some young enough to receive compulsory education. Whether this education was provided by the staff of the institution or by an outside school, it was necessarily supplemented by the core educative work of the institutions: preparing children for life. The farm served an important pedagogical

purpose in this education. In colonial Australia, city life was believed to be damaging, leading to a situation in which children became immoral and improperly civilised.[3] By the early twentieth century, farm homes were viewed as a means through which the damage of city life could be undone. Civilisation and reformation was supposed to be possible through the combined influence of fresh air, useful work, and the development of wholesome hobbies.

This paper draws on newspaper sources, archival documentation, and the records of parliamentary proceedings to explore the ways in which farms were used and justified as inherently beneficial educational spaces. Focusing on institutions which explicitly sought to reform children and young people who had committed crimes or were otherwise understood to be deviant, it argues that the farm was believed to be an educational alternative to more punitive means of addressing the behaviours of these young people. It also argues, however, that the educational use of the farm was rarely scrutinised or tested. Institutions housing children were, for most of Australia's history, allowed to operate with minimal supervision, leading to conditions which facilitated neglect and abuse.[4] The institutional farm as a site of education and reform must be understood in this light. These were institutions which appeared to offer a gentle, positive way of teaching vulnerable young people how to behave in their society. They often fell far short of that ideal.

[1] Butterworth, "Farm Home for Boys, Westbrook (1919-1966)."

[2] "Gosford Farm Home for Boys (1911-1923)."

[3] Russell, *Savage or Civilised?*

[4] Senate Community Affairs References Committee, "Forgotten Australians: A Report on Australians Who Experienced Institutional or out-of-Home Care as Children."

Between education and work: childhood construction in rural space of the North Western province of Russian Empire at the turn of the 19/20th. centuries (the case of Eastern Latvia) (English)

Arnis Strazdins (University of Latvia)

The distinction between rural and urban space marks a spatial detachment that not only differentiates the environment of life physically (Woods, 2011), but also marks different economical and social lifestyle conditions. These conditions are essential to form the understanding and views of society concerning the childhood. Russian Empire was a heterogenous state in ethnic and religious ways in which was also an uneven and regionally different level of development and culture. That was a purpose of different social life requirements in different regions of the Empire (Burbank; von Hagen; Remnev, 2007). The life of children in rural area has always been in interaction with nature and mainly flowed differently than it was in urban space; there was difference between the everyday life of children in rural and urban spatials (Giddings; Yarwood, 2005). The construction of existing childhood in rural space is in hybrid conditions because it consists of components that describe everyday life of a child as a non-grown-up (classes, playing, hanging out with peers, taking care of adults, the lack of autonomy) as well as components that considers the everyday life of adults (duties of adults that are accomplished by a child, child is responsible for an earnings in family, a child works and does not attend classes) (Heywood, 2002). That is why some questions should be answered - what is everyday of child in rural space like, what is

the process of constructing the childhood, which environmental factors affect the hybridization of the childhood? The answers will be searched by prospecting the construction of the childhood in North-Western provinces of the Russian Empire, especially paying attention to rural space in territory of Latvia at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of 20th century.

There will be used published and non-published written sources of history. An important source is data of Census in the Russian Empire in 1897 that reveals an information of family structures and changes of it. A crucial sources of history are memories of everyday life in childhood, as well as press, that forms and reflects the views of society concerning the childhood will be used in this research.

The theoretical part of this research is made out of spatial theory; however the everyday life of a child will be analysed according to childhood geography. 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 will be used in this research.

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6.7 PANEL NATURE: IDEAS AND EMBODIMENTS

Chair: Kari Dehli /University of Toronto)

'Tone' in elementary school teacher training in England at the turn of the 20th century: The case of the Hucknall-Torkard Pupil Teacher Centre (English)

Yukiko Matsumoto (The Health Sciences University of Hokkaido)

In this presentation, I will examine the 'tone' expected in elementary school teacher-training in England at the turn of the 20th century, specifically in Pupil Teacher Centres (PTCs), and discuss how the 'tone' deemed suitable for the increasingly feminized profession came about and was related to the idea of feminine 'nature'.

PTCs were a by-product of the pupil-teacher (PT) system introduced in the mid-19th century. PTs were predominantly female pupils chosen as they finished elementary school to work as assistant teachers, and to study for scholarship examinations to enter two-year teacher-training college where they could gain certified teacher status.

Female PTs, usually from upper working-class/lower middle-class families took this course as the only way to gain financial independence in a 'profession'. With ambition considered 'unnatural' for middle-class girls, they were strongly censored and required to have middle-class 'tone'. While students from 'elementary' education ended by becoming young workers, and those in 'primary' education continued on to 'secondary' education, PTC was an 'unnatural' 'secondary-school-like' institution, providing part-time academic education beyond the elementary level to originally working-class PTs, with the possibility of higher (albeit vocational) education. While PTs succeeded in national exams, PTCs were castigated by inspectors for their 'too ambitious' curricula, and before the 1902 Education Act, it was decided PTCs should be abolished (Robinson, Simon, Widdowson, Jones).

The Hucknall-Torkard PTC on the outskirts of Nottingham was founded in 1904, quite late in PTC history. Nottingham boasted a progressive elementary education, and helped by the local self-made businessman and politician John Mundella (known for his work on the Elementary Education Act of 1870) and its PTs' good performance in national exams, the city was able to resist the national trend for closing PTCs, although Hucknall-Torkard was turned into a secondary school by 1922 (Wardle).

The PTC's 'senior mistress' and virtual co-principal was Ella Sharpe. From a working-class family, an ex-PT and later a successful psychoanalyst, she was a socioeconomically exemplary PT who crossed the class divide. Her biographies are in keeping with the required 'tone': they do not mention her being an ex-PT, but note that due to her Shakespeare-loving father's premature death, she gave up studying at Oxford and went to Nottingham University to become a teacher, even though in fact her father died much later (Taylor, Wahl, Whelan).

I will examine three HMI reports: from 1906 and 1912 on the PTC, and from 1922 on the secondary school it became. The earlier two inspectors repeatedly commended the 'tone', but this word did not appear in the secondary school report. I will also analyse a scrapbook made by the PTC. Ostensibly a gift to Florence Golding, the inspectors' local contact at the Nottingham Education Office, (a teacher-training college graduate herself, and a niece of Mundella), it was a strategic argument for the PTC's survival, emphasizing its cultured and feminine 'tone' and including exemplary activities.

I will also discuss how 'tone' was perceived and used in the PTC, and how middle-class family-based feminine 'nature' politics were performed in elementary teacher training.

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The food discourse about the maternal role. Tensions in the notes and advertisements of the Argentine newspaper *La Nación*, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th (English)

Silvia María Aletti (Universidad de San Andrés)

The objective of this paper is to describe the role of the newspaper as an educational actor for women (Borrat, 1989, Califano, 2015) on food and food education issues, based on the textual content analysis of all copies of the Argentine newspaper *La Nación*, between the years 1885 and 1920.

From the perspective of the social History of Education, which defines its object of study as the set of modes, means and social relations of production, transmission, appropriation and distribution of knowledge (Cucuzza, 2001), the newspaper *La Nación* represented a source to investigate the History of Food Education.

At the same time that the journalistic message -in its notes and advertisements- transmitted knowledge, sensibilities, practices and values linked to food and food education and helped to naturalize the feminine role as a woman-mother-hygienic, guarantor of a safe diet and guardian of the health and well-being of the family.

Among other ideas that the newspaper conveyed about the feeding of the child, breastfeeding - as a natural food - was a legitimating concept to promote, through its notes, educational projects for women aligned with the discourse of hygienists and nurses.

In a critical urban context for obtaining "hygienic" / pasteurized milk and with a high infant mortality rate caused mainly by digestive disorders, the reference in the advertising discourse to certain qualities and functions of milk allowed him to define the nature (good or bad) of the food, especially in those destined to the feeding of the boy and the woman. In the case of milk advertisements, the mention of their natural appearance was associated with the

conditions of "purity and asepsis". Whereas, the reference to the natural composition of the food was linked to its qualities as "fortifying and disease-releasing". That is to say, that the mention to the natural condition of the food was a discursive construction linked to the hegemonic medical-scientific ideas in those years, such as hygiene or eugenic ideas, respectively.

In the newspaper *La Nación*, the tensions linked to the ways of feeding the nursing child and the female role in the home were expressed, with implications for women's food education throughout the period. Among them, breastfeeding versus artificial feeding associated with the promotion for the consumption of infant formulas, risky for the health of infants and breastfeeding versus breastfeeding carried out by the milkmaids or wet nurses -judged by the hygienists as "mercenaries" (Nari, 2004; Mazzeo, 2006).

In this way, the analysis of notes and advertisements of the newspaper *La Nación* between the years 1885 and 1920 highlighted its educational function. The journalistic message transmitted knowledge, beliefs and values about food, at the same time as it helped to naturalize certain aspects of food and the female role related to her food education.

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Full time Integral education in Brazil: an education for human nature? (English)

Marcela Paolis (Universidade de Brasília)

I would like to begin this reflection from the question: is there a human nature? And if it exists, is there a proper way to educate it? These questions are not new and they have already been answered in different ways by several authors at many points in history. So, why do these questions continue to hang over educational practices and studies? I believe there is a need to find an answer for it, a sure path to teaching action, as if it were possible to choose a single direction, a lighthouse that would guide pedagogical practice and guarantee the success of the educational process. The truth is that education is not an activity that has guaranteed income and its history shows us an infinity of possibilities, paths, right answers and misunderstandings.

One of the fields of research and educational practice that often uses the discourse on the existence of an appropriate model to human nature is the integral education or complete education. During an interview conducted in 2017, a teaching supervisor from the public

school system of São Paulo – the largest municipal network in the country – told me that integral education is the only way possible for the development of young people, for their transformation into citizens and for the guarantee of their rights. This speech expresses a common notion that education is needed to stimulate the complexity of human nature. The same idea underlies the construction of public educational institutions and public policies for basic education in several regions of Brazil: in Brasilia in the 1950s; in Rio de Janeiro in the 1980s and in Sao Paulo from the 2000s.

In this paper, I would like to briefly reflect on the idea of multiplicity and completeness of human nature suggested by principals and supervisors from public schools system of São Paulo. These interviews were done in 2017, during a master research. These people were responsible for several actions for full time education related to the government program “Mais educação” developed during 2007 – 2016, which I will briefly introduce. This public policy was write in dialogue to Anisio Teixeira and Darcy Ribeiro theory and experiences.

In this proposal, I intend to present some of the pedagogical ideas practiced in schools of integral education in Brazil (GADOTTI, 2009; MOLL, 2012; TEIXEIRA, 1959;); and its relations to government programs (“Mais educação” Portaria nº 17/2007 and nº 1.144/2016). In this course there is a link between what is considered essential for personal development, the historical determinations of the notion of human nature, and the role of education in the social transformation of Brazilian public school students.

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6.8 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL CONTENT

Chair: Klaus Dittrich (The Education University of Hong Kong),

Educating the public on nature and the environment: the case of Rachel Carson (English)

Ruth Watts (University of Birmingham)

Environmental science and education have become a growing concern in recent times. This paper addresses the work of one of the most influential environmentalists of the twentieth

century – Rachel Carson. She is best known for her powerful, internationally influential yet very controversial book, *Silent Spring*, warning against the environmental dangers of the increasing, widespread use of synthetic pesticides. Here, however, the focus will be on her life-long work in educating the public on nature and conservation. The paper will examine first Rachel Carson's own experiential education in nature and science, both her links with Anna Comstock, whose *Handbook of Nature* guided her childhood explorations, and then her development as a marine biologist and public educator. Subsequently, it will investigate Carson's publications on nature and conservation, using especially her trilogy of best-selling books on the sea and marine life to indicate how they illustrated both her stringent attention to the latest scientific knowledge and research yet conveyed in lyrical prose her underlying love of nature. Her posthumous book *A Sense of Wonder* reveals Carson's inner conviction that in educating the young particularly, it was not so important to "know" as to "feel". The paper will conclude with a discussion of how important was Carson's perception of the best nature education as being both rigorously scientific, yet based on feeling and an underlying love of the wonders of nature and how this could be achieved. It will also consider her role as public educator and where this fits in history of education.

Systems of production in the teaching of Natural Sciences with object lesson textbooks. Spain, 1940-1975 (Español)

Ana Maria Badanelli (UNED), Cecilia Valbuena (UNED)

Spanish education relied considerably on the use of object lesson textbooks, particularly in the first half of the 20th century. The reasons for their prevalence, in comparison to other textbooks of the same period, have to do both with their content – focused on matters of an eminently useful nature – as well as their methodology, which is based on the Pestalozzian method of intuition and the principle of activity. These textbooks were found in Spanish classrooms in one form or another until the mid-1970s. Their initial appearance was linked to the educational authorities' concern with modernizing the school curriculum and introducing new content, particularly in the field of Natural Science, which was conditioned by the principle of usefulness.

The goal of this study is to analyze the relationship between the practical knowledge thus acquired in the realm of the Natural Sciences and other considerations relating to production, i.e., work, personal advancement and the country's general economic growth. From the Franco autarchy through the ensuing era of industrial development, we shall examine the emergence of a new conception which saw the natural world as something for the incipient industry to use and profit from. This micro-analysis is framed in turn within a larger, global study of the evolution in the way that labor, economic and consumer relations were presented in school curricula and in textbooks under Franco. The Regime's educational policy and its goal of linking education with economic development would culminate with the General Education Law of 1970.

For this study we will analyze a sample of school textbooks published between 1940 and the mid-1970s, using the corresponding methodology in which these textbooks are treated as a verbal-iconographic research material. The methodology, therefore, will take a qualitative approach, using as instruments both the critical analysis of discourse and image analysis. We will also focus on the degree to which the textual and iconographic units are associated or coherent with each other; in this way we will address their intertextuality while also observing

the intratextuality of the different texts. We have also made a point of connecting the sources with the different historical, socio-political, economic and educational contexts.

The choice of textbooks was made following previously established criteria based on their being of a grade school level, their having been published by major publishing houses, and the number of editions published, all factors meant to assure a representative sample. The sample size is intended to be large enough to assure the coherence of the analysis.

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Representaciones y ámbitos entre el mundo natural y el mundo social en libros de texto en México. Hacia la formación de la naturaleza humana en el siglo XX (Español)

Antonio Padilla Arroyo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

La historiografía de la educación ha puesto de manifiesto la importancia que han tenido los textos escolares en los procesos de escolarización, los cuales se expresan, entre otras cosas, en la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de saberes científicos y sociales, cuya finalidad es explicar los fenómenos naturales -biológicos, físicos, químicos-, así como comprender e interpretar, en su definición más amplia, los hechos sociales y culturales.

Aquí se considera que los textos escolares incluyen tanto los escritos como los visuales y que, en su materialidad, toman la forma de libros, folletos y manuales a fin de inculcar y divulgar ideas, creencias, opiniones, juicios, conceptos, así como de actitudes, acciones, conductas, comportamientos, prácticas. Unas y otras se expresan mediante lenguajes especializados o cotidianos acerca del mundo natural y del mundo social.

Así, los textos escolares, en cuanto artefacto cultural, tienen entre sus principales objetivos la conformación de los individuos y de los grupos sociales, de su subjetividad, y la producción de experiencias que se desvela por medio del lenguaje, esto es de “lecturas”, de sentidos y significados sobre el mundo. Ambas dimensiones, la subjetividad y las experiencias, son resultado y configuran la naturaleza humana.

En este texto se exploran las representaciones y la recreación de los mundos social y natural, así como las relaciones que se establecen entre esos ámbitos: de la experiencia humana sobre la naturaleza y de la experiencia de la naturaleza sobre el hombre social. Para ello se examinan dos textos escritos que se publicaron en México y que circularon entre diversos públicos: uno de ellos, es un libro de texto escolar titulado *Ortografía*, cuyo autor es Bernardo Zepeda Sahagún, editado en 1965, dirigido expresamente a alumnos y maestros de enseñanza primaria y en consonancia con el programa oficial que las autoridades educativas mexicana prescribieron, mientras que el segundo es una obra publicada en 1936 y titulada *¡Levántate!*, de la autoría del maestro de la Escuela Normal de Veracruz, Luis Hidalgo Monroy, quien la concibió para que circulara entre un público más amplio.

Los criterios para la selección de los textos es, en primer lugar, las materias que tratan: la *Ortografía* como una rama de la Gramática. El contenido de la asignatura reside en que mediante el “arte de escribir correctamente” lo que supone el dominio del lenguaje escrito, es decir, de la cultura escrita. En el caso del libro de Hidalgo Monroy su pertinencia radica en que se trata de un libro de lectura para distintos públicos desde niños hasta ancianos, si bien privilegia al género masculino. El libro entremezcla varios géneros literarios lo que dota al libro de una riqueza discursiva sobre las representaciones y los vínculos que se dan entre naturaleza y sociedad, entre recursos naturales y trabajo. La utilización de las metáforas, las comparaciones y en general de los recursos literarios para representar la naturaleza en cuanto objeto de la biología pero también de recreaciones mediante la palabra, producto de la acción humana y la acción humana moldeada por la biología, es decir por la naturaleza. Denominar y aprehender la naturaleza implica la configuración de la naturaleza humana.

Ambos textos contienen formas de designar la naturaleza natural y la naturaleza humana por lo que constituyen ejemplos de las relaciones entre naturaleza y cultura, entre biología y ciencias humanas.

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Real Gymnasium and its Importance in the Context of Rebirth of Poland in 1918 – Poznan Case (English)

Justyna Dorota Gulczynska (Adam Mickiewicz University)

Key words: pedagogy in the 19th and early 20th centuries; New Education; US pragmatism; real gymnasium; real school; Poland after the restoration of its independence in 1918; organization of education system in Poland after 1918

The subject of the article is the real gymnasium and its implementation in Poland after the restoration of its independence in 1918.

Real gymnasium is a type of institutional education, functioning in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It was a secondary general education school that typically emphasizes mathematics and natural sciences. Its goal was to educate in a practical, useful and polytechnic spirit. This type of school was developed in Poland under Prussian partition, but also since Poland's independence.

The year 1918 became one of the most important dates in Polish history – Poland reclaimed its sovereignty after having been absent from the map of Europe for 123 years.

One of the most important objectives of reviving Poland was to rebuild and “repolonize” education. According to experts' opinion the schooling was supposed to become the driving force within education of the young Polish generation, that were going to serve Poland in a great number of fields. Education understood in that way had to be properly implemented, among others by employing schools with innovative teaching methods, such as practical and useful teaching.

In this context, it is important to remember that the period of recovering of Poland coincided with the time of the development of new movements in pedagogy – the "New Education" in Europe, and pragmatism in the USA.

The type of real gymnasium that was functioning for a long time in the school system, as well as innovative tendencies in pedagogy, undoubtedly influenced the direction of Polish education after 1918.

In this context, the real school became the main tool to execute the above-mentioned objectives: practical approach and “repolonization”. To see the whole picture of the real

school and its importance in Poland in the presented period, the author referred to the example of the real gymnasium in Poznan.

The aim of the article is to show how and to what extent real gymnasium contributed, through appropriate education and upbringing of Polish youth, to the redevelopment of Poland after regaining independence in 1918. Therefore, the author tries to answer the following questions:

- How developed the social and political situation in Poland after 1918, i.e. since its independence?
- How the unification of education process proceeded in Poland in the years 1918 – 1921?
- How did the type of real gymnasium operated in the context of the Polish education system of the time (the example of the Berger Real Gymnasium in Poznan)?
- How did the real gymnasium fit into the then innovative direction in pedagogy, i.e. naturalism and pragmatism?
- How did the real gymnasium contribute to the education of future intellectual elites serving Poland and its reconstruction?

The theoretical framework of the article consists of the following areas and their characteristics: Poland since its independence in 1918; organization of education in Poland after 1918; pedagogy in the 19th and early 20th centuries; New Education; pragmatism; real gymnasium.

The main research method used is the analysis of source documents and literature on the subject.

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6.9 PANEL EDUCATION AND NATURE: POLITICAL DIMENSIONS

Chair: Marianne Helfenberger (University of Zurich)

January 1993 – The Founding Meeting of Education International (English)

Harry Smaller (York University)

Headquartered in Brussels, Education International (EI), an international union network organization, claims to represent education unions in 170 countries, with a total membership of 32 million teachers and other educators. 2018 marks an auspicious occasion for EI – the 25th anniversary of its founding, in January 1993. Much is made on the organization's current website of its "history, values and activities," "[a] quarter of a century after its inception."

In fact, the "history" of EI goes back much further than 25 years. Its "inception" in 1993 was actually a long-planned-for "marriage" of two long-standing former adversaries – the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) and the International Federation of Free Teacher Unions (IFFTU). After several years of back-and-forth discussions, reports and interim agreements, the final, and highly-orchestrated "founding" event occurred in a conference centre in Stockholm. In adjoining rooms, the two organizations each held ultimate assemblies approving the amalgamation - which was followed immediately, and to much applause, by the removal of the separating wall and the convening of the inaugural meeting of the new organization.

The history of international teacher union networks extends far back, even before the beginning of the 20th century. By the end of the decade following World War One, several organizations with international aspirations had been established, representing teachers in differing levels of schools, differing geographic regions, and differing "professional vs. labour union" orientations. Following the Second World War, and as the Cold War progressed, at least five major, and competing, international teacher union networks emerged. While all espoused commitment to supporting post-war global understanding and peace, I would argue that some, or much of the *raison d'être* of each centred on their attachments to competing regional and/or global political forces (East and West, North and South). IFFTU and WCOTP certainly shared these animosities – not surprisingly, given that they each continued to be very much steered by the mutual acrimonies of their original USA-based architects, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association.

It is perhaps not surprising then, that with the events leading up to the fall of the Berlin Wall - and the growing belief within the two organizations that their competing anti-communist ideologies would soon no longer be relevant - amalgamation talks soon began. Even a brief post-Wall period, where both networks competed strenuously for attention among teacher organizations in the newly liberated areas of Eastern Europe, did not seem to interrupt these discussions significantly. By January of 1993, all was in place to formally initiate a new era in global teacher union activities.

Drawing on oral histories, primary and secondary documents, and media reports, the presentation will begin with a brief overview of the history of international teacher union networks, with a particular focus on the two founding members of EI. This will be followed by a closer examination of inter and intra-relations of the two organizations, relative to the events and decisions leading up to the founding meeting in Stockholm.

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Nature and Nurture in the 1950s. Dutch Research on Potential of Working Class Youth (1948-1960) (English)

Hilda Trijntje AlidaAmsing (University of Groningen)

After World War II many politicians and pedagogues were interested in youth, as the promise for a better future. But although the hopes were high, there were worries about the moral decline of youngsters. In 1948 Minister Gielen of Education funded a famous research project to get insight in the phenomenon of the “mass-youth”, or “degraded youth”, youth from unstable, merely working class families. The goal of this research was to investigate the mentalities of the so-called degraded youth. Typical for this research was the link the researchers made between personal development of the individual and developments in society. Primacy was placed on nurture, not nature. The modern industrialized Western culture was considered to be a threat to a harmonic personal development. To overcome this threat, youngsters needed proper role-models, and especially sensible and caring parents. However, in this very same year the Minister also funded another, less famous research project, which was also –at least partly– focused on working class youth. This research concentrated on education, since education was considered crucial for raising citizens for a better future. The project aimed at finding ways to improve school advices, so children would conduct a school carrier that suited their potential. Although education was its central focus, this research was psychological in nature. The Committee under the chair of Mr. J. Cramer , called Committee for Research on the Developmental Potentials of the Dutch Youth, shortly “Cramer Committee”, aimed to improve decisions regarding school carriers based on the findings of experimental psychology and the use of psychological tests. But the Committee not only looked at innate characteristics, it also looked into the influence of nurture, in the form of the influence of youth movement, the role of the family, the role of the school and the role of the employers. Based on archive material of this committee, this paper offers an insight into the perspectives on working class youth within this research project along the dimensions of nature and nurture. The question asked is whether and how innate psychological characteristics were related to working class youth, boys and girls, and how this related to recommendations regarding to school advice policies.

Raza, estado nacional y escolarización en la construcción de alteridades pedagógicas. Discursos sociales, políticos y pedagógicos sobre pueblos indígenas y migrantes en los debates argentinos (1880-1930) (Español)

Sofía Irene Thisted (UBA- UNLP)

En esta ponencia se propone abordar cómo se fueron delineando las consideraciones en torno a quiénes han sido construidos como alteridades y cómo la raza ha sido central en el tratamiento que se propuso para los pueblos indígenas y migrantes. El trabajo releva cómo el pensamiento europeo ha sostenido posiciones racialistas articulando distintos postulados del liberalismo, del positivismo, del biologicismo darwinista y cómo estas perspectivas fueron recuperadas por los integrantes de las elites y también por quienes integran el campo pedagógico, con matices y diferencias relevantes, en el contexto de unificación territorial y masivas inmigraciones. Por un lado, la atención se detiene en los procesos de inferiorización de aquellos que han sido construidos como alteridades y cómo esto se ha articulado con planteos sobre las expectativas de normalización de las infancias, de las familias y de los propios docentes. Por otro, se hace foco en cómo, en ese momento, proliferaron entre

intelectuales europeos posiciones que colocaron en el centro la categoría de raza y los atributos fenotípicos para explicar la organización social, los procesos históricos y los modos de intervenir a futuro ya que fueron lectura que informaba los discursos sobre educación.

En Latinoamérica se construyeron significados locales donde la cuestión del color de piel siguió combinándose de múltiples formas con cuestiones vinculadas a la reputación de las personas. La biología y la cultura fueron fuentes de legitimación de debates de la época. La raza resultó fuente de legitimación de exclusiones que no sólo tuvieron como asidero el color de la piel o la “pureza de la sangre” sino que responden a razones geo-políticas locales, nacionales e internacionales. La configuración de naciones homogéneas encontró en la raza una categoría que resultó de utilidad y en la escuela un espacio de apropiación y construcción de significados específicos. Interesa analizar cómo los discursos sociales, políticos y pedagógicos que situaron a la “raza” en un espacio central, también, en ese mismo acto, situaron a la escuela y a sus proyectos político pedagógicos como estratégicos en su abordaje.

Los indígenas fueron situados inicialmente como amenaza y luego como autóctonos y extinguidos pero también sobre la inmigración, inicialmente asociada a la llegada de la civilización y luego, mirada con recelo por sus identificaciones políticas. Se analizan los modos en que el retoman en algunos pensadores latinoamericanos y, específicamente, en Argentina las relaciones entre raza, nación y escolarización. Y luego indaga en cómo se retoman los atributos étnicos y nacionales en las argumentaciones en los debates sobre los destinos de la política pública. Finalmente, y partiendo de que estos procesos se hallan profundamente imbricados, se analizaron las iniciativas propuestas para el ámbito escolar y en los modos en que éstas son apropiadas y/o resistidas por inspectores, docentes, niños, niñas y familias.

La escuela rural mexicana. Un proyecto para incorporar la niñez rural a la cultura moderna en los inicios del siglo XX (Español)

Monica del Carmen Meza-Mejía (Universidad Panamericana)

En la búsqueda de modelos para educar en las comunidades más desprotegidas de México en los inicios del siglo XX, la Secretaría de Educación Pública creó una institución: la Escuela Rural, para desarrollar una nueva imagen de la educación y romper con aquella otra asociada con el pasado inmediato. La idea era integrar a la niñez rural y a la indígena en una misma institución para de tal manera establecer la relación entre la comunidad, dar al maestro una conciencia vecinal, hacer que la escuela fuera la casa del pueblo y el pueblo la casa de la escuela.

La escuela rural mexicana era el espacio físico en donde se implementaría un nuevo concepto educativo, capaz de atender las necesidades y características propias del lugar en donde se estableciera dicha institución. La revolución Mexicana forma su escuela, y en consecuencia, aparece como una de sus más importantes manifestaciones la Escuela Rural, la escuela del campo, para la gente del campo y sobre la vida del campo.

Tal centro educativo perseguía varios propósitos. Uno fundamental, fue el de incorporar a la niñez mexicana de diversas razas indígenas dentro de la familia mexicana como nación. Asimismo, llevar a los niños de las comunidades rurales, de manera paulatina, pero constantemente, de lo que se consideraba etapas inferiores de vida en que se encontraban hacia planos superiores en que pudiera disfrutar de una vida más satisfactoria y más

completa; es decir, el propósito general de la educación rural consistió en incorporar a la niñez rural mexicana, considerada entonces retrasada, a la cultura moderna.

La pregunta por tanto a discutir en esta ponencia, es la eficacia del proyecto de la Escuela Rural por el cual, el Estado educador pretendió resolver los problemas capitales de la vida campesina y transformarla en todos los aspectos, incluso de su entorno natural, para incorporar a los niños campesinos al progreso de principios del siglo XX mexicano, posterior a la Revolución. Un entorno asociado a la industrialización y a la urbanización, a la modernización social y cultural de las ciudades, que se convirtieron en centros impulsores de las reformas, por un lado y por otro lado, al pensamiento de expandir los sistemas escolares nacionales, controlados por el Estado, mediante la federalización de la enseñanza.

Moisés Sáenz y Rafael Ramírez Castañeda, artífices del proyecto de la Escuela Rural, buscaron orientar la acción rural educativa por medio de una educación activa y el aprendizaje a través de la práctica, siguiendo los principios de John Dewey del aprendizaje en la acción.

6.10 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT (1)

Chair: Jane Weiß (Humboldt University Berlin)

Education, outdoor life and amusement activities on the coast of Fortaleza between 1900 and 1930 (English)

Nara Romero Montenegro (Universidade Estadual de Campinas)

This research aims to analyse the historical changes relating to education, outdoor life and amusement activities on the Brazilian coast of Fortaleza between the year 1900 and 1930. For this, historical sources such as newspapers (Jornal do Ceará and Jornal Opovo), magazines (A Jandaia, Ceará Ilustrado and Bataclan), novels (PAIVA, 1961), chronicles (AZEVEDO, 1992; NOGUEIRA, 1954; ALENCAR, 1980) and images will be discussed. For the purpose of this research, the concept of education is understood in a polysemic way, composed by many cultural processes that imply knowledge and practice of the traditions of a society with the objective of introducing individuals and groups into different spheres of public life (ROCHA, 2009; SOARES, 2014; MORENO, SEGANTINE, 2008).

The coast of Fortaleza was inhabited by fishermen and dockers in the year 1900. During this period, due to the Social Hygiene Movement, the population was influenced to use the coast for other purposes. With the advent of modern science, diseases and cures which were previously explained by superstitious means, began to be explained by scientific methods. From that, the benefits of having an outdoor life were discovered. The architecture of the houses changed, more windows and green spaces were added. This had influenced the population to move from the centres to a more ventilated place. The dissemination of a physical culture became part of daily needs, influencing educational and amusement practices.

Until 1925, part of Fortaleza's coast was called Praia do Peixe (Fish Beach) and part of the intellectual elite of Fortaleza considered this name vulgar for a beach located in a city that wished to be modern (PONTE, 1993). In 1925, a successful campaign called led by writers, journalists and politicians aimed to change the name of the beach to Praia de Iracema

(Iracema Beach). The new name honoured a famous indigenous novel, *Iracema* (1865), written by José de Alencar, one of the most famous and influential Romantic novelists in Brazil. The substitution of the name indicated many changes in the way people related to this place. In 1930, part of the coast had already been inhabited and institutions, such as sports clubs, restaurants and hotels started to appear on Praia de Iracema.

Consequently, the years between 1900 and 1930 marked the history of Fortaleza's coast. It can now be defined as a complex space which is used for different purposes, especially those concerned with educational practices and amusement activities such as sports, physical exercises, gymnastics, swimming, among others. This paper belongs to the history of education field and has explored the relationship between education and outdoor life.

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Natur in den Freizeitaktivitäten von Gymnasien in Ungarn (1867–1918) (Deutsch)

Magdolna Rébay (University of Debrecen)

Zwischen 1867 und 1918 waren Geographie, Naturgeschichte, Physik und Chemie obligatorische Fächer in den höheren Schulen in Ungarn. In meiner Forschung beschäftigte ich mich damit, wie die Natur außer dem Unterricht, in den schulischen Freizeitaktivitäten von Gymnasiasten erschien. Wurde Natur als pädagogisches Mittel wahrgenommen? Wurde also in und mit der Natur unterrichtet? Wurde deshalb neben den künstlichen eine natürliche Lernumwelt geschaffen? Wurde Natur auch als Bewegungsmöglichkeit betrachtet?

Um die Fragen beantworten zu können, habe ich vier Gymnasien gewählt: zwei königlich katholische Gymnasien (Budapest, Preßburg), das reformierte Gymnasium von Debrecen und das Jesuitenkolleg von Kalocsa. Alle diese Schulen hatten Internat, was eine „großzügigere“ Zeit- und Raumgestaltung ermöglicht hatte. Die Hauptquellen der Forschung waren die Jahresberichte der Schulen. Ich benutzte weiterhin andere schulische Dokumente, wie Fotos, Prospekte der Internate und Schulzeitungen. Zu den Ergebnissen kam ich Anhand von klassischer Forschungsmethode der Geschichtswissenschaft: durch die Analyse von Primärquellen.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhundert wurde in Ungarn die wirtschaftliche Modernisierung fortgesetzt und die bürgerliche Gesellschaft etabliert. Dieses neue Bürgertum rief – nach internationalen Beispielen – die Touristikbewegung hervor, was für die Mittelschulbildung einen wichtigen Einfluss übte (vgl. Gyr, 2000; Prein, 2005; Kaschuba, 1995). Von den Bildungsministern wurden die Studienreisen empfohlen und mit Reise-Rabatt unterstützt. Den teilnehmenden Lehrern boten sie Tageslohn an. Das Ziel dieser Reisen wurde 1895 festgestellt: die Ergänzung der naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht, Sammlung von Erfahrungen in der Heimatkunde (Geschichte, Literatur und Ethnographie) und körperliche Erziehung. Die Schüler besuchten tatsächlich nicht nur kulturelle Sehenswürdigkeiten oder Industrieanlagen, sondern entdeckten sie die Natur: kletterten in den Gebirgen, ruderten auf den Flüssen. Das Ungarische Geographische Institut half den Schulen mit Wegweiser über Budapest, die Untere Donau und den Plattensee. Sehr beliebtes Zielpunkt war auch die Tatra. (Tóth, 2009) In Debrecen verabschiedete die Schulleitung ein Studienreiseplan: in jedem Jahr könnten die freiwillig angemeldeten Schüler andere Gebiete des Landes entdecken. Diejenigen Schüler, die die nötige Summe nicht hatten, könnten die Schule um Unterstützung bitten.

Die Gymnasien organisierten ebenfalls kleinere Ausflüge in die nähere Umgebung, manchmal um Material für den naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht zu sammeln, obwohl alle Schule Fachkabinette – wie Mineraliensammlung, Herbarium oder Tiersammlung – hatten. In Debrecen gab es sogar seit 1840 botanischer Garten. Die Natur wurde also als Lern- und Erfahrungsort betrachtet – im Sinne von Comenius und Rousseau, aber jedoch nicht unabhängig von den neuesten pädagogischen und sozialen Bewegungen (Reformpädagogik und Lebensreform).

Sie war aber gleichfalls Erholungsort. Der zweite Zweck der kleineren Ausflüge war nämlich die Bewegung, damit die Schüler ihre geistigen Anstrengungen kompensieren können. Zum Beispiel die Schüler des Jesuitenkollegs von Kalocsa wanderten regelmäßig mit Picknickkörben zum Donauufer um da zu spielen, Sport zu treiben, oder sich einfach in Gesellschaft der Klassenkameraden zu erholen. In Preßburg hatten die Schüler einen Spielplatz ebenfalls auf

dem Donauufer, sie verbrachten aber da vom Jahrhundertbeginn den obligatorischen Spielnachmittag.

Am Ende der gewählten Zeitperiode erschienen in Ungarn die Wandervogel- (1909) und die Pfadfinderbewegung (1910), von denen die letztere nach dem ersten Weltkrieg stark das Schulalltag prägte. Unter den ersten wurde die Pfadfindergruppe des ausgewählten Budapester Gymnasiums gegründet (1912). (Kiss, 2016; Gergely, 1989, S. 20).

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The main dimensions of field/nature trips that can be drawn from the history of Zionist and Israeli education (1888-2017) (English)

Yuval Dror (Tel Aviv University)

"Field trip" is defined in Oxford Dictionary of Education (2015, p. 109) "An organized visit for pupils and students [...] for the purpose of carrying out a field study or some activity relevant to their curriculum. "Learning Through Landscapes" (LTL) (ibid, p. 169) is "A charitable body whose aim is to encourage outdoor learning experiences for children in order to stimulate their interest in nature and the environment and to help develop their social skills [...] in Scotland [...] and in Wales". Similar definitions for trip/travel/tour/visit, school/study/learning and nature/outdoor/environmental/extra-curricular activities are found in several other dictionaries and handbooks of education, as detailed below.

Here, I would like to expand on the main dimensions of field/nature trips that were drawn from the history of Zionist and Israeli education (1888-2017) in both its "Nation/State" building periods and after the State settled down, and were analyzed according to these definitions. In order to generalize such dimensions, I used the 'research synthesis' method ("an umbrella term which includes a range of styles of bringing together into a single expert review or report several studies and summaries on a particular topic", L. Cohen et al., 2011). I have studied the central articles, chapters and books which summarize the main primary and secondary sources regarding field/nature study trips, covering the years 1888 (the beginning of Zionist movement) to 2017 ("recent history", almost 70 years of Israel State).

The main common dimensions of the field/nature trips that were found are:

(1) The basic and combined dimensions of these trips are 'time' (including age) and 'range': a trip lasting one hour or two in the vicinity of the kindergarten or school, illustrating a topic in the curriculum; one day tour once a month to the area where the children live; an excursion or study camp, usually once a year and during secondary education, lasting some days to distant areas.

(2) Another aspect of 'time' and national education: In the pre-state "Nation/State" building period (1888-1948) the Jewish community fostered its' Zionist national education via these trips apart of the Arabic population. After the establishment of Israel (1948-2017) the Ministry of Education was and is strengthening the trips as part of the national education reaching all the populations, including the Arab pupils. In spite of the deep difficulties, more pluralistic and 'knowing the other' approach is slowly but surely replacing the sole Zionist national education.

(3) The trips are organized by varied types of agencies – school (college/university) and non-formal organizations like youth movements and community centers as well.

(4) The aims of these trips are both formal and informal: develop a connection to the immediate place and to the entire country; connections to the subjects studied (homeland, geography, nature, history, Bible - and in recent decades environmental education) - and usage of the informal nature of the atmosphere during the trip: the emotional-aesthetic domain, the social sphere, personal and collective development, relaxation and positive leisure.

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Shaping nature in „World and Environmental Studies“ for lower secondary education. Curriculum reform and educational media development beyond disciplinary frontiers in a period of educational reform in Germany (1960ies – 1970ies) (English)
 Steffen Sammler (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research)

The paper focuses a period characterised by questioning the traditional idyllic representation of man – nature relations in curricula and textbooks addressing younger students. At the same moment the teaching of nature has been challenged by euphoric visions of a future education for a science and technology-based civilisation driven by new educational technologies.

The paper asks against this backdrop if and how this period can be studied in a perspective of a growing awareness for the risks of a science based industrial society bringing nature back into the educational discourses and practices.

The case of the Federal Republic of Germany is offering a particularly fruitful example for such an analysis. From the middle of the 1960s onward, education policymakers worked on experimental comprehensive school settings in what was then almost exclusively a three-tier secondary educational landscape, implementing in Lower Saxony and Bremen a compulsory comprehensive 'orientation phase' for grade 5 and 6 across all school types.

In this compulsory comprehensive 'orientation phase' man – nature relations have been taught in a new school subject "World and Environmental Studies" offering a transdisciplinary approach from geography, history and citizenship education.

The paper studies the well documented intense societal debate about "World and Environmental Studies" which questioned presupposed structural path dependency of a science based industrial society and defended the capacity of human freedom to shape

nature and society. It examines curriculum development, production of educational media and educational practices related to this subject. It compares Curricula and teaching materials for “World- and Environmental Studies” with curricula and teaching materials in German regions (Länder) maintaining a strong disciplinary approach in the teaching of 5th and 6th grade students.

The paper promises new insights in our understanding of the relationship between societal debate and the development of new school subject answering to societal challenges and a new understanding of nature. It shows how new curricula and new educational media (educational television) contributed to a new understanding of teaching man – nature relations to this age group.

The analysis of “One World” perspectives and historical and contemporary comparative approaches proposed in the curriculum and the related educational media permits to answer the question whether non-Western perspectives on man – nature relations served only as a foil for implicitly or explicitly highlighting a dominant Western development path or being taught as equal models of interpreting and living man – nature relations.

6.11 PANEL CONSTRUCTING NATURE IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS AND MATERIALS

Chair: Marc Dapaepe (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

The Illustrated Albums of the Interior of São Paulo: Incarnated Modernity (English)

Raquel Discini Campos (Universidade Federal de Uberlândia)

The northwest of Sao Paulo is one of the richest regions of the state. This region developed along with the national coffee production, constituting as one of the state pioneer fronts of the early twentieth century, as shown by Milliet (1938). Such region was a pole of attraction for immigrants who came to grub the so-called land of unknown backwoods and rapidly transformed it in one of the most dynamic economic centers of Brazil. It is worth mentioning that along with this development of railroads and farms, it was in these spring cities that disseminated the signs of ongoing progress: pavement, foundation of newspapers, schools and hospitals among other icons of the urban lifestyle that was being consolidated - and that also held its reverse. Poverty, illiteracy, increase of social inequality, abandonment of children, elderly through the slots of Sao Paulo. In that time and space, one of the practices of the literate in that region was editing the acclaimed Illustrated Albums. They became a trend in the social life of Sao Paulo’s countryside in the first half of the twentieth century, mixing statistics, advertising, memory, journalism and a number of diverse themes, among which, population’s formal or informal education. The foundation of school groups, middle/training school and colleges were a recurrent chapter. We understand that the groups’ projects that launched and consumed them are embodied in the project of the albums, which was to take a civilization model, very characteristic beyond the borders of this region where they were produced - and also to attract investments and give visibility to the pioneer zone of ascension. Previous research have already demonstrated that the groups that put them in circulation

were responsible for the creation and maintenance of an intellectual environment of the northwest of Sao Paulo. An environment that sought to build means to civilize the backwoods that occupied and was considered inhospitable and wild (AUTOR, 2009). Invariably, such groups edited the newspapers and magazines of the region, produced literature, uttered the lectures and conferences (medical, aesthetical, and educational) in the spaces for sociability, they founded schools, professional and philanthropic associations.. The communication aims to present the materiality of albums of land areas of Sao Paulo according to Roger Chartier's propositions (1995). Besides that, it will discuss the albums as cultural products that manifest the desires of a singular social group regarding its regional characteristics, but also is plural, concerning the dialogue with ongoing projects of other groups of the first half of that century, in Brazil and world. It is inferred, that the more relevant themes in the albums, such as education, urbanization, philanthropy and many others that are in dialogue with a bigger collective project in course in the western world at the time: the liberal bourgeois project.

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Nature as an open and progressive construction: a pre-condition of education and a requirement of didactical experiences (English)

Luciana Bellatalla (University of Ferrara)

Starting points: The paper must start from a general consideration and from a definition. The consideration: For a lot of centuries, education has been defined and organized as a process of conformation of young generations to adult values and social expectations, especially on the ground of a Nature, judged as an absolute, perfect and ontologic datum. The definition: On the contrary, a genuine education is only an open and continuous process of improvement of individuals and social groups.

The main question: When and why may education be considered an open and continuous process of improvement of individuals and social groups instead of an instrument of social conformation, fixed by natural gifts or characters? The transition to a new conception of education is offered just by a new approach to Nature, as the well-known Galileo's scientific revolution suggests and implies.

Educational consequences: This theory, though it required more than two centuries to bear fruit in educational field, has twofold educational implications. From a theoretical point of view, such a doctrine opened the way to a new idea of education and moreover, allowed to think of education in a scientific perspective; from a practical point of view, such a doctrine opened the way to a potentially new conception of didactics. The first implication ripened in the second half of sixteenth century, when philosophers and intellectuals began to debate about the Science (or Sciences) of Education. The debate is still alive and rich of suggestions. The second implication ripened particularly at the end of sixteenth and the beginnings of seventeenth, with the so-called Copernican revolution and new educational perspective, when also didactics was affected by the spirit of change.

Historical examples: To show the concrete implications we can refer, on one side, to Dewey and to his model of school (with the interaction among class-room library, museum, garden and farm) and his didactical model of learning by doing on the ground of his general, theoretical, scientific and complex approach to educational field; and, on the other, to some educational and didactical experiences, which, in Italy, from the sisters Nigrisoli to Maria Maltoni, play on the idea of Nature and on a renewed approach to teaching/learning activity just in the field of Natural Sciences. The paper will present these experiences both in the primary schools of Portomaggiore, near Ferrara, and in the primary school of San Gersolè, near Florence, describing the daily life of these pupils with examples and images. The paper will stress the characters of children's creativity, their analysis of the natural environment, their compositions and their painting essays as examples of this new approach to Nature and scientific education. Moreover, it is interesting, in conclusion, to see the longue durée character of these experiences, taking into account a similar contemporary didactical practice like Orto in condotta, promoted, in Tuscany, by Slow food association.

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Les savoirs et pratiques naturels et la définition d'une « pédagogie de terrain » en histoire en contexte camerounais (Français)

Meboma Ntouala Arnold Sosthene (Université de Yaoundé)

Cette communication présente un pan d'une recherche en cours sur les modalités de construction de la conscience historique par les élèves au Cameroun, à partir du déploiement des modes de pensée de la science historique en classe. Le Pays s'est arrimé depuis 2012 à l'Approche par Compétences (APC) proposée par l'UNESCO dans la perspective de contextualiser les enseignements. Cependant, le constat est que ces approches psychopédagogiques – généralement exogènes aux milieux naturels différenciés – se heurtent sur le terrain à des savoirs endogènes engendrant ainsi une crise de l'éducation. Celle-ci se traduit par la définition des « pédagogies de terrain » qui échappent à toute norme car se définissant en marge des structures de réflexion pédagogique. Elles sont un compromis, mieux, une influence des savoirs et pratiques naturels exprimés par les sociocultures des apprenants sur les modèles pédagogiques préétablis. Une série de questions s'impose alors : comment les savoirs locaux entraînent-ils l'adaptation, la flexibilité des pratiques pédagogiques ? Quelle approche pédagogique – tenant compte des savoirs locaux – adopter ou élaborer pour optimiser l'apprentissage de l'histoire dans un tel contexte ?

Les résultats déjà obtenus des travaux de terrain seront présentés au moyen d'une analyse qualitative à débit descriptif. Les données ont été collectées au Cameroun, dans quatre classes du secondaire différenciées naturellement. La technique d'échantillonnage non-probabiliste nous a permis d'étudier une population de 60 élèves et quatre de leurs enseignants. La collecte des données s'est faite au moyen des outils qualitatifs que sont : les focus group pour travailler avec les élèves, les entretiens semi-directifs pour les enseignants et l'observation participante pour les situations de classe. Leur Dépouillement, analyse et interprétation en cours, se font sur la base de grilles d'analyses qualitatives et de « l'analyse de contenu » pour la lecture des protocoles d'entretiens où sont recherchés les signes d'activités procédurales et conditionnelles dans les productions des élèves. L'on s'attèle à vérifier si les variables des influences naturelles sont susceptibles d'infléchir ou de remettre en cause la validité de ce modèle d'apprentissage de l'histoire

Les tendances des résultats montrent d'ores et déjà que les élèves construisent leur conscience historique en donnant du sens aux savoirs scientifiques par l'exercice d'une série d'opérations de la pensée historique. Cette dernière, affirmant son caractère scientifique, peut mener à des productions d'apprentissage qui soient bien historiques, et qui fassent sens dans les sociétés naturelles des élèves. Le problème des influences naturelles non contrôlées réside donc dans la praxis historique, et le modèle de didactisation de l'histoire proposé en serait une piste de solution.

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Nature as a Way and Educational Theme of Brazilian's Child on the Almanach Do Tico-Tico Pages (English)

Maria Zelia Maia Souza (Juiz de Fora Federal University)

The objective of this work is to analyse some publishing related to propagandas focused in school education of Brazilian's child in the Almanach do Tico-Tico between the years of 1911 and 1930. Considering that the Almanach do Tico-Tico was one of the firsts comic magazines turned to the infantile public, it is intended to inquire the editor's motivations to publish a expressive set of photographic images of private schools associated to pedagogical practices. Was there a payment for this announcements? The objective of this editors were only comercial or was there an intencion to dedicate attention for childhood education? Which message was transmitted on the schools's announcements to the readers of the comic magazine reviewed? The documental corpus was composed by a set of private schools' announcements published in the comic magazine Almanach do Tico-Tico in the period of 1911 to 1930 and the book First Lessons of Things of A. Kalkins. The schools' territorial espacialization announced in full pages on the Almanach do Tico-Tico suggested that the objectives of those educational institutions were in tune with the proposals of school education anchored in the First Lessons of Things of A. Kalkins. To make an example, the school Anglo-Brasileiro from Rio de Janeiro was set in 1911 in the farmhouse of Gávea's neighborhood and stood there until 1930. According to the diretor/founder of the mentioned school, Charles Wicksteed Armstrong (1871-1959), the institution's building was erected on a high plane, among grass and ocean where the silence invites to study; the weather, the sea wind, the forest freshness, the sunny landscape joy, the building comfort, everything provides for the student "this untranslatable wish of, in the very bosom of nature, to penetrate the meanders of science, thus preparing itself for the future struggles of life" (Almanach of Tico-Tico, 1911, 80). Consistent with A. Kalkins' propositions, Armstrong prioritized direct observation by providing informative lessons outdoors. The sources consulted and the recent historiography of education suggested that the editors operated on two directly relational vertices: the first incited even more the infantile curiosity through comic magazines with moral, religious and scientific aspects. In the second vertex the family investment on the child's student life seems to have been the comic magazine tonic, this because the Almanach do Tico-Tico editors had fed those pages with propagandas from private and public schools with special highlight to the pedagogical activities outdoor divulgation, with body education as an example of Anglo-Brasileiro school. It was possible to

realize that the responsables for the announcement's elaboration wished to transmit for the reader the idea that the man is a being that realize, reflect and express that this tripod si ne qua non condition to think education as a way designated to develop those dimensions since the most young age. In the commercial field it was not possible to have an idea of the comic magazine earning with the announcements of private schools placed from north to south of Brazil.

Keywords: propagandas, nature, school education

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6.12 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL IDEA (4)

Chair: Rosa Bruno-Jofré (Queen's University)

La dialectique du Retour à la Nature dans la pensée éducative sioniste au début du XXème siècle (Français)

Yehuda Bitty (Herzog Academic College)

La naissance du mouvement sioniste à la fin du XIXème siècle bouleversa l'identité juive. Un peuple composé de communautés religieuses, éparpillées aux quatre coins du monde autour d'une foi et d'une pratique, ayant goûté au goût sucré de l'Emancipation qui pourtant ne réussît pas à faire disparaître l'antisémitisme amer, aspire à se définir comme une nation dans le sens moderne du terme, autour d'une langue, d'une terre et d'une autonomie gouvernementale.

Les penseurs du sionisme appellent ainsi à une ère nouvelle, centralisée sur l'image d'un Nouvel Homme, antithèse du Juif diasporique : non pas un érudit hyper-intellectualisé, malingre, chétif, et au corps déficient mais un pionnier, fort et musclé, attaché à l'activité agricole. L'éducation sioniste prône donc un véritable retour à la nature – au sens propre comme au sens figuré : ce nouvel homme retourne sur sa terre ancestrale, s'exprime à nouveau dans la langue de ses pères, et il dénigre l'activité intellectuelle pour le travail physique.

Contrairement à la passerelle civilisatrice de Nature à Culture (évoquée par Claude Lévi-Strauss au travers du symbolisme "le Cru et le Cuit"), un philosophe du sionisme comme Aaron David Gordon appelle à un mouvement contraire : abandonner le livre et l'académie

talmudique pour manier la pioche sur les collines de Judée. Dans ce nouveau narratif identitaire, le retour à la nature demande à repenser l'identité religieuse en identité culturelle. Le "Juif de l'Exil" est le juif de la religion juive, centralisé autour de la littérature rabbinique définissant l'habitus du judaïsme. Le mouvement de retour est en fait un retour à l'homme naturel, précédant l'homme de la religion juive. Cette dynamique complexe joue avec le temps et la sémantique : L'Israélien de demain veut se différencier du Juif d'aujourd'hui et redevenir l'Hébreu d'hier.

Ce nouvel éthos est évidemment rependu dans les manuels scolaires utilisés dans les écoles diffusant le message sioniste ainsi que dans de nombreuses publications destinées à l'éducation informelle (mouvements de jeunesse, communautés agricoles etc...). Mais, comme dans tout texte à portée éducative, le non-dit est aussi important que le dit : de façon paradoxale, cet Homme nouveau prendra son inspiration non dans la nature en soi mais justement dans la Bible, le récit de la Révélation, le livre de l'Alliance... Pour ce fait, la Bible "religieuse" est désacralisée, son caractère prescriptif se voit limité, son récit historique est interprété dans une vision nationaliste, sa portée morale est associée aux valeurs universelles. Le retour à la nature est donc en fait une réinterprétation du texte primaire de la culture d'Israël : la Bible. La Bible enseignée au début du XXème siècle comme la base identitaire de l'éducation sioniste est toujours de nos jours une matière obligatoire tout au long du curriculum du système éducatif israélien. Elle continue à symboliser la dialectique du retour à la nature dans la pensée sioniste.

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Pour une éducation esthétique au sens de la Nature. Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne de V. Hugo entre littérature et musique (Français) Leonardo Acone (University of Salerno)

La contribution tend à souligner combien, pendant le Romantisme, la réévaluation du concept de Nature est passée à travers des moments artistiques de véritable 'éducation esthétique' au rapport entre Humanité et Nature elle-même. Ce rapport a posé, à la base de la poétique de fond, une profonde redécouverte de la dimension naturelle, archétype, primordiale et incontaminée du monde en tant que fondement incontournable pour un correct 'repositionnement' de valeurs et postures existentiels.

Un exemple de cette direction s'avère être le poème de Victor Hugo Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne, extrait du recueil les Feuilles d'automne de 1831, témoignage d'un conflit inépuisé entre homme et création, entre humanité et nature, entre sens ultime et contextes existentiels. Le "cri" désespéré des hommes, opposé au "chant" harmonieux – et donc plus juste – de la nature, conduit le lecteur à une sévère introspection et à une observation plus attentive de son chemin.

La contrainte poétique est forte, fruit d'une profonde méditation sur la vie et les sphères de toute l'existence; intérieure et métaphysique au même temps, dans un conflit entre lieux de l'être (humain) et lieux 'autres', naturels et mystérieux.

L'appel de Hugo est ferme, sévère: à différence de la nature, dont la voix s'élève de la mer au ciel vers un objectif divin, le cri humain raconte désespérées malédictions et profondes angoisses, dans un gémissement qui va vers le sommet de la montagne à servir de douloureux contrepoids au crescendo harmonieux du son 'naturel'.

La représentation de ce contraste vit de contraintes sonores et musicales, si bien que la poésie arrive immédiatement à outrepasser les frontières des différentes formes d'art, en devenant programme et contenu de deux Poèmes symphoniques parmi les plus célèbres de la littérature musicale de tous les temps. Le langage musical, en fait, devient récit, image, lieu, temps et espace; et dans les grandes pages de compositeurs cultivés et conscients il accueille et développe la puissance d'un élargissement porteur de chaque possible représentation.

César Franck fait une transposition du texte poétique entre 1846 et 1847 avec le poème symphonique *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*; il est suivi par le compositeur Franz Liszt qui se lance, à son tour, depuis 1848, dans la composition d'un poème symphonique (*Bergsymphonie*) sur la même poésie, introduite par une de ses esquisses de prose, synthèse du texte de Hugo. Franck arrive à élaborer, à travers un élargissement sémantique des régions musicales, une narration instrumentale à partir du concept de immensité que le texte poétique place au centre; Liszt, en utilisant tout le potentiel d'une orchestre symphonique, fait une véritable 'transposition structurelle', en modulant phrases et thèmes musicaux et en rendant interchangeables les mélodies, les harmonies et les rythmes, au but de représenter musicalement le brassage et le conflit entre les deux voix en vue d'un possible – et pédagogique – horizon de synthèse et réunion spirituelle.

La piste du poème – et des relatives transpositions musicales – saisit, en pleine *stimmung* romantique du XIXe siècle, aussi une claire urgence pédagogique à l'égard du 'contexte naturel du vivre', et du sens du rapport qu'avec lui les nouvelles générations développent.

Mots-clés : littérature, musique, histoire de l'éducation musicale, transposition, nature.

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Natural Law immanentism vs. mechanistic conceptions of life: Biological theories, institutionalization of Pedagogy and low-high pedagogies in late 19th and early 20th C. Spain. (English)

Carlos Martínez Valle (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Following Oelkers (1994), Bernstorff (1912) and Depaepe, De Bont, and Dams (1912), the presentation studies the reception of biological theories, especially of different forms of evolutionism, in the late 19th and early 20th C. Spanish educational thought. This reception is conditioned by the establishment of academic pedagogy and the progressive functional differentiation between low and high pedagogy, happening in the period. In Spain, biological theories, always interpreted in a contextual way, play a minor role in the pedagogical and educational debate, since they are fundamentally discussed in the faculties of science, and of philosophy, but they act as an implicit presupposition of the academic field of studies. In the tradition of Natural Law, biological disciplines are dispossessed of their positive scientific contents. They are transformed into general (transcendent to the individual) interpretive frames that validate anthropological presuppositions and justify structures of values and gnoseological principles. These constructs are used as filters in the reception of foreign knowledge and instruments of political justification. In the academy, Naturalism was opposed by the two pillars of the institutionalization of the pedagogical field, religious conservatives, and progressive reformists, because in their understanding it would prevent a top-down moralization/regeneration of the country. In a concatenation of path-dependent receptions, Spanish progressive reformism received a range of different theories from Krause's natural law panentheism in the middle of the 19th C. to von Uexküll around 1920. Their reception of Spencer requires a specific analysis. In contrast, at the turn of the century, the low-pedagogy rejects the "transcendentalist biology" of Driesch and Uexküll and receives naturalism adopting Loeb, because it promised clear pedagogical applications.

6.13 PANEL NATURE AND EDUCATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Chair: Angelo Van Gorp (University of Koblenz-Landau)

„Wie einen feinen jungen Baum, der Frucht tragen könnte“: human nature, natural and social order, and the potentialities of education in Martin Luther’s educational writings (English)

Luana Salvarani (Università di Parma)

Martin Luther’s reflections about education, summarized in two well-known works (published in Wittenberg in 1524 and 1530) and to be also found in several other texts, cannot be overestimated in their impact on European educational culture, up to the 19th-century German school systems and beyond. The complexity and vastness of the elaborations and consequences of Luther’s theories implies the danger to go astray from the original premises, and recalls for the historian the need to go back to the original sources, in their specific 16th-century cultural context, to re-read the texts and refocus once again the questions which Luther was answering.

In this paper, we will attempt a close reading of some key passage on education by Luther on the two thematic axes of “human nature” and “natural and social order”.

The subject of “human nature”, of main importance in education, will be articulated in the context of the debate on free will, prompted by the opposition to the Catholic Church, but also reconsidered in the light of the contemporary progress of medicine, reducing the space of individual choice and emphasizing the role of one’s own physical nature in determining character, abilities and educability of each man. For Luther, “human nature” is of course the fallen nature of the sinful man, but also a nature full of potentialities unchained by the grace of Christ: education has the role of developing these potentialities in the everlasting tension between salvation and sin, between the action of grace and the marvels and horrors of the physical nature of man.

But this development through education does not go, as it went in Classical Humanism, simply towards the full accomplishment of “human nature”. Its aim is also, in Luther’s thought, to set the man in a “natural order”: an order foreseen by the Reformation as a utopian realm of justice, but soon recalled to its coincidence with the “social order”, especially after the Bauernkrieg (works such as Johann Eberlin’s Furschlag are exemplary of this evolution). From that moment on, Bildung has the special duty to discover and make possible one’s own Beruf, and to make the man able to accomplish his function in society and, therefore, adhere to God’s design for him and fulfill his own most inner and essential nature.

The historical analysis of Luther’s reflections on education in the most ancient 16th-century editions, such as they were read by the contemporaries, will try to reassess the terms of the nature/culture debate around education at the peak of the Reformation. But Luther’s words will also offer the possibility to reflect on some very critical contemporary issues: humanistic and/or vocational patterns in general schooling, education as a divergent/critical force and as a tool for social inclusion (i.e. adaptation), self-determination and its connection with social conditions and the limitations of human body.

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Modern sciences and the natural inferiority of women (English)

Amparo Gomez Rodriguez (Universidad de La Laguna)

Women's access to education and especially to higher education, was questioned in Western societies in terms of "the limits and incapacities" of female nature. The recourse to "female nature" placed modern sciences at the center of the foundation of women inferiority, understood as "scientifically proven" natural inferiority. From the nineteenth century, biological and medical sciences have proceeded to demonstrate "scientifically" the inferiority of women as something inscribed in their body. The facts scientifically established were unquestionable, so the remission of any question to the field of science was its most solid justification. This is what happened, and continues to happen, with the "natural inferiority" of women, once modern science took over from philosophy and religion in an effort to demonstrate the true nature of women.

This paper will present a general overview of how the natural inferiority of women has been built by scientific research and theories from the nineteenth century up to the present. Firstly, the main sciences related with the questioning of intellectual capacities of women -physical anthropology, phrenology, brain studies, theory of cerebral lateralization- will be mentioned, paying special attention to psychometric studies of intelligence, given its repercussions on the exclusion of the girls of certain educational tracks. Secondly, the main lines of criticism to these researches and theories done by feminist epistemologies will be introduced and a brief account will be given of the main gender biases present in the aforementioned theories and research. The paper will end up by giving a draft of the proposals that from the feminist contextual empiricism, post-materialism and post-Marxism have developed about the characteristics that a non-sexist (non-racist, non-classist) science should have. It is understood that this analysis is relevant not only historically, but also as a basic background to afford nowadays scientific theories about women capacities and their implications in education.

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Mensch – Schatzsucher – Kaulquappe: Ansichten über die kindliche Natur in alternativen pädagogischen Konzeptionen am Ende der sozialistischen Ära in Ungarn (Deutsch) Judit Langer-Buchwald (Eötvös Lóránd University)

Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg wurde das Schulwesen in Ungarn völlig zentralisiert: die Alternativität – sowohl die ausländischen reformpädagogischen Konzeptionen wie Waldorf und Montessori, als auch die heimischen wurden aus dem ungarischen Unterrichtswesen verbannt und die Reformschulen wurden geschlossen. Die Struktur des Unterrichtssystems, die Lehrpläne der verschiedenen Schultypen, die Lehrbücher, die Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsmethoden wurden vereinheitlicht, eine uniformierte Menschen- und Kinderauffassung herrschte sowohl in der Gesellschaft als auch im Unterrichtswesen, nämlich das sozialistische Menschenideal, zu dem alle Kinder unabhängig von ihrer Unterschiedlichkeit auf gleicher Weise erzogen werden müssen. Die aus der Sicht der Alternativität stille Periode der ungarischen pädagogischen Theorie und Praxis endete in den 70-er Jahren, als – auf die Fehlsymptome des Schulwesens reagierend – die Schulreform auf die Initiative des Unterrichtsministeriums in Form von Schulversuchen vor dem politischen Systemwandel zur Erscheinung des Pluralismus und der Alternativität im Unterrichtswesen in Ungarn geführt hat. In dieser Epoche sind mehrere – entweder einen Unterrichtsfach oder die ganze Schule zu reformieren versuchende – pädagogische Konzeptionen entstanden, von denen drei Schulprogramme hervorgehoben werden müssen: Das Wertevermittelnde und Fähigkeitsfördernde Programm von József Zsolnai, das in den späten 70-er Jahren mit Hilfe von Aktionsforschung erarbeitet wurde und ab 1985 in einer Versuchsschule für die achtklassige Grundschule ausprobiert und weiterentwickelt wurde. Die 1988 gegründete „Schatzsucher-Schule“ von Márta Winkler, in der das auf Winkler Mártas jahrelange theoretische und praktische Arbeit basierende Programm für die Primarstufe eingeführt wurde. Und das ebenso 1988 gegründete Alternative Ökonomische Gymnasium, dessen pädagogisches Programm unter der Leitung von Horn György mit der Zusammenarbeit der Lehrkraft der Schule, die Interessen der Arbeitsmarkt vor Auge haltend ausgearbeitet wurde. (Langer-Buchwald 2017) Die Bedeutung dieser drei Schulkonzeptionen liegt darin, dass sie einerseits von ungarischen Pädagogen speziell für die ungarischen Verhältnisse erarbeitet wurden, andererseits den Systemwandel überlebt haben und sie immer noch wichtige Rollenträger im heutigen Schulwesen sind. Diese Konzeptionen haben diverse Lösungswege zur Reformierung der Schule bestimmt, deren Basis die unterschiedliche Interpretation der Natur des Kindes ist, und damit haben sie gleichzeitig Alternativen zu der bisher einheitlichen Menschen- und Kinderauffassung gegeben. Im Beitrag werden die Ansichten über die kindliche Natur der drei verschiedenen alternativen Schulkonzeptionen einerseits durch Inhaltsanalyse der ursprünglichen pädagogischen Programme, andererseits durch die

Analyse der Metapher für das Kind aufgedeckt und interpretiert: das Kind als Mensch (Zsolnai 1995), das Kind als Schatzsucher (Winkler 2015), das Kind als Kaulquappe (AKG 1988). Die Ansichten werden einerseits mit der Kinderauffassung der sozialistischen Pädagogik verglichen, damit die Richtung der Änderung der sozialistischen Pädagogik, und die Anerkennung der natürlichen Eigenschaften des Kindes als Ausgangspunkt der pädagogischen Handlung nachgewiesen werden kann. Andererseits werden die verschiedenen Interpretationen des Kindes miteinander verglichen um die Gemeinsamkeiten und Verschiedenheiten der Kinderauffassungen, sowie ihre Naturbedingtheit aufzudecken. Außerdem werden sie mit der pädagogischen Praxis in Bezug gesetzt um die in den Programmen trotz der Unterschiedlichkeit der Kinderauffassung sich verbergende Ähnlichkeiten und Verschiedenheiten der Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsmethoden zu erfassen.

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“Life phase“, “Life stage“, “Life Age“ – Emergence and tensions of a differentiated age gradation in the German pedagogical discourse, 1790-1930 (English)

Daniel Töpfer (Humboldt University Berlin)

The beginning of the “Sattelzeit“ (1740-1840) in the German speaking areas saw a development of new modes to conceptualize human nature. The temporal quality of humankind changed in connection and interaction with the differentiation of sciences. As age and the qualities connected with it are important for the conceptualization and realization of pedagogical measures it is important to reconstruct the ways age was interpreted in the pedagogical discourse. Age became more and more an object of positivist epistemic interest and empirically grounded classifications were enforced during the 19th century. In this process, age became a matter of concern mostly in connection with questions of the organization of the school system, as here it had to be decided, according to which criteria the school population should be divided into subunits. Thus far, the historiography of this question usually determines a victory of the “age-criteria“ without considering its emergence (Ingenkamp, 1969; Jenzer, 1991; Scholz & Reh, 2016).

By focusing on the fabrication of age and recognizing the steps in the development of its current meaning on the one hand and by including the different epistemic influences of different sciences (medicine, pedagogy, psychology) involved in this process on the other hand, it becomes possible to identify a central paradox, namely the tension that the sciences conceptualize “age“ in perennial intervals while school administrations calculate in school years, which became the hegemonic way of classifying pupil.

In my paper I want to trace the way “age“ is discussed and conceptualized in the pedagogical discourse between 1790-1930. Therefore, I will draw on pedagogical reference books as sources, which I interpret as medium that collects and systematizes pedagogical knowledge

(Brachmann, 2008). Selected examples of reference books are examined for related terms which then are analyzed concerning the ways age is conceptualized. The guiding question focuses on the underlying concepts of age and how these change over time.

The results can be divided into three consecutive steps. At the end of the 18th century the previously dominant idea of a rough subdivision into three different „Lebensepochen“ (life stages) was questioned. In his discussion of Rousseau’s “Emile” (in „Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens“ (1785-1792, 1789, pp. 6-7)“ the Philanthropist Campe called for a stronger differentiation. In the middle of the 19th century a stronger, more elaborate differentiation is discussed under the term „Lebensstufen (Lebensalter)“ (life phases) in Hergang’s encyclopedia (1847, pp. 148-150). Finally, at the beginning of the 20th century, an elaborated differentiation is established: developmental age spans and life age are discussed in nearly identical ways and here the “Lebensjahr” (life year) is presented as an important measurement unit (see Hartmann in Rein, Vol. 1, pp. 50-59, here, p. 53). These last changes can be described as result of a growing influence of administrative management whereby the basic paradox and tension of “age” in the pedagogical discourse is implemented.

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Chair: Thomas Koinzer (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Die Rolle der deutsch- und ungarnsprachigen Lesebücher bei der Vermittlung der Realien in den Elementarschulen im 19. Jahrhundert (Deutsch)

Martin Méreg (University of Pécs)

Schlusswörter: historische Schulbuchforschung, Realien, Lesebuch, Rezeption, Transfer

Der Anspruch des Realienunterrichtes in den ungarischen Elementarschulen lässt sich auf die Rezeption der deutschen philanthropischen Pädagogie und auf die im Jahre 1777 herausgegebene Ratio Educationis zurückführen, eine weitverbreitete Schulpraxis ist es aber im 19. Jahrhundert geworden. Bei der Vermittlung dieser Kenntnisse spielte damals das Lesebuch außer der Erklärung und der Anschauung eine große Rolle. Der Vortrag setzt sich deshalb zum Ziel, die Erscheinungsformen, die Thematik und den Anteil der naturwissenschaftlichen Kenntnisse in den Lesebüchern zu untersuchen. Die theoretischen Rahmen der Forschung bilden die Ergebnisse der historischen Schulbuchforschung, daneben werden auch auf die Lesebücher wirkende Transferprozesse im mitteleuropäischen Bildungsraum berücksichtigt.

Im ersten Teil des Vortrages wird die Entstehung des Genres des Realkenntnisse beinhaltenden Lesebuchs und dessen ungarische Rezeption durch die Werke zwei deutscher – Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow und Friedrich Philipp Wilmsen – und zwei ungarischer Verfasser – István Lánghy und Illés Pál Edvi – dargestellt. Die ungarischen Lesebücher wurden im ersten Teil des 19. Jahrhunderts gleichzeitig zur Benutzung der Lehrer und der Schüler geschrieben, mit der Intention, das ganze Wissensgut für die Elementarschulen umzufassen. Trotz dieser Undifferenziertheit galt die Erscheinung der naturwissenschaftlichen Kenntnisse in den Elementarlesebüchern damals als fortgeschrittenes Phänomen.

Im Sinne der Entscheidung des Schulbuchkomitees des Schulministeriums im Jahre 1868 wurden später für die Realkunden selbstständige Schulbücher verfasst, aber die Lesebücher enthielten weiterhin viele Lesestücke über die Natur. Die Rezeption ganzer Werke war für die ungarischen Lesebücher in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr typisch, die Adaptation didaktischer Prinzipien und einzelner Texte kann man aber weiterhin beobachten. Die Rezeptionswirkungen sind deshalb in diesem Zeitalter mit der vergleichenden Schulbuchanalyse effizienter zu untersuchen. Die Hypothese des zweiten Teils des Vortrags lautet: der Anteil der Lesestücke über die Natur in den Lesebüchern weist darauf hin, welche Rolle die Lesebücher bei der Vermittlung der Realkenntnisse beigetragen haben. Das Ziel der vergleichenden Schulbuchanalyse ist in diesem Fall die Makrostruktur des Lesebuchs zu erschließen. Die Auswahl der Lesebücher besteht aus fünf deutschsprachigen (ein schweizerisches, ein österreichisches, ein böhmisches und zwei deutsche) sowie fünf ungarnsprachigen Lesebüchern.

Anhand der Ergebnisse der Analyse kann man feststellen, dass die Lesestücke mit historischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Kenntnissen im Durchschnitt zwei Drittel des Gesamtumfangs der deutsch- und ungarnsprachigen Lesebücher ausmachen. Die Tatsache, dass die Lesebücher nicht nur literarische, sondern auch historische und naturwissenschaftliche Texte in großem Anteil beinhalten, ergibt sich aus der Praxis der Verknüpfung des Leseerwerbs und der Vermittlung der Fachkenntnisse in den Elementarschulen. In Ungarn wurde es besonders in einklassigen ungeteilten Elementarschulen praktiziert, wo der Unterricht der Realien als

selbständige Schulfächer wegen des Zeitmangels besonders schwierig war. Deshalb fand ein Teil der Vermittlung der naturwissenschaftlichen Kenntnisse durch selbständiges Lesen statt.

A student activity during the years of World War I: Tree Feast (Ağaç Bayramı) (English) Hamide Kılıç (Istanbul University)

Despite of economic and social adverse conditions during the World War I, various student activities were observed in the Ottoman State. From the beginning of the war some student activities' news was located at the times newspapers. The contents of this news were usually founding money for Ottoman soldiers and visiting wounded Ottoman soldiers at hospital. Also some different student activities were read from the newspapers. One of these activities was "Tree Feast".

Tree Feast activities were seen at Ottoman State after 1910. Especially Ethem Nejat, an educator of the period, played an important role in the emergence of the Tree Feast. In addition, he wrote an article with Ferit Bey about how to make a Tree Feast, its purpose and importance at New Idea/Yeni Fikir magazine. This activity, which took place in the student life of the Ottoman Empire from 1910s, continued to be done during the war.

Just before the war, in the last days of the month of February, students of the Bursa Mekteb-i Sultani were seen at Tree feast as news in the Şehbal magazine. Throughout the war, it is possible to see the tree festival news in Tanin, İkdâm and Tercüman-ı Hakikat newspapers. The news about Tree Feast was reported throughout 1916-1917 and 1918.

In this study, it will be explained how the Tree Feast was made, its purpose and importance. Also tree festival was which was organized by students during the last years of the Ottoman State, and the events held on this festival will be evaluated. In this context the concept of nature, child and war will be tried to examine in the frame of the tree feast.

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School gardening as an educative tool in a colonial context (English)

Kay Whitehead (Flinders University)

This paper explores nature as an educative tool in the Australian colonial context: In particular it focuses on school gardening, an outdoor activity which was seen to serve multiple purposes (Kohlstedt 2008). School gardens were integral to the progressive education of young children along the lines suggested by Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel, for example, who promoted nature as a template for understanding the world (Herrington 1998). It was also a precursor to the introduction of 'nature study' as a school subject (Kass 2018). In some contexts, school gardening was designed to expose students to agriculture, and thus its purpose was vocational and reinforced connections between nature, hard work and moral improvement (Arman et al 2016). Developing students' sense of beauty and aesthetics was another aim alongside the beautification of school grounds and other public spaces (Robin 2001). However, this paper argues that school gardening was implicated in the wider historical processes of colonisation and the dispossession of Australian Aboriginal peoples from their lands.

Informed by revisionist theories of mass compulsory schooling and colonisation as class, raced and gendered processes, this paper focuses on the work of a late nineteenth century headmaster, James Greenlees, who earned the reputation as the 'pioneer of school gardening' in the British colony of South Australia. There are no extant personal accounts of Greenlees' career so Education Department records and newspaper articles are the main sources for his well-publicised work. The paper is based on the traditional historical method of combing the documents, following leads from one source to another, examining clusters of themes and judging their relative significance. In keeping with feminist methodology, the context in which the documents were produced, their ideological underpinnings and purpose will be taken into account. All records are shaped by the political contexts in which they were produced and by the cultural and ideological assumptions that lie behind them.

Following a brief outline of the construction of the South Australian state school system in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the paper introduces James Greenlees and discusses the development of the school garden at Plympton Public School in the white-settler suburbs of the capital city of Adelaide. Achieved with a gendered division of labour between 1892 and 1906, this school's garden was both decorative and productive. It served a variety of purposes which included introducing students to thrifty and practical home gardening. Plympton's school garden was not only an educative tool for learning about suburban domestic life; it also encouraged white children's sense of ownership of the land, thereby dispossessing Aboriginal Australians. In essence, school gardening reinforced colonial South Australia as a class, race and gender differentiated society.

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Searching For Home (English)

Shabina Aslam (University of Huddersfield)

Bussing Out focuses on a hidden history that shaped the identity of ethnic minority children who came to Bradford, in the North of England, in the 1960's and 70's. It refers to a Department of Education Policy advising local authorities to disperse migrant children from urban inner city primary schools into schools in outlying areas. The reason for this was racially motivated; because the 'immigrant' children being discussed were entirely from South Asian and West Indian Diasporas. This paper will focus on the development of 'the urban and the natural child' through the effects of this policy by doing a discourse analysis of oral history interviews of children who were bussed out. Then comparing the findings with the construction of place in Black British literatures in order to give a postcolonial reading of the psychological impact of dispersal on the child and the development of a sense of place by these migrants and subsequent generations.

In 1963 the Education Minister for the Conservatives, Sir Edward Boyle went to Southall in London, to Beaconsfield Road School, to address complaints by white parents that immigrants were swamping their schools. He reported back to Parliament:

I must regretfully tell the house that 'one school' must now be regarded now as irretrievably an immigrant school. The important thing is to prevent this happening elsewhere. (Kirp: 272)

In 1965 a DES circular stated that:

every effort should be made to disperse the immigrant children round a greater number of schools. (Kirp: 272).

The dispersal of ethnic minority children in Primary schools took place in Bradford from 1965 – 1976. In that time one in every five ethnic minority child was taken from their community and dispersed to a school in an outlying, predominantly white area, on the rural outskirts of Bradford.

This research project uses oral history interviews as a way of focusing on this heritage. The question central to this paper is: How did the children perceive this dis-location from urban to rural Bradford and give meaning to different parts of the city. How has it shaped their consciousness growing up as migrants ghettoized in urban inner city spaces, having largely arrived from rural places only to find themselves shunted back and forth on a daily basis between the urban and rural environment in England. Almost in a suspended daily migration, so what does it mean to them to be urban and natural and how has it shaped their lives. This to be contrasted with the ways in which the Yorkshire countryside is romanticized and commoditized as an arcadian idyll; simultaneously feared by the migrant 'other' as a hostile place.

Whilst the children were being bussed their parents attempted to recover a sense of home and belonging in the mother country by entrenching themselves within specific geographical areas like the Manningham ward. Bradford's oldest ghetto, famous for burning the Satanic verses and the riots of the 80's, 90's and 2001. Which then is the natural home for migrants? The whole of Bradford situated within an arcadian idyll or the urban tag given to Manningham?!

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With thanks to my interviewees, Joe Hopkinson and Associate Professor Olivier Esteves of Lille 3.

6.15 PANEL NATURALIZING THE SOCIAL

Chair: Zoltán András Szabó (Eötvös Loránd University)

Coloniser and the Colonised? Nature of interaction in India in the field of Education (English)

Parimala V. Rao (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Conventionally, the nature of colonial-native interaction is understood in terms of race, hegemony and imperialism- the European colonisers imposing their culture, educational system and so forth on the helpless natives. In racial terms the white Europeans dominating all aspects of administration while the black/brown natives suffered subjugation.

However, the British colonial rule stretching over a period of 190 years (1757-1947) in India defies this conventional analysis. It was rarely 'European' versus 'Native' population, but rather the British ruling elites versus all others including the European population. The native land lords and the upper caste Hindus and Ashraf Muslims enjoyed a privileged status in terms of education and employment, while poor Hindus, Muslims, native Christians, poor Europeans and the Eurasians suffered under the British rule.

This trend was more predominant in the field of education. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the native Christians and Eurasians were denied of employment that was available to the natives and affluent Eurasians were not allowed to send their children to England for education. The British elite administration declared that the nature of the Eurasians was more in line with the natives than European, hence regarded them as one of the lower classes of India. They were grouped under the category of 'natives.' Poor Europeans (children of European soldiers and servants) too faced similar discrimination. They were often called 'vagrants' and were denied of entry into government schools. If the poor Europeans converted to Islam (one cannot convert to Hinduism/Hindu can only be by birth) then they could enter schools, apply for jobs available for natives.

This paper looks at the nature of interaction in the field of education between poor Europeans and Eurasians and the British colonial rule in India.

The 'collectivisation' of educational communication: Changing patterns of reference concerning 'natural' forms of organising instruction during the institutionalisation period of public elementary schooling in Spain (1830-1900) (English)

Till Eble (Humboldt Universität Berlin)

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Spain faced the two largely simultaneous processes of an institutionalisation of a conservatively shaped liberal regime as well as the foundation and consolidation of a public system of elementary mass schooling. These developments not only entailed a restructuring of "appropriate" educational functions, mediums and objectives, but also a technological transformation regarding the meaning of "natural" ways of organising instruction. So far, elementary schools were mainly organised according to individualised teaching, where pupils situated in a heterogeneous mass successively received lessons from the teacher, in this way reflecting educational logics passed down from the familial sphere. In so far, the normative transition towards collective-institutionalised practices of instruction (mutual or simultaneous instruction as well as mixed systems) marked the technological face of the nationalised system of elementary schools. In accordance with the eclectic inspired ideological setting of Spain's conservative liberalism, which preferred middling positions in the political, socioeconomic and cultural sphere, the mixed system of instruction and its harmonising methodology coincided perfectly with the concept of natural synthesis.

In this regard the changing logics of schooling were strongly reflected on the technological level, where the organisation of schools and instruction obeyed primordially functional requirements of the public sphere, and not anymore the "nature" of familial-intergenerational interaction. The school community conceived as "society in miniature" was meant to practice the behaviour of future citizens in line with the ideal functioning of the new liberal state. Thus, below the level of the highest authority (schoolmaster) pupils assumed positions in the structure of the "little state", acting as governors (pupil teachers), administrators (inspectors), judges (school courts) and subordinates (mass of pupils). Besides this transmission of functional logics concerning the "nature" of the liberal state into the school, there still persisted semantic ascriptions of traditional instruction methods. Thus, for this transition period hybrid concepts and tensions can be retraced in a specific way.

The presentation analyses this transformation of concepts of “natural” techniques organising instruction as well as the adjustment of metaphorical attributions shifting from the familial into the public sphere. The paper will specifically be based on documents and primary sources concerning the pedagogic normalisation (teaching manuals), administrative operation (educational policy) and control of teaching practices (archive files of the school inspectorate), in order to include the multi-layered dimensions of the process while also incorporating the diversity of involved actors (school bureaucracy, pedagogical elite, teachers, school community). This case study, therefore, will provide not only insights into the profound shift in functional logics in the course of the nationalisation of mass schooling on the system level. Moreover, it will also portray the dramatic relocation of the conceptual significance of (socialised) “natural” instruction. Hence, the paper argues that this (by no means linear) transformation could be decisively influenced by the ideological imprint of the hegemonial political forces of a system. Ultimately, these findings could provide some link leading to discussions beyond the case study, concerning parallel processes of the specific historic situation of institutionalisation of public mass education.

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Discourses on emancipation and establishment for the citizenship in Brazilian policies in/at the present time: between curricula regulation and the making of people (English)

Juliana Marsico (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro), Cecília Santos Oliveira (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro), Marcia Serra Ferreira (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)

In this paper, we investigate the meanings that have been historically attributed to the terms emancipation and establishment for the citizenship in the Brazilian curricular policies that

were formed between 1997 and 2017. Specifically, we are interested in understanding how has been produced the notion of a school that is committed to the people's citizenship and their emancipatory establishment in the documents that define curricular parameters on Brazil's basic education. This production articulates the researches 'Ongoing reforms for Biological Sciences teacher training courses: giving a meaning to curricular innovation in the present time' and 'Curriculum History: development and use of a discursive approach to investigate teaching and teacher training' (CNPq). These have been developed in the scope of the Curriculum History Study Group, which is part of the Nucleus of Curriculum Studies of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (NEC/UFRJ). In these researches, we have been investing in the construction of a discursive approach to Curriculum History, in dialogue with Michel Foucault and Thomas Popkewitz. In a perspective that focuses on the history of present (Foucault, 1984), we thus analyze the way in which pedagogical discourses constitute a structure of ideas that informs teachers and students about who they are or should be, as well as what it is (and is not) a good teaching and learning. We analyze documents/monuments that establish curriculum policies for Basic Education in Brazil, such as the National Curricular Parameters (1997) and the National Curricular Common Core (2017), which aim at understanding how such documents have been constructing the idea of a school that is committed with the making of emancipated individuals, bearers of citizenship. In the analysis, we set aside macrostructure-centered power explanations, or the individuals as agents (teachers and students) as responsible for the social transformation, in a movement that enables us to regard pedagogical discourses as potent so as to form oneself and regulatory mechanisms that lecture us about how some good scholar education must be. This movement allows us to understand pedagogical discourses as potent in the constitution of the self. These discourses are also potent in the mechanisms of regulation that inform us how a good school education should be. We notice the impression that there is certain knowledge stated as necessary for training the exercise of citizenship, and that such formation would be associated with the idea of emancipation, forming a binomial in which one term (citizenship) means the other (emancipation). We mobilize the conception of agency in the sense proposed by Popkewitz (1998) when we understand that such discourses about emancipation and formation for citizenship produce students as autonomous individuals, capable of shaping present and future actions and transforming their own situation and the Nation's, in order to rationalize and order responsibilities in their conduct.

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6.16 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT (2)

Chair: Felicitas Acosta (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento)

Living and Learning on the Farm: American Higher Education agricultural residential communities (English)

Kate Rousmaniere (Miami University)

This presentation examines the history and guiding philosophy of American higher education agriculturally based residential communities. I focus on two American university campuses that offer residential living programs that intentionally link students' residential immersion in nature with the study of the liberal arts. Those two programs, which I will offer a brief introduction to, are the Deep Springs College cattle ranch in California, founded in 1917, and Denison College's Homestead program in central Ohio, founded in 1977. Both residential programs were designed as, and continue to function as, agriculturally based self-reliant democratic communities with components of liberal arts study. My discussion of these two institutions centers on their founding philosophies, making reference to what higher education educators since the 1980s have termed residential living-learning communities.

The presentation begins with a brief introduction to the broader historical context of the topic: (1) the origins of vocationally oriented agricultural colleges, founded in the late 19th century with federal government support (Duemer, 2007), (2) the experimental education movement in American higher education from the early 20th century through the 1970s that included elements of the "back to nature" movement (Reynolds, 1997; Hatch, 1960; Newell, Reynolds and Marsh, 1996), and (3) the more recent university agricultural sustainability and local foods movement that has led to the creation of hundreds of college farm programs (60 Blue Ribbon College Farms <https://www.onlinecollegeplan.com/college-farms/>)

I then focus on two American university campuses that offer residential living programs that intentionally link students' residential immersion in nature with the study of the liberal arts. Those two programs, which I will offer a brief introduction to, are the Deep Springs College cattle ranch in California, founded in 1917 (Newell and Volmann, 2015), and Denison College's Homestead program in central Ohio, founded in 1977 (Finnell, 2013). Both residential programs were designed as, and continue to function as, agriculturally based self-reliant democratic communities with components of liberal arts study. My discussion of these two institutions centers on their founding philosophies, making reference to what higher education educators since the 1980s have termed residential living-learning communities (Gabelnick, MacGregor, Matthews, and Smith, 1990; Roth and Lee, 2006).

El medio natural como entorno educativo: Las colonias escolares en el Sanatorio de Oza, A Coruña (1912-1936) (Español)

José Manuel Domínguez García (UNED)

Las Colonias Escolares de vacaciones se iniciaron en Zürich por iniciativa del pastor evangélico Walter Bion y pronto se extendieron por toda Europa. La primera Colonia Escolar española tuvo lugar en 1887, en Madrid, dirigida por Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, y de ahí esta experiencia se expandió por toda España. En 1904 se constituyó el Patronato de las Colonias Escolares de A Coruña, organismo encargado de organizarlas en esta provincia hasta 1936.

En las Colonias Escolares la naturaleza es percibida como un medio educativo opuesto a contextos artificiales de escolarización y educación formal. Las zonas verdes, la contemplación

de los bosques y los paisajes son una respuesta terapéutica frente a la vida en las aulas escolares, una verdadera escuela nueva y activa para alumnos procedentes de entornos ambientales pobres y malsanos.

La Administración Educativa dejó regulado el modelo de actuación a seguir en la Circular de 15/02/1894 (Gaceta de Madrid nº 50, 19/02/1894) y en la RO de 26 de julio del mismo año: “las Colonias Escolares de vacaciones son una institución esencialmente pedagógica y de higiene preventiva en favor de los niños débiles de las escuelas públicas. Su objeto es promover la salud por medio del ejercicio natural en pleno campo, por la limpieza, el buen alimento y la alegría”. Se fomentaban comportamientos socializadores, sentimientos de ayuda, de compañerismo, aprender a vivir en colectividad, desaparición de conductas agresivas, siguiendo el lema, “hacer a los niños felices es hacerles más tarde buenos” (Ángel do Rego, Director de la colonia del Museo Pedagógico Nacional).

Las Colonias Escolares coruñesas tuvieron varios destinos. La primera de ellas se celebró en Dorofia, luego en el lugar de Lagoa (cerca de la playa de Gandarío), en San Fiz de Vixoi, cerca de la finca de los Viqueira, donde veraneaba Bartolomé Cossío. También se intentó, sin éxito, convertir el Sanatorio antituberculoso de Cesuras en edificio permanente de esta actividad. Por su parte, una buena parte de las Colonias Escolares madrileñas tuvieron lugar en el Sanatorio Marítimo de Oza, que fue reconvertido para acoger alumnos de las colonias desde 1910.

El Panel pretende informar de esta experiencia vacacional naturalista, en el período temporal del primer tercio del siglo XX, referido fundamentalmente a las colonias que tuvieron lugar en A Coruña y su provincia; tanto las promovidas por su patronato, como las procedentes fundamentalmente de Madrid. El Panel, en donde se informará y aportará gráficos y fotografías de esta experiencia, procedentes fundamentalmente del Archivo del Reino de Galicia, responderá a este índice:

1. Aparición y normativa de las Colonias Escolares
2. Las Colonias Escolares en el Sanatorio de Oza – A Coruña, 1912 – 1936
3. Colonias Escolares organizadas por el Patronato de Colonias Escolares de la provincia de A Coruña
4. Continuidad de las Colonias Escolares después de 1936
5. Conclusiones
6. Bibliografía

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Experiencias docentes en escuelas rurales multiseriales en la región del ex-contestado (Español)

Marcia Marlene Stentzler (State University of Parana)

El proceso de modernización de la sociedad, alimentado por necesidades provenientes de la Revolución Francesa y de la Revolución Industrial Inglesa, operó profundas transformaciones en la concepción, organización y oferta de la escolarización, bajo la tutela del Estado. La escolarización se hizo imprescindible para la formación del ciudadano, asociada a la idea de progreso y desarrollo. En el ámbito del mundo del trabajo, las industrias buscaban un trabajador capaz de cumplir normas y manejar maquinarias. En esta investigación objetivamos comprender experiencias docentes de profesores laicos, en escuelas rurales multiseriales de la región sur del Paraná y norte catarinense, donde ocurrió la guerra del Contestado entre 1912 y 1916. Con base en fuentes documentales, noticias publicadas en el periódico El Comercio y entrevistas con profesoras jubiladas, en el período de 1930 a 1960. Desde 1905 la región era servida por el ferrocarril que conecta las ciudades fronterizas de Porto União (SC) y União da Vitória (PR) a São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul y el Porto de São Francisco do Sul. En 1913 se construyó la Casa Escolar Profesor Serapión en la ciudad de União da Vitória, establecimiento que se volvió referencial para la educación y, junto con el ferrocarril, uno de los símbolos de la modernización en la región. (Stentzler, 2015). El proceso de escolarización, como parte de la sociedad moderna, objetivaba "separar al hombre de la naturaleza para convertirlo en un ser 'civilizado', un individuo productivo [...]" (Boschilia, 2004, p.129). Informes de las primeras décadas del siglo XX, indica falta de profesores para escuelas rurales, impulsando las municipalidades de las ciudades a la creación de escuelas complementarias para su formación. Las escuelas rurales multiseriales creadas en localidades con acceso facilitado, por carreteras abiertas entre las matas de araucarias, o en colonias de inmigrantes, o junto a empresas madereras que en gran parte movían la economía de las localidades. Los profesores primarios ejercieron un papel fundamental en la diseminación del saber escolar con el fin de crear una segunda naturaleza, pues la capacidad de crear, innovar e intervenir en la sociedad es condición humana. Hubo intencionalidad, planificación y ejecución de acciones basadas en conocimientos y necesidades históricas. En el sentido de que el saber escolar "resulta en desarrollo mental y pone en movimiento varios procesos de desarrollo que, de otra forma, serían imposibles de suceder", creando condiciones para que un nuevo perfil de ciudadano y en el caso de las mujeres, en las que participan en las escuelas

o, diariamente, desplazándose, incluso a caballo. Las profesoras eran referenciales para resolver cuestiones con, por ejemplo, organización celebraciones religiosas y catequesis, orientaciones y encaminamiento de documentaciones, el proceso de modernización oportunizó experiencias únicas a esos docentes, fue una producción generada en condiciones socio históricas y educativas específicas, según Thompson (1981). Esta investigación está vinculada al Núcleo de Estudios e Investigaciones en Historia de la Educación (Nucathe), curso de pedagogía, campus de la Universidade Estadual do Paraná, campus de União da Vitória (PR).

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Sending City Children to the Country: “Ferienkolonien” in Comparative Perspective (English)

James Charles Albisetti (University of Kentucky)

The late 1870s and early 1880s witnessed the very rapid diffusion across Western Europe and the eastern cities of the United States of efforts to provide vacations in “nature” for children from crowded urban slums. These programs, however, varied widely in the length and structure of their programs, their pedagogical and moral aims, the participation of mothers in the vacations, and their sponsoring organizations. This paper, an example of the scholarship of synthesis, will explore these variations by examining German Ferienkolonien, French colonies de vacances, London’s Children’s Country Holiday Fund (CCHF), and New York City’s Fresh Air Fund.

In 1901, Swiss pastor Walter Bion, the man usually credited with founding the first Ferienkolonie in 1876, published such a comparative study. Yet, as a strong advocate from the beginning of having such children live together under the supervision of a teacher or pastor, Bion gave minimal attention to programs such as the London, New York, and some French groups that lodged children with individual families.

More recent scholarship has focused on individual countries. Thilo Rauch’s work on German colonies gives a nod to Bion as originator but made no references to other countries; Rauch also placed heavy emphasis on the role of Free Masons in establishing and supporting such programs, an idea not found in other recent works. Laura Lee Downs also notes Bion’s influence on French Protestants, who on her evidence were much more active than the

Catholic majority in providing vacations for urban children. Recent articles by Julia Guarneri on the Fresh Air Fund and Hester Baron on the CCHF remain focused on single countries; none of the three women cite Rauch's study of Germany.

In addition to highlighting the similarities and peculiarities of the various programs, the paper will also highlight the unique role of the Prussian/German Crown Princess Victoria, who served as protector of German Ferienkolonien from the foundation of a national organization in 1881 until her death two decades later.

This paper would fit best in a session on "nature and the natural world as educational settings."

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FRIDAY August 31 9:00 - 10:30

7

7.1 SWG HISTORY OF LAIC EDUCATION (3/4)

EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND LAIC (SECULAR) EDUCATION

Chair: Bruno Poucet (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

LIGA DO ENSINO NO BRASIL AND LIGA DO ENSINO MAGAZINE: Rui Barbosa assembles the devotees of Brazilian education (1883-1884) (English)

María Helena Camara Bastos (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Rio Grande del Sur), Tatiane Ermel de Freitas (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Rio Grande del Sur)

Santa-Anna Nery (1889), taking stock of public education in the Empire of Brazil (1822-1889), affirms that secularity was a “word that was not yet included in our pedagogical vocabulary”. Although it was present in many discourses, how to understand that it did not happen in reality? For him, the fact that religious education was provided in all institutions by secular people did not establish a secular education. And the questions still remain present: must religious classes in schools be taught by religious or secular people?; what should be the role of churches in schools?; is secularity a synonymous of freedom in education?; is secularity the same as neutrality?; and what is the role of the State?; is defending secularity the same as being antireligious?; does it mean freedom of education? must actions be state or private? must education be private or public? - among many other possible questions.

To understand the world of contemporary education presupposes the reconstruction of the logic of its genesis - it is necessary to go back to the origins, that is, to the moment when the educational institution in the Brazilian republic was constituted (Fanfani, 1996, p. 40). Therefore, the relevance of the subject, in discussions on Brazilian Education, substantiates an analysis of the history of discourses and actions concerning secular school and freedom of education.

This study intends to analyze the initiative by Rui Barbosa in the foundation of Liga do Ensino (League of Education) in Brazil, in October 22, 1883. The idea of founding a society for the defense of secular education may have derived from the works of Jean Moussac - more specifically, the book *La Ligue de l'enseignement. Histoire, doctrines, oeuvres, résultat et projets* (1880), which composed Rui Barbosa's library; his copy had innumerable comments on the edges. The objective of the association was the “study of the diverse branches of public education, in order to promote the adoption of scientific methods and the improvement of teaching conditions”, which arised from discussion of questions related to instruction development, in conferences and on the press; from the study of conditions and necessities concerning public and private educational institutions; and from the foundation of a secular school model. And, in order to disseminate pedagogical modern methods, with the ambition of spreading them throughout the country, they published the Liga do Ensino (League of Education) Magazine, in 1884. In order to carry out this study, we analyzed copies of the Liga do Ensino (League of Education) Magazine (1884), the periodical press, documents referring to pedagogical conferences, especially the Proceedings of the event, from 1884, as well as correspondence. We observed that discourses and actions around secular school and

freedom of education, in the context of Liga do Ensino do Brasil and Liga do Ensino Magazine, were aligned with an international movement, which provided conditions for the emergency and the institutionalization of secularity in the Brazilian education, between the end of 18th century and the first decades of 20th century.

De la laïcisation à la re-confessionnalisation de l'enseignement en Centrafrique (1962 - 1997). Histoire d'une relation atypique entre l'État et l'Église à travers la convention de partenariat éducatif (Français)

Jean-Louise Yerima Banga (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

Comme beaucoup d'autres pays anciennement colonisés par la France, la République Centrafricaine a connu l'émergence d'un système éducatif grâce à l'implication et à la détermination des missionnaires qui ont été pionniers dans la mise en place de l'enseignement scolaire. Pendant que l'armée coloniale s'employait à conquérir et à pacifier le pays, l'œuvre éducative prenait de plus en plus de place dans l'agenda des activités missionnaires et servait de stratégie pour l'évangélisation, ce qui avec le temps confèrera à l'église catholique une grande influence et lui permettra d'occuper l'espace socio-culturel pendant la colonisation jusqu'à l'indépendance. Mais après l'avènement de l'indépendance en 1960, dans l'euphorie de la liberté et de la volonté d'affirmer son autonomie politique, la jeune république décida de prendre en charge l'enseignement en unifiant sous l'unique responsabilité de l'État le système éducatif excluant l'église de ce service et de ce rôle qu'elle a eu à jouer jusque-là. L'assemblée nationale a adopté deux ans après l'indépendance - en avril 1962 - la loi d'unification de l'enseignement. Cette loi dépouillera l'église de tous les établissements scolaires qu'elle dirigeait et les missionnaires vont se replier exclusivement dans le domaine de l'évangélisation du pays. Tout le patrimoine mobilier scolaire de l'église a été concédé à l'État contre un franc symbolique. A partir de 1996, on retrouvera l'église catholique de nouveau dans l'enseignement aux côtés de l'État, cette fois-ci avec un rôle très conforté dans le domaine scolaire, à travers une texte juridique appelé « Convention de Partenariat ».

Notre communication se propose de retracer ce passage de la laïcisation à la reconfessionnalisation de l'enseignement en scrutant la période de 1962 à 1997. Il s'agit de faire découvrir non seulement les raisons de ce retour, mais les conditions socio-politiques du retour de l'Église dans l'éducation avec l'établissement d'une nouvelle relation institutionnelle entre l'État et l'Église. Nous nous intéresserons au caractère normatif de cette Convention de partenariat et ce que celle-ci induit dans la politique éducative nationale, sans oublier sa place par rapport à la question de la laïcité républicaine proclamée par la Constitution. Nous retiendrons pour terminer que la relation entre l'État et l'Église à travers cette Convention de partenariat éducatif induit dans la pratique un modèle de laïcité atypique et hybride en Centrafrique.

Notre recherche s'inscrit dans une approche historique, partant de l'année 1962 qui est l'année de la laïcisation de l'enseignement pour conclure en 1997 qui est l'année qui a vu les deux institutions adopter après négociation cette Convention de partenariat pour matérialiser la relation entre les deux parties.

Les sources pour étayer notre communication proviennent des archives de l'archevêché de Bangui à Saint Paul, du Secrétariat Général de l'Enseignement Catholique de Centrafrique, du

Ministère de l'Éducation nationale de Centrafrique et quelques documents personnels. Nous examinerons donc la loi n° 62/316 portant unification de l'enseignement de 1962, le dossier des États Généraux de l'Éducation et de la formation de 1994, les documents de négociation entre l'État et l'Église pour le retour de celle-ci dans l'enseignement, le texte de la Convention de Partenariat et les Statuts et Règlements intérieurs des écoles catholiques, etc. Le fond de référence reste la thèse soutenue à l'Université de Picardie Jules Verne à Amiens l'an dernier portant sur les relations de partenariat éducatif entre l'État et l'Église en Centrafrique.

Les syndicats enseignants français et la laïcité (1951-1989) (Français)

Julien Cahon (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

This communication proposes to show the apparent unity of the french teacher unionism during the secular demonstrations against the financing of the private school, mask designs different and evolving of secularism - laws Marie-Barangé) 1951) to the Savary Bill (1984), through the Debré laws (1959) and die (1977), and this until the case of the Islamic veil of Creil (1989). These different designs, causing some also of internal divisions to these unions (the SNES for example), the federations (the FEN, between SNI and SNES), or even to the trade unions (CFTC, between the NMS and the EFF), remind us that if these "secularism" school projects were at the heart of the reflection of the principal trade union organizations of public education (SNALC, SNES, SNI, SGEN) as private (FEP), the debates they cause cannot be separated from issues about pedagogy, school discipline, neutrality of teaching staff, and more widely of societal issues.

Francesa de sindicatos de la enseñanza y el laicismo (1951-1989)

Esta comunicación pretende mostrar la unidad aparente del sindicalismo de profesor de francés durante las manifestaciones laicas contra la financiación de la escuela privada, diseños diferentes y cambiantes de la laicidad - leyes Marie-Barangé de mascarilla) 1951) para el proyecto de ley Savary (1984), a través de las leyes Debré (1959) y morir (1977) y esto hasta que el caso del velo islámico de Creil (1989). Estos diferentes diseños, haciendo que algunas de las divisiones internas a estos sindicatos (la SNES por ejemplo), las federaciones (pantano, entre SNI y SNES), o incluso a los sindicatos (entre el SNM y la EFF, CFTC), nos recuerdan eso si estos proyectos de la escuela de "laicismo" en el corazón de la reflexión de las principales organizaciones sindicales de educación pública (SNALC, SNES, NIS, NMS) como privado (FEP), los debates que causan no puede separarse de las cuestiones sobre pedagogía, disciplina escolar, neutralidad del personal docente y más ampliamente de temas sociales.

Les syndicats enseignants français et la laïcité (1951-1989)

Cette communication propose de montrer que l'apparente unité du syndicalisme enseignant français lors des mobilisations laïques contre le financement de l'école privée, masque des conceptions différentes et évolutives de la laïcité – des lois Marie-Barangé (1951) au projet de loi Savary (1984), en passant par les lois Debré (1959) et Guerneur (1977), et ce jusqu'à l'affaire du voile islamique de Creil (1989). Ces différentes conceptions, qui entraînent des aussi des clivages internes à ces syndicats (le SNES par exemple), aux fédérations (la FEN, entre SNI et SNES), voire aux centrales syndicales (la CFTC notamment, entre le SGEN et la FEP), nous rappellent que si ces projets concernant la «laïcité» scolaire furent au cœur de la réflexion des principales organisations syndicales de l'enseignement public (SNALC, SNES, SNI, SGEN) comme privé (FEP), les débats qu'ils occasionnent ne peuvent être dissociés des

questions concernant la pédagogie, les discipline scolaires, la neutralité du personnel enseignant, et plus largement des questions de société.

7.2 SWG OBJECTS, SENSES AND THE MATERIAL WORLD OF SCHOOLING (3/4)

VISUALIZING PAST SCHOOLS: USING MONTAGE

Organizers: Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham) & Martin Lawn (University of Oxford)

This panel is based on workshop that took place at the 1998 ISCHE Leuven conference. At Leuven, the workshop was used as a provocation following the discussions which taken place in the series of seminars which constructed 'Silences and Images' (Grosvenor, Lawn and Rousmaniere Peter Lang 1999). At the outset, we asked that, in studying the modern school, historians of education found new ways of exploring the tensions between 'design and desire' as expressed in the spaces of the school and [as it evolved as an idea later] the layered sedimentation of the histories of this tension present in the school.

Following Walter Benjamin [history breaks down into images, not into stories], we tried to introduce the idea of the montage into our studies of schooling. In addition, we placed the school within contexts of urban fragmentation, commodification and surveillance.

The Leuven Workshop was treated as a creative disruption, an enjoyable and confusing event, after which we could not forget the historian of education who asked 'what is the answer!' Historiography has expanded in the last twenty years and we would like to add the new historical approaches of the last twenty years and to continue devising ways of thinking about the 'totality of fragments', for example, on the senses, and on the use of new technologies in historical practice.

The Workshop will raise questions about a central Birmingham school, built in 1880 and still in operation, to focus on what happened in this space over time; it will include working and altering designed spaces, installing and mislaying technology, and finding evidence of the disappeared. Juxtaposition of 'evidence' and dissolution of the narrative will be suggested.

7.3 SWG REFORPRO: REFORMISM(S), PROGRESSIVISM(S), CONSERVATISM(S) IN EDUCATION (2/3)

FRENCH POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSIES ABOUT PROGRESSIVISM AND CONSERVATISM

Chair: André Robert (Université Lumière Lyon 2)

Political parties and their semantic approach about the scholar reform: from the revolution to the restauration? (from post-war period to sixties) (English)

Isabelle Clavel (Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

According to the linguist Alain Rey, the reform in political action supports the idea of a constant transformation without revolution. Thus, this is contrary to the inertia of a simple governance or conservatism. Reform has to be done for itself. According to other authors, it belongs to a « lingua Quintae Republicae ». In this case, it doesn't have etymological or ideological meaning no more. The verb reformare – returning to its early form, coming back to its original form – is uncommon in Latin. Gerhart Ladner showed that the reform in the

early Christian centuries was a return to the origins above all. In the middle ages, the reformation signified « give its original form » to the rules of a religious order, corrupted by time and uses. Seneque used the wording « pro reformation morum », the « reform of mores ». Saint Augustin called for a reform of self for the best, « reformare in melius ». Both expressions added a moral dimension to the original meaning. Joana Innes explained that, for the two latin authors, the reformation was the limited attempts for men to improve themselves and the world. Therefore, it was merely a return to the past.

Christian Topalov, who worked on reformer networks between 1880 and 1914, acknowledged the fact that « the reform's common reference is blurred, polysemous, ambiguous ». Yet the Republic is logos above all. In the framework of reflections on education, it would be necessary to question both the reform's polysemy and its different kind of use by the provider of the political speech on the IVth and Vth Republic. Whereas we observed a revolutionary mystic during the Libération, among which school and education, the attempts to renovate school system were disappointing. The related speech tended to fade over the years. Our proposal explores the developments of political parties, within their semantic approach of the scholar reform. From the end of the interwar period to the sixties, we wonder what are the ideological and programmatic implications? Consequently, aren't we witnessing a decrease of ambitions about the democratisation of school?

“Sauver les lettres”, save the school: a „left“ defence of traditional education? (English)
Pierre Kahn (Université de Rouen)

The existence of a traditionalist movement in teaching matters has been on the run in France since the beginning of the seventies. The aim is to fight an educational progressivism soon described pejoratively as « pédagogisme » through which we can perceive the end of the specific requirements due to normal transmission of academic culture. From the eighties, these literature is growing. It is easy to perceive in it the expression of a conservative thinking of school. The point is not really to make an analytical inventory of the themes of this approach, but rather to understand why it is sometimes supported in the name of a political progressivism (cf « Sauver les lettres »).

Progressive social and political convictions looking conservative when confronted with school reforms? (France, Switzerland, 1900-1930) (English)
Frédéric Mole (Université de Genève)

Curricular and pedagogical methods reform projects periodically provoke debates within faculty, and more broadly in society. These debates involve complex forms of argumentation. When primary aims of announced reforms are to promote a wider access to knowledge , and to democratize the transmission of culture, they give rise to two kinds of opposition.

The first category of opposition, on the side of social and political conservatism, is to reject any reform that could jeopardize the recruitment of elites. According to this point of view, the demands of the programs and the discriminating effects of the methods appear as the condition of a legitimate selection of pupils. The other opposition comes from actors who claim to be socially and politically progressive republicans; it consists in denouncing the

perverse effects of reforms that would reduce the demands of the school system and it predicts that such reforms would actually run counter the interests of the largest number.

The difficulty of studying these controversies is that antagonistic political positions are sometimes expressed through very similar rhetoric: lowering of requirements, loss of taste for effort, democratic illusion, talk of decline, etc.

Focusing on various debates developed in France and Switzerland between 1900's and 1930's, mainly in the political or education press, the communication will seek:

1 / to compare and differentiate politically opposed rhetorics

2 / to understand the controversies between promoters and detractors of reforms who share the same democratic ideals.

Is it possible to be the opponent of reformists and progressives both? Back to some Althusserian productions about the school in the 1970s (English)

Xavier Riondet (Université de Lorraine)

We can understand what is a reformist position or a progressive position in education when we understand what these positions don't be. In this regard, it is not uninteresting to examine the work of Christian Baudelot (1938-) and Roger Establet (1938-) entitled *The Capitalist School in France* (1971) by restoring the intellectual, political and editorial context of this book, which had a certain impact in the educational and academic circles. This book extended and supplemented in a more empirical way the theoretical work of Louis Alformer (1918-1990) on ideological apparatuses of state and the question of the contribution of the school, the central « AIE », to the reproduction of social domination in a Capitalist system of production. The authors' comments were distinguished by a vehement attack on the reformists, especially the supporters of the Langevin-Wallon Plan, and the progressive ideology. This book is also to be relocated in the context of the French Communism, since this book is finally published at Maspero and not in the editions of the party, the social editions, in an environment where Cogniot and others are still ubiquitous and Influential.

On this occasion, we would like to grasp the complexity of the contexts at stake by taking the backstage of this publication. Announced in a manuscript of Althuser (later published under the title on reproduction) under the name "Schools" (Althuser, 1995, N. 57, p. 114), it was originally intended to be a collective project led by the Spinoza group, composed of members of the « PCF », Maoists, and members of the « PSU », including Etienne Balibar (1942-), Renée Balibar (1915-1998), Pierre Macherey (1938-) and Michel Tort. Group founded in 1967, the work of this seminar on the school was published, but finally co-signed by Baudelot and Establet, "for reasons of political divergence", according to Althuse (1992/2013, p. 399).

Through this dive in this production, the challenge is to contribute to a better cartography of reformist and progressive thoughts and their opposites, controversies and fracture lines that characterise the thoughts in education at the time of school democratization.

Social conservatism and pedagogical reformism: the case of the CNGA after May 1968 (English)

Yves Verneuil (Université Lumière Lyon 2)

The “Confédération nationale des groupes autonomes de l’enseignement public” (CNGA) was born on June 20, 1968. It brings together teachers who were exasperated by the events of May-June 1968. It calls for a return to order and denounces politicization in high schools and universities. That's why this teacher union is generally considered conservative. However, the CNGA is in favour of educational reforms. It is true that it deplores the "demagoguery" of the reforms decided by Edgar Faure; but it admits that the cause of the events of May 1968 lies in the maladjustment of the school system. So it is not a reactionary union that would like to return to the situation before May 1968. This differentiates it from the SNALC. It is actually an example of a conservative trade union from a political point of view, but reformist from a school point of view. As Jean-Philippe Vincent remarks, conservatism is not opposed to reformism, but to progressivism.

7.4 SWG TOUCHING BODIES IN SCHOOL (2/3)

CULTURE AND NATURE: THEORETICAL DEBATES IN EDUCATION

Touching Bodies: Utopia and Dystopia in the Elaboration of the Relation between Nature and Education (Brazil, First Decades of the 20th Century) (English)

Cynthia Greive Veiga (Federal University of Minas Gerais)

Etymologically, the meaning of the words nature and culture are almost indistinguishable, both refer to birth and cultivation, that is, to what is inherent to life. Even though their meanings had been almost indistinguishable, their current meanings and dichotomization originated in Western Europe and it was expanded in the colonized Americas, producing fragmented knowledge of the world. The institutionalization of compulsory education of all children, in 19th century, was essential for this process. As can be seen in pedagogical guidelines, the relation between the body education and nature was visibly manipulated, as both utopia and dystopia. As proposed by Norbert Elias, the civilizing process, initially of noblemen and the bourgeoisie, characterized by the coercion of instincts and desires, favoring the asymmetry between culture and nature. Dialectically, we observe that this dynamic resulted in life utopias, that were expressed in novels and paintings, where natural landscapes, “wild life” and extolling the naked body, were soon conveyed as a possibility of escape from a previously programmed world. Elias (2005) notes that these representations did not concern the working class utopia of a better life, but that of the elites, whose had invented nature and the simple countryside life as a refuge for those who, at any time, can decide to return to "civilization". However, this experience was not lived in the same way by peasants and native peoples, that is, by human groups directly dependent on the land (ESCOBAR, LANDER, 2005). For the dual logic between nature and culture, to become universal and be imposed upon these groups, it was necessary to deconstruct their ways of life in a paradoxical way: the contact between body and nature in the market society started to be performed as a dystopia. In the procedure of institutionalization of public schools, we can detect the elaboration of nature as a utopia, in the process of educating the sensibilities

of children, but we can detect this relation as a dystopia as well, in the experience of institutions for “delinquent children”, where forced work in the fields was a pedagogical way of “correction”. In this study, I investigate these two kinds of schooling and their opposing pedagogical conceptions about the relations between body education and nature: Elementary schools and institutions for “delinquent children”. At elementary schools, we can detect the elaboration of nature as a utopia at the pedagogical objective of the sensitization of children's bodies to the "natural world", in actions like the creation of agricultural clubs, and celebrations (spring day, tree day, corn fair). In the opposite direction, at institutions for “delinquent children”, we can detect the elaboration of nature as a dystopia. The deviant bodies were corrected by prescribing fieldwork and physical exhaustion. Although apparent opposites, the utopia and dystopia in the elaboration of the relation between education and nature, complement each other as processes of definition of the social dynamic of social inclusion/exclusion. In this research, government administration reports, laws, pedagogical journals, literature and images, and literature on the history of education are analyzed.

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Does Ontogenesis Reproduce Phylogenesis? The Recapitulation Theory in the Discourses of Psychology on Student Development (English)

Ana Laura Godinho Lima (University of São Paulo)

Theme: The nature(s) of the human being in educational contexts and practices

This paper analyzes the discourses of psychology on human development conveyed in psychology textbooks destined for teacher training. It presents partial results of the research Psychology taught to teachers: an analysis of the discourses addressed to teachers in formation (FAPESP). In particular, it aims to characterize the presence in these discourses of variations of the statement according to which "ontogenesis reproduces phylogenesis", which occupies the center of recapitulation theory, and its relationship to the student's development and progress in the graded school. According to this theory, elaborated at the end of the nineteenth century by the physician Ernst Haeckel in the field of embryology, each individual, when developing, goes through several stages, corresponding to the adult form of his ancestors in the evolutionary sequence (Gouvêa, Gerken, 2010, p. 49). Brought to the field of psychology, recapitulation theory served as an explanatory model for various aspects of development, from the individual and group differences in the size and shape of the brain

until the evolution of language and moral, etc. It has had serious effects on education, since, according to Stephen Jay Gould, "Recapitulation served as a general theory of biological determinism" (Gould, 2003, p. 113) and thus to affirm inequality in the capacity to learn among human groups, mainly between whites and blacks and between men and women.

The analysis focuses on works written by authors who taught psychology in normal schools in Brazil during the twentieth century. The analysis draws on the writings of Michel Foucault and other contemporary authors on the discourse analysis and texts of Nikolas Rose on the history of psychology. It identifies the references to the theory of recapitulation and characterizes its presence in the manuals of psychology, describing its relations with other statements, especially those related to its implications for education in the graded school.

In the discourses analyzed, references to recapitulation theory appear when it comes to asserting that the infancy of human beings is slower than that of other animals and is slower in civilized races than in human groups considered wild, that have reached a less advanced stage of development. It was stated, for example, that women were more precocious, but reached a lower degree of development than men in adulthood. The theory also served to assert that the brains of individuals belonging to human groups designated as savages were lighter compared to those of representatives of groups considered to be cults. It was also stated that children, throughout their development, go through different stages with regard to their predominant interests and activities, which correspond to the typical ones of their ancestors. Because of this, it was recommended that each teacher become a child development researcher in order to adapt the teaching to the needs and interests of his students, according to their stage of development. For this reason, the theory of recapitulation in the field of educational psychology also led to the assertion that the sequence of school contents should reproduce the history of humanity.

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Let's make animals our true friends. The Nature/Culture Divide in the Emotional Education of Children Attitudes towards Animals. Chile, c.1900-c.1930 (English)

Pablo Toro Blanco (Universidad Alberto Hurtado)

Since last decades teachers in any middle or high income country's classroom are challenged to deal with a wide range of cybernetic virtual friends designed for children like, for instance, the popular virtual pet Tamagotchi (created in 1996 by Aki Maita, a Japanese designer). Rather than just a usual toy, a Tamagotchi demands to its owner time, care and attention, just as in an interpersonal bond. It is very likely that these kind of virtual and/or robotic devices

will become more recurrent inhabitants of school everyday life in the future, sharing (or even challenging) the historical relationship between human being and non-human animals, even though its singularity: human beings “use” animals even to constitute their self. According to this “traditional explanations for animal–human companionship are typically of the “as if” type, based on anthropomorphizing animals: Human beings spontaneously interpret animal behaviour as if some animals were fellow human beings” (DE GELDER, 2016:208). This situation raises many questions on learning processes, children socialization and other topics regarding non-human beings and their role in the forthcoming models for children education. At the same time, it is an opportunity to raise historical questions about nature and education.

Anthropocentrism is one of the very foundations of western culture and, therefore, of educational processes. As a researcher points out, the “nature/culture divide, and on the supposed boundary between humanity and animality, is a topos in anthropological thought [as well as] the relationship between nature and culture, humans and animals, innate and learned behaviours, phylogeny and ontogeny [...]” (TONUTTI, 2011:183). Even though these biases have been reinforced through education, it is interesting to notice their historical changes. Thus, this paper (which recognizes the history of emotions as its conceptual field), aims to shed light on some aspects of the emotional education regarding how children should behave with animals, focusing on the Chilean school system during the first third of the 20th century. Moral invocations, humanitarianism, proto-ecological considerations, transnational influences and other phenomena emerged as sources for a local educational discourse on the relationship between children and animal as part of the nature. Official documentation, textbooks, journals and reviews for children and young people are used as sources of information like, for instance, Jorge Meléndez’s educational work. Winner of a public contest for writing a book to support good treatment to animals (MELÉNDEZ, 1919), he underlined the good influences that foreign models like “The Dicky Bird Society” (initiated in 1876 in Manchester, UK) could mean to Chileans students and encouraged the formation of animal protection societies based on schools.

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Thing-Power in Bernhard Heinrich Blasches *Naturbildung*. An Inquiry to the Educational Ecology of Romantic Pedagogy (English)

Sebastian Engelmann (Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen)

Bernhard Heinrich Blasche (1776-1832) cannot be considered as a well-known figure in the history of education. Neither in the German discussion in educational sciences nor in the international discussion his name is mentioned (Thonwart/Töpfer 2015). This was already pointed out in 1909 (Jaeger 1909) when Jaeger mentioned the only book that discussed the

educational thought of Blasche by Osterheld (Osterheld 1909). Besides this monography only short articles take account of the work of Blasche (Trommer 1987; Trommer 1990). However, in 2015, Kenklies republished the *Naturbildung* by Blasche. Kenklies argues that Blasches conception of an education for, by, with and according to nature is highly interconnected with recent concepts of sustainable education and the recurring idealistic philosophy of German romanticism (Bach/Waldmann 2015).

But why was Blasche neglected for such a long time? And what is his specific contribution to the pedagogical discussion? This paper argues that the answer to both questions is situated in a specific conceptualization of materiality that Blasche offers in his work. By designing the educational context in his *Naturbildung* as a learning-space that is both cultural and natural, both passive and active at the same time, he was neither in line with the common understanding of nature and culture during his time, nor with the common understanding of it today. I am going to make this argument plausible by offering a theoretical framework derived from the discussion in *New Materialism* (Coole/Frost 2010).

Pointing out the notion of “thing power” by feminist theoretician Jane Bennett (2010) and the understanding of “biocultural creatures” of Samantha Frost (2016), I am going to show that materiality – and therefore nature – plays an active role in the work of Blasche by offering insights into the oscillating text. All in all, this paper offers a sketch for a new approach to address different materialities in educational contexts from the perspective of *New Materialism* and shows the range of this approach on one example.

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7.5 SWG MIGRANTS, MIGRATION AND EDUCATION (3/3)

PEDAGOGUES AND CULTURAL MEDIATION

Elizabeth Cadbury, Maternal Social Work and the Foreign Element: Belgian Refugee Relief in Birmingham during the First World War (English)

Jolien De Vuyst (Ghent University), Ilse Derluyn (Ghent University), Siân Roberts (University of Birmingham), Angelo Van Gorp (University of Koblenz-Landau)

This contribution returns to what was intended to be presented at last year's ISCHE and was titled "The poor things will have to wait a long time," a quote referring to Belgian refugees taken from Elizabeth Cadbury's Family Journal Letters (1917, p. 1). However, before discussing Cadbury's pivotal role in the War Refugees' Committee Birmingham and District (WRCB) we first had to gain a better understanding of the broader context, including antecedents and the legal framework, in which refugee work took shape and refugees were subjected to what we called the "Paradox of the Alien Citizen," as presented at ISCHE 39 (De Vuyst, Myers & Van Gorp, submitted). As other women Quaker activists, Elizabeth Cadbury (1858-1951) dedicated her life to humanitarian educational activism (Roberts, 2011; 2013). She was strongly involved in local politics and several local and national charity projects.

Our paper addresses the question as to how Cadbury left her mark on the WRCB, how her Quaker ideology was implemented, and to the consequences it had for the practical refugee relief work. In order to answer these questions we make use of a variety of primary sources kept in official archives, including the Cadbury Family Journal Letters, a Belgian Refugees Register, the WRCB minutes, correspondence, and leaflets. These records give an insight into Cadbury's relation with and influence on the WRCB, the organisation of the relief work and on how it impacted the daily lives of the many Belgian refugees in Birmingham.

The first, biographical section focusses on Cadbury's life and puts an emphasis on her role as a "social mother" whose philanthropic activities were based on Victorian values and could be described as "maternal social work" (Smith, 2012). In a second section we discuss the turn in the WRCB's refugee relief in December 1914, from the initial emergency relief to a consolidation phase that lasted until the end of the war. This consolidation implied a "learning to live together". A shift took place from providing basic needs for all to the more limited approach of helping those deemed deserving. The new policy was based on the pre-war work-ethic and self-help tradition that included a strong moralist agenda, as could also be found in Cadbury's journal entries. In the third section we have a closer look at how that policy impacted on different domains in the daily lives of Belgian refugees, such as financial support, employment, and housing, and at how it was related to Cadbury's views on and corresponding active role in refugee relief. By doing so, this paper reveals how Cadbury was

the personification of a generation whose philanthropic ethos was challenged in the context of the First World War.

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Immigrant Women Teachers from Islamic Countries — Choice of a Livelihood, a Profession and a Status: (1950-1959) (English)

Tali Tadmor-Shimony (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)

This paper deals with the phenomenon of Jewish immigrant women, who became teachers a short time after arriving from Islamic countries, during the first decade of Israel's statehood.

Immigrants, who practice teaching in their new country only a year after arrival, is a rare social phenomenon; since teachers usually come from the host culture and represent the dominant social norms. The main reason for these women joining the educational system was the shortage of teachers due to the rapid increase in the number of incoming students. The colleges of education were unable to meet the overwhelming demand. The Ministry of Education had to recruit thousands of people to serve as teachers, including many new immigrants; these recruits were trained within just a few months and sent to teach in the peripheries.

A brief examination of the biographical profile of immigrant women teachers from Islamic countries reveals that most of them were born in Iraq, a state that did not enforce the compulsory education; but these women grew up in the big cities when high school was provided by Jewish philanthropic foundations. At the same time, over half the women immigrants from Muslim countries had not learned to read and write. (Ministry of Education, 1955)

The story of middle eastern Jewish immigrant women serves as a prism through which one can evaluate the following central processes.

a) The quick social and economic mobility of immigrant women teachers from Islamic countries on the class ladder by attending middle-class jobs in the host society. This

phenomenon is especially evident in light of the reality in which most of the lower paying jobs were being offered to immigrants from Islamic countries (Meir Glitzenstein, 2008). There were even some instances in which the decision to teach in Israel improved their professional standing, as in Suad's case, who had been an uncertified teacher in Iraq and became partially certified to teach.

b) The function of the teaching profession as acceleration agent for immigrant teachers.

When the immigrant women became teachers, they actually joined a group not defined by the insider/outsider criterion or by how long they had been Israeli residents, but rather by other inclusion/exclusion criteria. These were also the years when Israeli society adopted the 'credential principle', making official credentials prerequisites for securing employment and social status. Those professions requiring certification, which included pedagogy, enjoyed good financial and social rewards. Membership in such a professional group was based on predetermined criteria regarding who had valid certification. Their membership enabled them to adopt another identity, beside the social 'immigrant' status: a professional identity (Tadmor- Shimony 2011).

c) The empowerment processes undergone by the immigrant women teachers, that stands out against the background of the research literature on immigration and gender. (Sharpe, 2004) However, the women who came with the educational capital of high school or even university, enjoyed a significant advantage. Single educated women, who worked as teachers, were a normative phenomenon among the Jewish bourgeoisie in Iraq. However, even in educated Iraqi-Jewish society, the 'marriage bar' was applied. But in Israel it was common to be professional and a family woman at the same time. When the middle-eastern immigrant women teachers continued to work after getting married, they served, without even realizing it, as gender role-models for their community.

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Towards a Pedagogy of Peace: A New Project that Provides Historical Perspective on the Work of Women Religious in Providing for the Education of Girls and Women (English)
Deirdre Raftery (University College Dublin), Maria Williams (University College London), Makrina Finlay (Kylemore Abbey)

This session contributes to the discussion of how migrants, and migration, can be written into the history of education, by reviewing and analyzing a new project designed to cast new light on migrants and migration in the history of female education.

The project brings together historians at the University of Notre Dame (Kathleens Sprows Cummings), University College Dublin (Deirdre Raftery), UCL Institute of Education (Maria Williams), and the University of Oxford (Pia Jolliffe) Kylemore Abbey (Dr. Makrina Finlay, O.S.B.). These scholars are convening a series of three-day symposia, to invite leading scholars and practitioners to consider the legacy, role and work of women religious in migrancy and the education of migrants. The work we will discuss in this session attempts to shine a light on the work of women religious (nuns) in educating migrant girls and women in the past. It is a review and analysis of the first symposium, which took place at Kylemore Abbey, in March 2018. Speakers from around the world gathered to commence this important project that contributes to the development of a Pedagogy of Peace.

The term 'Pedagogy of Peace' was used by Pope John Paul II when he drew attention to the role of Catholic teaching sisters of the past as cultural mediators. He understood a Pedagogy of Peace as one which assists migrants to integrate into a new social reality, without losing the authentic values of their culture of origin.

In the session we will use examples from the theory and practice of migrant education by a number of the congregations considered at the symposium. These will include: The Benedictines, The Society of the Sacred Heart, The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and the Handmaids of the Holy Child Jesus. The examples will be taken from formal and informal education including schools, orphanages and institutions of further and higher education as well as parish education, formation of sisters, community education and education whilst travelling.

In explaining the role of the women religious as cultural mediators we will explore elements of practice including: visible and invisible pedagogy, teachers' understanding of the needs of migrant students, subjects of the curriculum, relationships between teachers and pupils, approaches to bilingualism and assimilation and the challenges facing women religious who were often migrants themselves. Reference will be made to a range of sources including documents, photographs, artefacts, school buildings and oral tradition.

Imperial Childhoods and Colonial School Architecture: European Children's Schooling Experience in Hong Kong 1881-1941 (English)

Meng (Stella) Wang (University of Sydney)

This paper responds to the ISCHE 40 Migrants, Migration and Education SWG's call for papers by exploring more than six decades of changing ideas about the education of white European children in British colonial Asia through the architecture of two British schools in Hong Kong.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, with the opening of the Suez Canal, more European children accompanied their parents to British and French Asian colonies. By the early twentieth century, in the Far East colonies, European children were not only increasing in number but at this time emerging as the focal point of a new middle-class morality and ideals of domesticity (Pomfret, 2015). Properly brought up children were simultaneously signifiers of middle-class respectability and representatives of European civilization and progress (Duff, 2015). These ideals of imperial civility intertwined with a slow crystallization of definitions of racial identities (Vallgård, 2014), which in turn triggered a spatial revolution in European children's everyday life that was inscribed within the framework of 'purity'.

This desire for 'purity' in European children's living environment, pure in the sense of its sanitary condition and racial dimension, had resulted in a spatial divided in European children's everyday geographies-they lived in 'sanitized' and exclusionary spaces. In Hong Kong, European elites had fought for spatial segregation in almost every aspect of their children's life-to achieve 'purity' of the spaces where European children live, learn, and play, European schools, clinics, clubs, and gardens were introduced, which guaranteed the European-ness of the physical environment their children come to contact with.

This paper focuses on the institutional expression of this racial anxiety in the education sphere. Through identifying the main European schools in Hong Kong between 1881 and 1941 and tracing the architectural forms in relation to the curriculum employed, I aim to address the role of the colonial school architecture in shaping European children's moral and physical condition. More specifically, I examine European children's everyday life in these exclusionary spaces, and explore the process by which children's gender and racial identities came into being through everyday spatial encounters.

Concerning sources, this focus on European children's everyday life at school, in colonial Hong Kong, necessitates specific archival practices. To restore the schooling experiences and address the role of school architecture in installing imperial civility, I draw upon a range of archival sources, including: education reports, sanitary and medical reports, census data, school newsletters, school floorplans, photographic records, newspapers, oral histories, and diaries.

Duff, S. (2015). *Changing Childhoods in the Cape Colony: Dutch Reformed Church Evangelicalism and Colonial Childhood, 1860-1895*. New York: Springer.

Pomfret, D. (2015). *Youth and Empire: Trans-colonial childhoods in British and French Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Vallgård, K. (2014). *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark*. New York: Springer.

7.6 SYMPOSIUM KONZEPTE VON NATUR UND NATÜRLICHKEIT IM DISKURS UM DIE ERNEUERUNG DES LEBENS UND DER ERZIEHUNG – HISTORISCHE, SYSTEMATISCHE UND AKTUELLE PERSPEKTIVEN

(SCHWERPUNKTE: LEBENSREFORM UND REFORMPÄDAGOGIK) (2/3)

TANZ, BEWEGUNG, KÖRPER, SPIRITUALITÄT

Discussant: [Christine Mayer \(Universität Hamburg\)](#)

Returning to the "clear source". Visualisation of the elements of archaic cultures and Christian habits in the early 20th century Hungarian art of movement - modern dance (mozdulatművészet) in the pedagogical and art endeavours of new musical movements
[Márk Fenyves & Villő Pethő \(Doctoral School of Education, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary resp. University of Szeged, Hungary\)](#)

The strength of our research is based on the fact that it studies a field of art (dance) which is almost forgotten because of some historical reasons. The research of dance is very weak and it has only come into focus in the last few decades. On the other hand, the Hungarian art of

movement and new musical movements appeared in the same time with the movements of life reform and show similarity with its motives.

The mystery plays created between 1925-44 have an extraordinary role in Valéria Dienes's and Lajos Bárdos's life-work. They mean an important stage in the work of these artists and pedagogues.

Valéria Dienes's main goal with these re-discovered and created mystery plays was to let the audience and performers (community) of the plays enjoy the same experience as the audience and participants of medieval mysteries might have had. The appearing approach back to naturalness and nature in the life-reform can be seen in these mystery plays. Although, the return to the old form/motive led to a new form, a new Holy Mass in which the creation of a natural form of religion is the goal. The aim of the movement school, the Dienes-developed movement-system, the Orkesztika, was to shift the natural movements to an artistic level, to artistically visualize the movement. The music of mystery plays shows an extremely colorful picture. Old genres, polyphonic singing, ancient melodies/tunes, folksongs, baroque, classical and romantic works can be found. Regarding music, singing is the center, as one of the most natural and most ancient musical activity.

The global-art (Gesamtkunstwerk) mystery plays, based on ancient motives, are complex art works. They are built on the synthesis of movement, text, and music. Apart from the professional choirs, the movement choir, the singing choir and the solo dancers, lay performers (non-professionals) are also involved. Besides the training of the movement choir and singing choir they pay extra attention to the training of the lay people. This is an early example of the artistic education and education by art.

Nature as quasi teacher: the effect of space in the natural environment on the dancer's mind (English)

Janka Balogh (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University), András Németh (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University)

Placed among designated paths and rules, living under the control and discipline of a society governed by rationality (Adorno, Horkheimer, Elias, Foucault), where certain human senses relevant in experiencing the world have been pushed into the background, the modern man has an altered relationship with his own body. The contrast of the two worlds appears as a problem for the individual of modern civilization that has moved away from nature, so he makes efforts (Gehlen's „drive surplus“) in the reality of everyday life to process this problem by integrating it into his routine with the help of abstract reasoning.

In the early 20th century, the community of Monte Verità was a scene of central importance for the life reform movement, which sought to counterbalance the negative social effects of industrialization and find new solutions for the conduct of life. Their ideal was a symbiotic relationship with nature, and the related cult of the free body played a significant role in establishing a new attitude to the human body and also in the development of modern dance. The dancing body became the major medium of corporeal modernism, which dynamically synthesized the dominant life reform elements, the philosophical, psychological, social and political ideas of the age as well as the elements of its new religion, and it was related to other forms of art.

Relying on comparative analysis of descriptions in dance history, my paper discusses the effect of life reform attitudes of the age on the dancer identity of early representatives of modern dance (Isadora Duncan, Rudolf Laban, Mary Wigman). It also expands upon the topic of what sources of renewal for reinterpreting the body-space-time dimensions were offered by experiences of liminality through dancing in a natural environment. My paper also touches on the educational implications and potentials of dancing in a natural environment as opposed to the conventional academic forms of classical ballet.

Appearance of Yoga and yogic way of life as a natural component of life reform and reform pedagogical movements (English)

Melinda Földiné (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University), Lajos Komár (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University)

The Central-European middle class were saturated with enthusiasm and full heartedly welcomed the eastern cultural and religious influences at the dawn of the twentieth century. Structural transformation of the society; the turbulent political situations (i.e. the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the outbreak WW I.); renewal tendencies of the Christianity; revolutionary concepts of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Freud, Jung and others; increasing popularity of new religious movements (i.e. monism, occultism, Spiritism, theosophy, anthroposophy) and many other affirmative factors were playing an immense role to change the attitude of people regarding self-inquiry. This changing attitude gave raise for the intense desire about knowing oneself, self-accomplishment, harmony, peace (within and in the society) and automatically traced back to the nature, natural environment and natural life-style (naturopathy, vegetarianism). The Buddhist and Hindu philosophy, especially Yoga provided many alternative solutions, models, methods for the natural way of life, behaviour and thinking.

Formerly, written sources (travel reports, journal articles) were hardly providing profound information for the practical implementation of Yoga, but a large number of publications became available (mainly in English, German, French) between 1900s-1940s as a result of the increasing number of scientific contributions on Buddhism and Hinduism (in the field of art, history, geography, archeology, philology, philosophy).

Practical fulfillments of the „natural orientation” mentioned above, were manifested in the form of life reform movements (hiking groups, suburban gardening movements, artists’ colonies) and also in some of the reform pedagogical concepts (Montessori, Waldorf and others). Different pedagogical endeavours had diverse emphasize on the application of Yoga but there are some strong parallelism and direct methods also could be detected in various fields.

Main characteristics/attributes of the Yogic concepts re-discovered by life-reformers were the respect of the Nature (macro and microcosmic level), naturalism, puritanism in physical, psychological, spiritual as well as ethical sense. The aim of the presentation is to highlight some direct and indirect Yoga elements in the mirror of reform pedagogy.

Female body between discipline and nature. Functionalism of female motor activities in Italy in the first half of XXth century (English)

Paolo Alfieri (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore), Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

From an educational point of view the body is considered, today as in the past, as an object which has to be disciplined according to a cultural model as well as a subject whose natural expressiveness has to be enhanced.

The institutionalization of physical education in the educational system of continental and Mediterranean Europe at the beginning of the XIXth century was rooted in the idea of disciplined bodies, aimed at building the armed nation.

Between XIX and XX century alternative views began to spread. In Germany the Lebensreform pushed towards an idea of physical education as natural expressiveness, coming from a direct contact between body and nature and with a strong criticism towards modern lifestyle .

In Italy these ideas were very marginal: the establishment that ruled Italy in the first half of the XX century opposed the criticism to pre-military gymnastic raised by hygienist doctors (some directly influenced by the German naturist movement) and the anti-functionalist approaches to motor activity. This opposition was particularly strong against female physical activities. Indeed, both the liberal establishment and the Fascist regime, even if from different ideological perspectives, looked with great suspicion at every form of spontaneous exercise of the female body.

These resistances were connected with the oppositions coming from the Catholic morality and from a middle class notion of respectability, and limited the legitimation of sport as the expression of female individuality as well as the diffusion of Dalcroze's rhythmic gymnastic and of free gymnastic. These were seen as dangerous activities, which could undermine woman's decency, drawing her away from maternity. New spaces of body freedom and spontaneity were gradually conquered with woman emancipation processes just after the Second World war.

7.7 SYMPOSIUM HOW NATURE IS GIVEN NAMES: THE INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCE OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES IN THE POST WORLD WAR TWO YEARS (3/3)

DIFFERENTIATING AND DIVIDING "NATURE" IN THE CULTURAL PROJECT TO INCLUDE

Chair: Thomas S. Popkewitz (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

Discussants: Lynn Fendler (Michigan State University), Noah W. Sobe (Loyola University Chicago)

How the Media in the Post World War Years was Giving Intelligibility to the Co-Production of the Normal/Pathological, and Educational 'Failure'/'Success' (English)

Gun-Britt Wärvik (University of Gothenburg), Caroline Runesdotter (University of Gothenburg), Daniel Pettersson (University of Gävle)

This paper highlights how the media in connection to post WWII social and education science developments, co-produced (Jasanoff, 2006) a specific 'seeing' (cf. Rose, 1999) and 'language'

on human 'nature' and education. To a large extent this was co-produced by and through a specific reasoning (Hacking, 1992) on educational comparisons which later came to be instantiated in international large-scale assessments. We consider these early comparativistic descriptions as being 'thin' (cf. Porter, 1995) to its character, in comparisons to 'thick' descriptions discussed by Geertz (1973/1993). Consequently, we elaborate on how media functioned as a 'space' for the elaboration on a specific 'seeing' and 'language' - making intelligible interchange possible between Science and Society. In our analyses we illuminate how this 'seeing' and 'language' evolved into "the backstage" for international large-scale assessments and the scientific and societal slide from 'thick' to 'thin' descriptions of the human 'nature'.

Our case is the Swedish media debate post-WWII in which the specific reasoning on international comparisons was co-produced, especially through numbers, graphs, tables etc. In this we prioritize to highlight how 'thin' descriptions reported on in the media is given different values in the process of co-production that can be elaborated on as a 'struggle' over what to be defined as the normal and the pathological (cf. Canguilhem, 1991) when it comes to the human 'nature' or in terms of defining what to consider as educational 'failure' or 'success'. We illuminate this 'struggle' on educational content from out the societal- as well as the human 'nature' and what is reported on as the 'common sense' (cf. Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2014) of education. The study analyses the media discourses and its actors, and gives examples on co-produced media discussions, most important for understanding some of the prerequisites of the development of the Swedish Welfare state education.

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How To Play During the Cold War? The Making Up of the Creative Child (English)

Catarina Silva Martins (University of Porto)

Creativity, play and freedom seem to be 'natural' classifications to think and talk about what childhood is about and what a child is and should be. The making of this triangle goes back, at least, to the 19th century and before with names such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi or Froebel.

However, the Post-World War boom produced the intensification of the relationship among the three vertice (Bycroft, 2012). The understanding of “creative” mind gave the child a “new” nature that would open up avenues for social and economic values, answering to cultural anxieties derived from the Cold War. Creativity “as something to be defined, detected and stimulated” (Eekelen, 2017, p. 96) was not only a matter of military interest, but it also entered the field of the educational and social sciences. The study of mental operations, ways of measuring and increasing creativity boiled as the right mixture of nature and science. The potential of awakening the nature of the child’s creativity was to construct a new, better and more egalitarian society and the raising of better children for the future.

The paper studies the creative movement in the Post-World War II psychological and educational sciences, and how their ‘findings’ travelled from the laboratory to the child’s environment. Promoted was the ‘design culture’ (Highmore, 2014) around the creative child as a series of objects and practices to materialization of the psychological concerns on childhood creativity. These ideas governed, until today, the practices of childrearing in the home and school in the choices of children’s exercises, toys, books or play activities and time-spaces for the making up of the creative child. The naturalization of creativity overlooks difference, although, creativity as a ‘commodity’ brings the promise of exclusivity classifying who is the creative child and who is not that child.

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Social Scientific Expertise and the Nature of the Postwar Adolescent: International Diagnoses and Local Adjustments – 1950s Australia (English)

Julie McLeod (University of Melbourne)

Drawing on a genealogy of youth studies in Australia since the 1950s, this paper explores shifting expert knowledge and research techniques for knowing about the nature of adolescence and the gendered student and future citizen, linked here to perceived concerns in managing the temporalities of leisure and work. The 1950s was the decade that saw the expansion of secondary schooling in Australia (Murray 1957; Ramsay 1960) and flourishing interests in the life and character of the adolescent (Campbell and Sherington 2006).

Significant shifts in conceptions of adolescence, and in their norms of conduct and aspirations, are evident in subsequent decades, often paralleling wider international moves in psychological and sociological thinking. A series of comparative studies auspiced by ACER during the 1950s on *The Adjustment of Youth* in the US, Australia and the UK (Australian Council for Educational Research 1951), designated adolescence as a ‘social problem’ and drew on the language of social psychology to explain the influences upon and inter and intra-

subjective conflicts faced by adolescents as well as the challenges schools face. W.F. Connell's mixed-methods study and *Growing up in Australian City: A study of adolescents in Sydney* (Connell 1959) were formed in and responded to this context.

Through a series of interviews over a 5-year period in the mid 1950s, 8,705 respondents (representing close to 10% of Sydney's adolescent population at that time) addressed themes that then beset social psychology – adjustment, learning of appropriate roles, emotional stability, and intellectual achievement. This paper 1) examines constructions of the nature of adolescent adjustment, interrogating the claims of international authority and national mediations as they played out upon the hearts and minds of youthful citizens; and 2) analyses the methodological techniques and expertise that were brought to bear in generating knowledge and norms about the nature and adjustments of adolescence.

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The Nature of the Child in Early Education: Psy-knowledges and Expertise in Post World War Two Kindergartens, Aotearoa New Zealand (English) Emma Buchanan (University of Melbourne)

The promise for fuller self-realization and social transformation of a pedagogy based on the *nature* of the child is a long-standing progressive educational theme. This paper draws from a wider genealogy of progressive educational reform and the kindergarten child in Aotearoa New Zealand, and analyses various understandings of *child nature* that were in play in New Zealand's Post World War Two free-playing kindergartens. During the early to mid-decades of the twentieth century, across many jurisdictions, new psychological theories and concepts of scientific pedagogies joined existing progressive educational discourses and offered new disciplinary authority to hopes for the whole development of selves and for the remaking of society (Campbell 1937; Thomson 2006).

The Post World War Two years saw significant international efforts to expand the provision of early childhood education (Roberts 1988), and an amalgam of self-consciously scientific knowledge about the "actual facts of normal development" (Isaacs 1932, 13) and the nature of "childhood itself" (Department of Education 1947, 8) was enthusiastically expounded,

offering authoritative guidelines for early education. In critical histories of psychological expertise and its effects upon the shape, aims, and practices of early education, such psych-knowledges are often analyzed as restrictive governing forces, and implicated, for example, in entrenching normative and normalizing understandings of the nature and needs of children and childhood.

In this paper, focusing upon Post World War Two expansions and pedagogical transformations within New Zealand kindergartens, I examine the cross-currents of discourses shaping early education at the time, and offer an alternative account of the effects of psych-knowledge and expertise in early education. I draw out, in particular, the inter-subjective relations and experiences that were suggested and promoted for children in these simultaneously romantic, natural and scientifically authorized spaces.

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7.8 PREFORMED PANEL ACT LIKE A MACHINE. THE CHANGING NATURE OF LEARNING FROM THE POSTWAR SOLDIER TO THE CYBERNETIC COUNTERCULTURE

Discussant: Frederik Herman (FHNW Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz)

The Problem of Learning in Military Training: The Reception of Programmed Instruction in the Swiss Army (English)

Eneia Dragomir (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

In the aftermath of World War II, a substantial threat to the Swiss Army appeared on the field of military training: the dilettantism in the use of new weapons. A growing number of different weapons and devices of increasing complexity, an ever-deeper specialization of military functions, and an increasing organizational complexity were phenomena all armies around the world had to deal with. Yet in the Swiss Army – organized in the “Milizsystem” with relatively short service terms – these problems were perceived as dangers: the efficacy of learning in the military training had to be increased. As was the case in other armed forces,

the Swiss Army was in search of new theories and methods of learning to solve this problem caused by the mechanization of warfare. The solution appeared to be the mechanization of learning, the learner and the instructor. Learning became modelled as a flow of knowledge into the soldier's brain, while the military instructor was tasked with facilitating this flow and handling the learning machine. In the 1950s and 1960s the Swiss Army tested new mechanized learning techniques. One of the most promising was Programmed Instruction.

Programmed Instruction not only impressed with its technical aura, but with its promise to increase learning efficiency by controlling the behavior of the instructed as well as the instructor. I am going to reconstruct the reception and implementation of Programmed Instruction in the Swiss Army, as it evolved from a learning technique to a method of behavioral control.

Machines to model human learning? Yes, indeed! (English)

Barbara Emma Hof (University of Zurich)

Behaviorist approaches to learning did not lead to unquestioned insights in the nature of learning. The aim of my talk is to show how “tinkering” and “experimenting” with computing provided the basis of a (new) approach to learning which informed the philosophy and practice of education as “constructivism”. As Seymour Papert put it, learning was interpreted as a flexible, context-sensitive but self-regulated, inner process.

Two intertwined developments illustrate how computing shaped the concept of learning: My first case study highlights the teaching machines developed by psychologist Gordon Pask. Pask laid his focus on the communication of the learning system, understood as including both human and machine. According to this model, the latter adapts its behavior to the interaction and therefore helps the human in his learning. The second case study starts with the reception of the empirical study in child development made by psychologist Jean Piaget. Piaget understood learning as a gradual process – where new knowledge is added to the current state of knowledge. Thus, learning was interpreted as process of advancement from simple to more complex structures.

Both theoretical approaches to learning (Pask and Piaget) were not only discussed within psychological circles but attracted the attention of the research community in cybernetics and artificial intelligence. This community – at their search for fundamental principles of human thinking – drew on psychological theories. As I am going to demonstrate, their revised version of what is learning flow into the concept of human learning. In other words, insights from learning machines led to constructivism, which, on the one hand, became a popular anti-concept to behaviorism, and on the other hand, deeply rooted in cybernetic theories.

Humans to model learning-machines? Yes, indeed! (English)

Jan Müggenburg (Leuphana Universität Lüneburg)

Around 1970 a remarkable merger of cybernetic theory and counter cultural ideas of subversive pedagogy took place at the last remaining cybernetic research facility in the U.S. While Heinz von Foerster was struggling to keep his Biological Computer Laboratory (BCL) at the University of Illinois in existence – an unwinnable endeavor, as it would turn out only a couple of years later, when the BCL closed in 1976 –, his lab increasingly had visits from

students who were fed up with the “old-school” pedagogics they encountered in their engineering and scientific courses. In previous years, Foerster’s interdisciplinary group had experimented with cybernetic machines that modeled biological forms of cognition, perception and learning, which ultimately led to the development of a “second order cybernetics” (a recursive application of cybernetics to itself that includes the observer of a cybernetic system). To the politically dedicated students these new concepts of ‘learning’ now promised to unfold a subversive potential that could be used to change the “balance of learning” on campus. Foerster – a charismatic, pragmatic and open-minded-person – happily embraced this new interest in his lab and together with other scholars taught several courses that problematized ‘learning’ from a second order perspective.

In my talk I am going to address the question, how cybernetic concepts of learning, that originate in a rather rigid feedback and control-paradigm, could be perceived as subversive tools in the context of the American counterculture. As I am going to argue, the countercultural interest in alternative forms of learning and teaching resonated with a particular liberal-humanist surplus that can be found in cybernetic theory and research practice of the 1960s. The cybernetic machines built at the BCL facilitated this transfer between cybernetic theories and the ‘systems counter culture’ as scientific media.

7.9 PREFORMED PANEL NATURE, CULTURE, AND UNIVERSALISM: NEW EDUCATION AND INDIA (1920S-1950S)

Chair: Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt University Berlin)

Discussant: Tim Allender (University of Sydney)

The ‘natural determination’ of India: New Educationist Indophilia and concepts of naturalness in Indo-German encounters during the 1920s and 1930s (English)

Elija Horn (Technical University Braunschweig)

Among German New Educationists at the beginning of the 20th century, a decidedly indophile mood can be detected. Succeeding the romanticists’ Indomania, they think of India as an allegory of a ‘good or beautiful nature’, thus highlighting an image that strongly resembles the romantic idea of the child or of childhood. Both topoi feature naturalness, originality, transcendence and sensuality. In his presentation, Elija Horn examines how both images are being interlinked within German New Educationist thinking and how that is reflected in Indo-German encounters. With the help of the analytical tool of Orientalism (Edward Said), he concentrates on the German perspective yet takes into account the reflection of these images on the part of Indians. Archival sources on Indo-German encounters at Odenwaldschule and other New Educationist spaces during the 1920s and 1930s are the basis for his analysis. Horn assumes that – in spite of the mutual sympathy and interest – Orientalism materializes in these encounters as a power asymmetry that is, above all, naturalized through indophile imaginations.

Indianising Montessori: Science, Nature, and the Project of National Education, 1920s-1950s (English)

Jana Tschurenev (University of Göttingen)

The paper analyses the activities of the Nutan Bal Shikshan Sangh (New Child Education Society, henceforth: NBSS) in Bombay and rural Maharashtra from the 1920s to the 1950s. Formed in 1926, the NBSS and its co-founder, Tarabai Modak, aimed at the 'Indianization', and 'Ruralization' of early childhood education. Modak was part of an influential network of women's organisations and female activists, who studied the Montessori Method in the 1920s, and appropriated it for the project of building 'national education' in India. Inspired by a new scientific view on childhood, psychology, and child-development, these female education reformers aimed to introduce new pedagogical techniques to work with infants and young children, which were better adopted to encourage their 'natural' growth in a safe and stimulating environment. As Modak emphasised, such techniques had to be made available on a mass level. She hence started to experiment with new forms of pedagogically innovative, but cost efficient forms of rural childhood education, among disadvantaged Adivasi (or 'tribal') populations. The paper explores the tensions in such programs between universalistic conceptions of child development, assumptions of national difference, and the realities of social inequality.

The Nature and Culture of Dalit Education: John Dewey and B.R. Ambedkar (English)

Shailaja Paik (University of Cincinnati)

On June 2, 1952 when John Dewey (1859-1952) died, B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) lamented about his favorite teacher: "I own my intellectual life to him." This paper analyzes the transnational connection between the renowned US philosopher of pragmatism John Dewey and his Indian student, B.R. Ambedkar's revolutionary ideas of education for the subordinated. I examine ways Ambedkar not only admired but also extended and revised Dewey's ideas to work on challenges of social reforms in the Indian context. What is gained from this close connection and dialogue is an understanding and appreciation of the significance of the narrative of liberation and education for Marathi Dalits ('untouchables') of colonial Western India. Most importantly, both Dewey and Ambedkar were concerned about the double colonization (internal and external) of the subordinated and struggled to look upon education as a tool of emancipation and democracy as a way of life. They saw formal school as a site for not only training students, but also transmitting good resources, habits, and self-discipline. As a result, both sought to develop strategies and methods for training students through learning and discipline to become socially responsible adults concerned about the common good for citizens. Dewey argued that natural environment alone does not educate individuals and individuals themselves could exercise their agency in creating environments and developing, culturing, habits needed in a successful democracy. Ambedkar admired Dewey's pragmatism and theory of enquiry aimed to produce independent thinkers rather than mere imitators or repositories of information. By recreating Dalit beliefs, ideals, hopes, happiness, dispositions, and practices, in a process that paralleled the concept of reconstruction that Dewey introduced to the US working class, Ambedkar aimed to refashion them. He believed this would provide Dalits a social continuity of life. Ambedkar deployed Deweyan ideas about the human and social life to fight for the rights of Dalits in the context

of a caste-based system and to work towards an Indian democracy based on equality, liberty, and fraternity.

7.10 PANEL NATURE AND THE NATION (2)

Chair: Marianne Helfenberger (University of Zurich)

The Genius of the Race: the nature of the Spanish child according to the Francoist educationalist Antonio J. Onieva (English)

Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Universidad de La Laguna)

This paper aims to analyze the conception of the nature of the Spanish child in the works of Antonio J. Onieva. This school inspector, with a strong background in educational sciences, was an example of the shift towards Fascism through vitalism, irrationalism and ultranationalism conducted by many thinkers in the thirties. During the Spanish Civil War and in the immediate postwar years he became one of the main pedagogues of the Franco Regime.

Onieva maintained the New School principles of child centered education ("von Kinder aus") and all the methodology associated with them. However he applied them to a new and radical starting position. Onieva rejected rationalist universalism and defended the specificity of the Spanish child with respect to the rest of the children in the world. From an ultranationalist approach, he made the Spanish child the repository of the genius of the Spanish race, a race forged in imperial feats that was irreconcilable with the mediocre and miserable materialism and rationalism of Western societies.

The communication will analyze the different characterizations of Onieva of the nature of the Spanish child (will, conscience, tendency to feat) and its implications in the educational discourse and practice.

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Greek-language education in the Soviet Union: Shaping the future “architects of socialism”, (1920-1936) (English)

Paraskevi Pougariidou (University of Western Macedonia)

Greek Orthodox populations are active in Greek nationalized communities in the regions of Caucasus, Georgia, Crimea, Azov, Odessa, Azerbaijan and South Russia since Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. After the Bolsheviks prevailed in 1920, farmers and laborers gained authority and prestige in the new soviet administrative structure and sought a socialist education in the "mother tongue". In the new Soviet state "minorities" are treated equally.

This creates the conditions for organizing a culture that accepts "mother tongue". These are used as a tool for achieving the socialist transformation of society. Political decisions concerning the education of the "minorities" of the Soviets were directly related to the "new type of citizen" (homo sovieticus) aspiring to shape the communist regime.

Education was the main vehicle for shaping the "new type of citizen". The Narkompros Academic Council implemented programs integrating the principle of polytechnic training, a process that describes the link between theory and practice, providing technical knowledge and generating general skills for technical work. The aim of educational policy was to link academic knowledge to production, and the preparation of competent and productive executives who would be part of the mechanism of socialist production. The teaching was organized under 3 perspectives: Nature, Gains after effort, Society. Thus, in primary education the child learned nature, labor and society. In the second tier he learned to cultivate nature or take care of domestic animals (nature) or gain after effort or participate in social institutions (society). In order to strengthen the link between theory and practice, the visit to the college, the Kolhoz, the factories and the factory, and the production of productive activity in all of them, was very early in the school program. The character of the actions has always been pedagogical.

The work outlines the type of citizen that Soviet power wanted to use, using the mother tongue of each ethnicity, while demonstrating the techniques and means it used through education to "make" future "builders of socialism."

A record of 104 rare books of the period, most of which were intended for school use, was used for this purpose. Excellent interest in research is the language of these books. Some of them are written in the mother tongue of the Greek ethnicity, the municipal, and other in the Pontic dialect. All books have adopted a type of writing that is recommended by an alphabet consisting of 20 letters, and they vocally give the script, as the Greek Orthodox intellectuals of the region had decided in relevant conferences.

The historical-interpretive method was chosen as the most appropriate method of approaching the reality of the texts. The most relevant studies have been prepared by S. Fitzpatrick. In particular, the work Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921-1934, focuses on the social and cultural history of the Stalinist period, on social mobility. The present work could be complementary to the above mentioned Fitzpatrick studies.

La transmisión estética del sentimiento nacional: el Centenario y el Bicentenario argentinos, dos pretextos para el análisis (Español)

Natalia Mariné Fattore (Universidad Nacional de Rosario)

En esta ponencia presentamos algunos avances de la tesis doctoral (UNER, 2017) que lleva por nombre "La transmisión sentimental: Pedagogía, Política y Estética en las fiestas del Centenario y el Bicentenario 1910-2010". Se trata de un trabajo donde nos propusimos pensar las formas en que el Estado ensaya la formación de un sentimiento nacional, analizando las operaciones de orden estético desplegadas durante las fiestas patrias del Centenario y del Bicentenario argentinos (1910-2010).

Sabemos que el campo de la pedagogía se ha hecho poco eco de las discusiones sobre los afectos, las sensibilidades, los sentimientos. Como expresa Inés Dussel, el amor ha sido para

la pedagogía “objeto de sospecha, de alabanza acrítica o bien de domesticación tecnocrática, vía el concepto de inteligencia emocional” (2006: 146). Sin embargo en las últimas décadas, el campo de las ciencias sociales y la filosofía, viene discutiendo como procesar los registros que se asocian a lo afectivo, abriendo un campo amplio de debates sobre el lugar de los afectos en la política. Dichos debates han permitido desplazar el registro de las emociones del espacio de lo privado, y han contribuido a definir a las mismas como significados culturales (Illouz, 2007) inscriptas en relaciones sociales, y cuyo su sentido se define dentro de determinados horizontes sociales y en el marco de parámetros conceptuales y valorativos (Abramowski, 2010). Así, es posible afirmar que lejos de ser naturales, pre-sociales, de encontrarse “localizados” en el individuo, los sentimientos están inscriptos en relaciones sociales históricamente situadas, se construyen, se formatean, se educan.

Desde esta perspectiva nos interesa ofrecer algunas reflexiones acerca de las prácticas estéticas que se desplegaron en los festejos del Centenario y del Bicentenario, con el objetivo de transmitir una emoción pública, como es el sentimiento nacional. Desarrollaremos dos argumentos. En primer lugar, sostendremos que en las fiestas patrias determinados dispositivos estéticos tienen el objetivo de regular y encauzar sentimientos, mientras que otros apuntan a provocarlos y autorizarlos. Así, regulaciones, represiones e incitaciones configuran jerarquías emocionales, modos correctos e incorrectos, convenientes o inconvenientes de celebrar y de sentir la Nación.

Por otro lado, nos interesa pensar como en cada período histórico, se construye una tensión entre naturaleza e intervención pedagógica, que define modos diferenciales de construir la identidad nacional. En este sentido, sostenemos que la misma solo puede ser definida como algo “natural” debido a largos períodos de sedimentación histórica, pero siempre se trata de una construcción contingente, “que han sido posibles a través de una variedad de prácticas, discursos y juegos de lenguaje, y pueden por lo tanto ser transformadas y rearticuladas de diferentes formas” (Mouffe, 2014:59). Si la Nación es, como sabemos, el territorio de una lucha entre interpelaciones ideológicas que apuntan a la construcción de una identidad nacional, avanzaremos aquí analizando también el campo de las interpelaciones estéticas: hechas de prácticas en las que entran en juego los sentidos y el cuerpo, la fascinación y la emoción, las sensibilidades.

A refigured narrative within a remapped lifeworld? - The historiography of a narrated and territorialized nation in Norwegian primary school textbooks 1900-1940 (English)

Brit Marie Hovland (Oslo Metropolitan University)

The Association Norden’s history textbook revisions conducted 1919-23 was a pioneer, paving a road to engaging more than 20 countries in history textbook revisions the following decade. The initiative from a Norwegian teacher, asked whether the existing history textbooks did foster enemy images of the Nordic others. If so, history textbook revision could be a road to Nordic cooperation and community – the new schooling object successor of an antagonistic narrated and isolated nation. The initial question was asked of a teacher in a Norwegian classroom. A subsequent historiographical and political revision of Norwegian history textbooks conducted by the Association Norden, engaged all three Nordic countries in history textbook revision 1919-22. The first known international history textbook revision.

In this paper, I will inquire into the relation between text and lifeworld territory as iconized in geohistorical mapping of the world. The world's first history textbook revision in the Nordic countries exemplify changes in the Norwegian Grand Narrative of History. Simultaneous the narrative of history territorialized the nation within its "promised land". Human within nature. The textbooks, maps, illustrations, charts and other objects narrated and iconized the nation within a figurative lifeworld.

By exploring the interrelations between text, subtexts and context – nature – texts and icons I will give a thick description of changes in the subject of history in Norwegian primary schools 1900-1940. It is my hypothesis that political incentives for international cooperation between former Nordic arch-enemies, implied a narrative refiguration and a historical shift away from traditional historicism – the epistemological and ontological framing of the Nation Building process of the 19th century. At the same time, the political initiated scientific revision heralded a new era for the subject of history.

This paper will investigate whether such a narratological refiguration demanded or possibly resulted in a parallel remapping of the national lifeworld.

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7.11 PANEL TEACHING NATURE AND THE SCIENCES (5)

Chair: Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV)

Conceptualizing Science Education Curricula and Practices through a historical lens (English)

Kerstin te Heesen (University of Luxembourg), Christina Siry (University of Luxembourg), Catherina Schreiber (University of Vienna)

Hedgehogs aren't pink, Maria!

(A Kindergarten teacher instructs children to be accurate when painting a hedgehog.[1])

This proposed contribution examines a case study of the topic of animal adaptation in a national science curriculum and presents an historical analysis of how this topic has manifested in curricula over time layered with an analysis of present day instruction. A sociocultural product as complex as science curricula – and especially this curriculum, embedded in a language-oriented, multilingual, school system[2]– should not, and we believe cannot, be understood solely from one perspective. If curriculum is looked at without an awareness of the overall dispositions behind it, there is a risk to merely reinforce cultural conditions of curriculum constructions rather than identifying and analyzing them (e.g.: Cowen 2011, Tröhler 2014). Thus, we bring various perspectives to explore an excerpt from the science syllabus [3] iteratively. We seek to contextualize instructional practices while complexifying curriculum as neither a firm narrative nor a neutral or consistent product, but

rather a culturally-, historically-, and politically-constructed artefact, subject to interpretation. Guided by findings from historical document analyses, classroom ethnographies and interviews with policy makers, we highlight discrepancies between curriculum as published, curriculum as presently implemented in practice, and curriculum as historically-interpreted, to make claims about the contextualized nature of the relationship between curricula and teaching practices.

In line with conference sub-themes “Nature as a medium and subject of education” and “Animals and the human” this contribution emphasises the examination of curriculum policies and reforms from a historical perspective – and thus on nationally- and culturally-driven constructions of science education. Following van Eijck and Roth (2013, who are grounded in Bakhtin-ian perspectives) we question the epicization of science education, whereby the content of science is framed as epic – immovable and indisputable – and rather suggest a novelization of science education.

By using the enduring presence of the hedgehog topic in our schools, we unravel the implementation and interpretation of curricula and historicize the present: Once relevant in an agriculture society it is not directly prescribed in science curricula in the post-industrial era, yet consistently visible in teachers’ practices. Thus, questions to be addressed are:

How is science conceptualized in curricula and classroom practice?

How do cultural perspectives and national paradigms influence science curricula and practice?

What messages about science as a discipline can be interpreted from the differences between curricular materials and suggestions on the one hand and the actual lessons on the other?

And – returning to our introductory excerpt – how do both curriculum and classroom practice deal with differences between the anticipated accuracy of nature and science versus children’s imagination?

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Keywords

history of curriculum, history of science education, history of cultural practises, cultural studies

[1] Data from the SciPol :Lux Project, University of Luxembourg, 2015-2018.

[2] Details on the multilingual school system and science education: Wilmes, Siry, Gomez Fernandez & Gorges 2018

[3] We utilize curriculum and syllabus as distinct terms. The nationally-mandated syllabus ('plan d'études') defines topics to be taught at each grade, while curriculum is broader; encompassing the syllabus together with teaching materials provided by the Ministry of Education to adhere to the syllabus.

Lecciones de cosas: ciencia y modernización de la sociedad (Brazil, siglo xix) (Español)

Vera Teresa Valdemarin (UNESP)

The research described here has as its primary goal to understand certain aspects of the school culture, focusing on the cultural, scientific and pedagogic values present in a elementary teachers teaching manual. The documentary source is the North American textbook 'Primary Object Lessons', by Norman Allison Calkins, translated to Portuguese and published in Brazil in 1886 and, given its circulation, can be understood as a "travelling library" (POPKEWITZ, 2005). The intuitive teaching method, which the manual expresses, was praised as a symbol of pedagogic and social modernization due to three aspects. 1) The development and amplification of natural sciences teaching through the object lessons; 2) The use of observations and the senses as mean to idea creation, during a movement that went from concrete to abstract thought and 3) The transformation of everyday objects into learning objects. The analysis of this manual allowed identifying the transformation process of knowledge in to teaching guidelines, or, in another words, the transformation of philosophical concepts into teaching guidelines. Moreover, it was possible to identify the concept of science applied to economic development that, rooted in objects, spread the belief in progress and applied knowledge. It was possible to observe as well that the step-sequence logic inherent to the teaching method amplified the disciplinary forces of the school institution and contributed to the formation of similar mental habits, to be shared by all who attendants (BOURDIEU, 1992). Lastly, one can point out that the discussion about the teaching method contributed to the appreciation of the professor profession by distinguishing formal to unformal processes of teaching.

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The Mathematics Contents and General Knowledge as nature and science in the Alpha Program: Ana Maria Poppovic's Literacy Action for Marginalized Children (English)

Camila Maria Chiari (Federal University of São Carlos), Alessandra Arce Hai (Federal University of São Carlos), Alessandra Elizabeth Ferreira Goncalves Prado (Federal University of São Carlos)

This article is part of a doctoral thesis in which we analyze the educational contributions of professor Ana Maria Poppovic for Brazilian education. The aim of this work is to understand Poppovic 's proposals for the teaching of mathematics and science between 1976 and 1983 (the implementation phase of the Alpha Program). For this analysis was selected the "Alpha Program", which is the material created to collaborate in the literacy process of children in their first few years.

The Pedagogue and Psychologist Ana Maria Poppovic was an important intellectual who collaborated with educational proposals and developed a project of wide use in the Brazilian territory. The Alpha Program proposal was to promote literacy for marginalized children. The program provided the necessary literacy material for children from 1st to 3rd year of primary education. Its content was composed of: literacy units, math units and units of general knowledge as nature, intended primarily for poor children, or as defined by Poppovic, for "marginalized" children. Poppovic understood that the materials collaborated and helped the development of children and involved topics beyond literacy.

The purpose of the mathematical and general knowledge context (included in science studies) was to contribute to the assimilation of contents. In this sense, it addressed topics related to daily experiences, such as the use of notes and coins and practical problems. In the unit of general knowledge, it included social studies, knowledge of nature and health, addressing subjects on: location; animals; days of the week, month and year; the five senses; hygiene; the living beings; water cycle; schedules etc.

Methodologically, this research has a theoretical-bibliographic research aiming to understand the educational practices through the context and the factors that define it to think about education, while seeking to (re) construct trajectories and discourses that underpinned and substantiate the practices. For this, we use Depaepe's (2000) conceptions highlighting the historian's role in understanding the object of study from its historical period, revealing all the complexities of the society, analyzing and understanding these interactions from the broader context, to which is also related to nature and science within the circulation of pedagogical ideas in Brazil.

Subjects of natural sciences family life aspects of Hungarian curricula between the two World Wars (English)

Orsolya Réka Uherkovich (University of Pécs, Education and Society Doctoral School of Education)

Keywords: education history, curriculum research, subjects of natural sciences, family education

The subject of the research is the content of family life education in subjects of natural sciences in public education curricula in Hungary between the two World Wars.

The question of research is how the utilization of natural sciences in the field of family life was published on the basis of the curricula of the era.

The primary sources of the research are the curricula of the elementary, civil and teacher training institutions of the examined period.

The sources were analyzed using the source analysis method. The history of education, as well as the whole history, must be reconstructed from the sources that have been preserved. (Kéri, 2001.32.)The research reveals which contents of natural sciences were used to teach about family life in public and civil schools, as well as which natural contents teachers were preparing from to educate their future students about family life.

In the analyzed curricula, the content of the requirements of natural and economic sciences, nature chemistry, natural history, animal and botany, mineralogy, life and health, agricultural and industrial knowledge, basic anatomical, physiological and neurological knowledge, and geography subjects included content that served the purpose of family life education

The research reveals that the way of using natural science knowledge in practice in family life was part of the curriculum. Research can be continued by analyzing natural science textbooks.

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7.12 PANEL NATURE AND EDUCATIONAL THEORIZING (2)

Chair: Harry Smaller (York University)

La nature, un espace pédagogique progressiste ? La conception de la nature comme environnement éducatif chez Geheeb, Hahn et Demolins (Français)

Carmen Letz (Université de Lorraine)

« Die Natur ist die größte Lehrmeisterin » « La nature est la plus grande maîtresse d'apprentissage » exclama Kurt Hahn (1886-1974), homme politique et fondateur de la prestigieuse Schule Schloss Salem (1920) et du concept de l'Outward Bound (1941), de l'Erlebnispädagogik, de l'éducation par l'« expérience vécue » afin de permettre aux enfants de découvrir leurs talents au contact avec la nature et l'artisanat : «There is more to us than we know. If we can be made to see it, perhaps for the rest of our lives we will be unwilling to settle for less » (Kurt Hahn).

Le théologien Paul Geheeb (1870-1961) et Edith Geheeb-Cassirer (1885-1982) choisissaient le lieu d'installation de leurs écoles, l'École Odenwald (1910-1934) et ensuite l'École d'Humanité (1934), en fonction de leur implantation dans la nature : des endroits qui inspirent la beauté et la pureté de la Création, suffisamment éloignés de la pollution et la permissivité des villes. La convergence avec la démarche de Hahn indique déjà leur devise empruntée à Pindar et Nietzsche : « Deviens (celui) qui tu es ».

Quant à Edmond Demolins (1852-1907), sociologue et créateur de l'École des Roches en 1899, la nature, terre des pionniers, terres d'exploitation agricole, représente un des piliers fondamentaux de la formation de cet homme entrepreneur, explorateur et bâtisseur dont, selon lui, a besoin l'économie française. Pour être « bien armé pour la vie », les élèves doivent être formés à cultiver la terre, à se débrouiller avec un minimum d'ustensiles et apprendre l'endurance.

La contribution cherche à exposer les différentes conceptions développées par les trois fondateurs d'école qui représentent, au sein de l'éducation nouvelle, la Landerziehungsheimbewegung – qu'Adolphe Ferrière a traduit par « les écoles nouvelles à la campagne ». Il conviendra donc d'analyser et de comparer l'idée de la nature comme espace pédagogique, notamment par rapport à l'éducation du citoyen revendiquée par les trois fondateurs d'école.

Paulo Freire and education through nature (English)

Orlando Daniel Chemane (Universidade Pedagógica)

If we understand nature as what people are inclined to do we would say that Paulo Freire advocated an education that leads to what the subjects of education would be better inclined to do. It is our idea that the pedagogy of Paulo Freire is respectful of the nature of the

students in preventing them from the violence of manipulation, preconception and myth and announcing the liberation through problematization and dialogic education.

Therefore the present article aims to understand Paulo Freire's conception of the pedagogy of the oppressed[1] as an education for nature. For this, we will examine some writings of Paulo Freire seeking to construct the sense of a pedagogy that, at the same time has in view the transformation of the reality is concerned with the preservation of the nature of human beings. We will define the concept of nature in a more detailed manner. We will construct an interpretive schema of Paulo Freire's thought that leads to the idea of pedagogy of respect for nature and, based on his works, we will seek the evidence to support the idea under analysis.

In attempt to comprehend the pedagogy of the oppressed, we can note that Paulo Freire critique, on one hand, an oppressive society in which the ruling class through antidialogical mechanisms such as conquest, manipulation, division and cultural invasion goes against nature of oppressed (Freire, 2011a; Freire, 2011b; Freire, 2014a; 20014b,) and, on the other hand, establishes dialogue as the method for the knowledge and emancipation so that the students can develop from a merely sensitive knowledge to a more rigorous knowledge one (2011a). That is why it exists in literacy, respecting the nature of learners, the search for generating words, the encounter of men and women mediated by the world and the collective pronunciation of the world (FREIRE, 2014b). We believe that such an education not only respects the nature of the subjects of education but also leads into a training that could contribute to building a more sustainable society.

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[1] Paulo Freire, when speaking of the pedagogy of the oppressed, did not properly refer to the book as the conception of an entire education (Freire, 2014a).

La nature chez les théosophes, une matrice pour les pédagogues d'éducation nouvelle? (Français)

Sylvain Wagnon (University of Montpellier)

Nous souhaiterions nous intéresser à la nature dans la pensée théosophique. Nous envisageons d'articuler une réflexion plus globale sur la représentation de la nature dans ce courant spirituel très foisonnant au début du XXe siècle, mais aussi percevoir l'influence des idées des théosophes concernant la nature dans les mouvements d'éducation nouvelle de la première moitié du XXe siècle. Notre contribution s'appuiera sur l'étude des revues

théosophiques ainsi que sur les archives privées de plusieurs pédagogues d'éducation nouvelle.

Le thème de la nature est omniprésent dans la théosophie, elle représente le pivot de cette «fraternité universelle» et l'idéal du message théosophique. La notion de nature est également perçue par les théosophes comme un moyen pour permettre à l'humain de mieux se connaître et de pouvoir appréhender son rôle sur terre.

L'étude de la nature dans la pensée théosophique nous permet donc de mettre l'accent sur le rôle effectif de ce courant de pensée dans l'élaboration et l'essor de l'éducation nouvelle.

Si tous les pédagogues de l'éducation nouvelle ne sont pas théosophes, plusieurs «figures » de ce courant de rénovation pédagogique, comme Maria Montessori, Rudolf Steiner ou Béatrice Ensor, ont été des théosophes engagés, d'autres comme Adolphe Ferrière ou Ovide Decroly furent des soutiens constants.

La présence des théosophes lors des débuts de l'organisation de l'éducation nouvelle a été explorée par plusieurs travaux pionniers [Haenggeli-Jenni, 2011, Soler Mata, 2011, Brehony, 2012]. Toutefois, l'influence des théosophes a été pressentie mais très rarement analysée comme une des racines majeures de l'organisation internationale de cette nébuleuse de l'éducation nouvelle [Wagnon, 2017].

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7.13 PANEL THE NATURALIZATION OF CULTURE AND SCHOOLING (2)

Chair: Eckhardt Fuchs (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research)

Becoming natural - the changing idea of a degree over the period of massification in the UK and Australia (English)

Elizabeth Bronwen Knight (Monash University)

Since the mid-1970s the higher education system in the UK and Australia have been massified and the idea of undertaking a degree has become in some quarters more 'natural' as postsecondary education has become an accepted and expected step in massified cohorts. This massification of higher education has involved a widening of participation, from traditional cohorts of students to new and diverse elements of the population (Tight 2017). This paper discusses one aspect of the research of a recently conferred PhD which investigates the idea of a degree over the period of massification and uses the concept

eventementes (Goodson 2005) to trace changes that have been made to narratives about the idea of a degree within the long wave of change of massification 1970s-2010s.

This paper looks closely at how institutions present the idea of a degree as a natural and unquestionable need as expressed by Anglophone higher educational institutions particularly in the UK and Australia. There is current little understanding of how the conceptualisation of the idea of a degree in marketing materials has changed over the period of massification particularly in terms of wider discourses of expected behaviour of young people. This research feeds into the wider debate about how higher education institutions and the purposes of higher education portray themselves through the images that interact with the wider world (Askehave 2007; Saichaie & Morphew 2014; Symes 1996). The research's methodological framework was historically oriented and based on critical discourse analysis, originating from Fairclough's work on marketisation of higher education materials (1993) and drew specifically on the discourse-historical approach of Reisigl and Wodak (2009).

The paper explores a wider question about how the idea of a degree has changed and is impacted by the universalisation of higher education in the country contexts of Australia and the UK (Trow 2000). It considers how the institutions present their degrees as a natural pathway that is assumed young people will take. It undertakes a close reading using the discourse-historical approach of prospectuses to establish discursive practices which construct rationales for undertaking a degree that have been invoked by institutions of different statuses.

The study concludes that over the period in study there was a discernible reduction in emphasis on whether to attend the universities investigated, instead in the later periods the documents assume that decision has been made and the institutions engage with marketing their courses and institutions as if the central question is which institution to go to. In this way, this paper argues that over this modern period the idea of a degree has been naturalised in the discourses of specific higher education institutions. This means that university transition becomes more challenging for those without the resources and specific cultural capital for higher education to be an assumed route and there has been over the period a concealment of the significant effort required in attending higher education and gaining a degree.

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«School Family» as Nature-Given Form of Teacher Education? Practices of Community in Zurich's Normal Schools, 1875-1950 (English)

Adrian Juen (Zurich University of Teacher Education), Jennifer Burri (Zurich University of Teacher Education)

Our talk considers the construction and development of school community in teacher education institutions. School community often appears explicitly as «school family» and implicitly in family-related terms and characteristics. Familial education practices and structures were to some extent proclaimed to be the (only) natural way of teacher education, mainly because family was regarded as the first educational instance given by nature. In our presentation, we focus on three Zurich-based normal schools, which were teacher training higher secondary schools, and the time period from 1875 to 1950. The students of those schools were notably adolescent, and two of the institutions were boarding schools during certain periods.

The core question of the investigation is how concepts of nature and naturalness are invoked in the relationship between school, school family and family of origin (of the students). Furthermore, a subsequent question aims at nature and naturalness as argument in disputes of demarcation amongst teacher education institutions, as such disputes were ongoing from the turn of the century until the end of World War II, and often revolved around the search for the best form of teacher education (Hoffmann-Ocon/Horlacher 2016). We have found that many headmasters and board members rejected scientific approaches to education, deeming them «cold and impersonal». Instead, the nature-related idea of teachers as born artists and caring fathers was promoted. Thus, becoming and being a teacher was grounded on seemingly natural concepts of birth and familial bonds. Moreover, the ideal template for teacher education institutions had to be the family. A similar concept of community was practiced in 19th century psychiatric clinics, referred to as «asylum family», providing a familial frame to patients and staff (see e.g. Nolte 2003). Therefore, we ask how these principles were upheld. Specifically, we investigate if the school staff such as janitors were also part of the family and how non-boarders were treated as family members in boarding schools.

Our analysis is based on sources like annual reports and programs, records on school activities, reflecting essays by headmasters as well as epitaphs of pupils and teachers, and considers especially daily practices. Community-enforcing activities such as field trips, rituals during meals as well as shared prayers are frequently mentioned in connection to the family. Furthermore, events of death and funerals are moments which force a recreation of community. Hence, we propose that students' and teachers' epitaphs must be seen under this very aspect. Public self-characterization includes the family as a strong metaphor for the nature-given form of teacher education. When refusing teacher education at university level, normal schools' representatives tend to deny academic and scientific approaches to teacher training. They point out the importance of a down-to-earth teacher personality and an according teacher education. In normal schools, headmasters could incorporate the «school's

father» and their wives the «school's mother». Just as well, tuition in a «familial atmosphere» was deemed appropriate for each students' natural purpose: to become a good teacher to her or his children.

Education and the “order of nature” in Mexico, 1880-1910 (English)

Eugenia Roldan Vera (Cinvestav)

This paper will make explicit the ways in which the concept “order of nature” / “natural order” became a reference for education of the child in Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century. Following the methodology of conceptual history, it will analyze how the order of nature was invoked in the period of institutionalization of mass education, examining its varied uses in the pedagogical press of the time, in a handful of treatises of Mexican pedagogues, and in debates in pedagogical conferences. The aim is to shed light as to how the actors of the time understood the order of nature and how it served to justify the introduction of certain educational models, methods, and institutional reforms.

After the Enlightenment and throughout the nineteenth century the concept “order of nature” underwent a process of de-ontologization, that is: the order things had in nature stopped being an order that resides in the things themselves, inasmuch as they correspond with the supernatural or divine order, to become an observed order - the regularities in the physical world as observed by the human (Ferrater Mora, 1994, III, 2647; Leal Curiel, 2014). Therefore, the natural order lost its correspondence with the supernatural world; although it became a new source of authority, it was a different kind of authority that was subject to human understanding (AUTHOR, 2014). Although the notion of nature has been studied in the case of the major Western pedagogues of the modern period, little research has been done about how it worked in the public discourses and languages of education, and how it served to advance educational reform in specific contexts, subject to local appropriations (Ducoing, 2013). For example, whereas Pestalozzian pedagogy was dominant in the public discourse in Mexico in this period, Pestalozzi's pre-Romantic notion of nature as a divine creation, and of the human nature as having an animal and a divine part (Cabanas, 2007) was transformed in the Mexican context, deprived of its divine connotations and reduced to the order of the physical world.

I will argue that, whereas Mexican educators invoked the “natural order” in their promotion of reforms such as objective teaching, the simultaneous teaching of reading and writing, the graded school, and the frontal method of teaching to de-legitimize previously used educational models and arrangements, such “natural order” was still open to interpretation and did not always work as an unquestionable source of authority.

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Filling the emptiness: The concept of Desert in the Argentinean education (English)

Agustin Assaneo (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

The foundations of the Argentinean educational system had been strongly influenced by the dichotomy "Civilization and Barbarity". During the second half of the 19th century, this struggle was the basis for a political transformation of the country based on the destruction of both the original populations and the undesirable ways of living. The former refers to indigenous communities and the latter to the Argentine Pampas' (grasslands) inhabitants: the gauchos.

The aim of this article is to analyze the ideas surrounding "the desert" as a key political concept and also its influence in the education policies since the Argentinean State's consolidation process. Hence, according to the ideas of the 19th century, the desert was the cause of the underdevelopment of the country and it was necessary to fight it with military power, work and education. This concept was a complex set of signifiers linked to each other, which described those places out of the State control beyond the southern border (Navarro Floria, 2002).

The other face of the coin was the idea of the unstoppable progress allegedly produced through Argentina's insertion into the global capitalism and the technological benefits that were facilitated by the international context (Halperin Donghi, 1980). During the second half of the 19th century, the representation of desert was opposite to the Nation's progress, therefore the political elites considered the civilization as the natural evolution of the barbarity. This meant the assembling of a new republic, white and racist, made in the image of Europe and USA.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who is considered the founder of the Argentine educational system, brought the relationship between the civilized society and desert up previous to the national organization period. He thought that desert originated the barbarity (Sarmiento, 1986), so it was necessary to transform the desert in order to create the new society. In 1879 the Argentinean army conducted a military campaign to exterminate most of the indigenous people of the region: this was the State's first step towards the conquest of the desert. After this, other ways to penetrate the territory became more usual, mainly the school and promotion of the European immigration.

Although the educational system lacks a starting point, the enactment of the National Law of Education in 1884 was the cornerstone for the organization of a schooling system in a national level. This was the State's legal tool to accomplish the cultural unification of the

country through the homogenization of the populations, and, at the same time, the elimination of other languages and knowledges, mainly those belonging to indigenous and native populations. However, this process was longer than expected. For the first decades of the 20th century, desert still represented a threat for the civilization. Harsh conditions, especially in rural places, were constant in the educational landscapes and the non-urban places offered these conditions. In that context education was thought as the way to achieve development.

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7.14 PANEL NATURE AND GENDER (2)

Chair: [Joyce Goodman \(University of Winchester\)](#)

Gender through the photographer's lens. Nature and artifice in the career choice process (1945-1975) (English)

[Véra Léon \(Sorbonne Paris Cité, Paris Descartes University\)](#)

The place of girls in publications, trainings and schools preparing to technical professions questions the nature of professional abilities. How do girls and boys experience the transmission of professional norms throughout the career choice process? How are they both represented? To what extent can they identify to a technical profession often pictured as gendered by nature?

The use of images as historical sources promises to yield new perspectives, especially when it comes to the photographer's profession. Therefore, pictures printed in photography schools, career choice and professional photography publications, from the 1940s to the 1970s, will be at the heart of this presentation. Indeed, their analysis highlights the strongly gendered lens through which professional norms were depicted. Most of the time, women, considered to incarnate natural beauty, were represented as the privileged object of the photographic gaze (camera becoming at best a fashion accessory), while men were characterized as the preferred subject of this gaze, given their supposedly natural technical skills.

This new visual politics, permitted by the contemporaneous development of illustrations in career counseling guides, strengthened the common idea that professional talents would be based on gendered and natural abilities. On the contrary, discourses in the specialized press of the time, supported by many professionals of the field, emphasized the training of the eyes. Indeed, they encouraged more and more aspiring photographers to learn all the techniques and skills necessary to develop a sharp eye, in apprenticeship trainings or in schools. Thus, photography is epitomized as a possibly educational process rather than as an innate skill.

Finally, the confrontation of visual and textual sources allows for the construction a broader point of view on how nature and artifice are articulated in historical discourses on career choice. Unexpectedly, at a time when the opening of new professions to women questioned professional representations, the massive development of pictures in career counseling brochures and books did not in fact participate in the promotion of new gendered values.

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Gendered Teacher Education in the Finnish Society of an Early 20th Century (English)

Anna-Kaisa Kristiina Ylikotila (University of Jyväskylä)

Equality and early deployment of women's rights are often observed as some of the defining points of Finnish society. Women were considered to be morally purer than men, which is why they gained access to societal work at the end of the 19th century. It was argued that nature had created men and women to fill certain roles in the society.

This paper discusses the nature-based ideal of a gendered citizenship in the Finnish teacher education institution. The teacher candidate's purity and decency were carefully observed at the teacher colleges, especially the female candidates were closely kept an eye on. The teacher was expected to be the model citizen for common people, which is why they weren't allowed to behave in an unseemly manner. The main goal is to observe the socialization process to teacher's profession and the contradiction when teacher candidates weren't able to fulfill the expected behaving models. The paper displays some examples from the selected teacher colleges and how the situation was handled in some of the cases when a teacher candidate was not able to fulfill these expectations. These case study examples are observed in the context of contemporary conversation in question.

Qualitative content analysis is used as the main research method of the study. The data for this paper has been collected from the archives of various Finnish teacher colleges. The object is to identify the differences between the ideal male and female teacher by using examples from the collected data, the expectations concerning the teacher candidates and the ways the teacher training institutions tried to uphold the system. The conclusion is that the expectations towards a teacher candidate depended much on one's gender.

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Hunting For Boys: Discussions of the natural world in English Public Schools in the early twentieth century to convey ideological stances (English)

Edward William Whiffin (UCL Institute of Education)

It has long been recognised that hunting and nature in the imperial setting has long been a feature of British imperialism and militarism. In the panic over national efficiency and race following the Second Boer War there was a greater push to encourage youth to take up activities that would improve their health, primarily for military service. Whilst there has been much focus on how these ideas were put forward, particularly on a national scale, the direct impact within certain groups of society, particularly learners have not been covered. This paper seeks to explore the ways in which boys in public schools were exposed to and engaged with the concept of hunting to explore the world within an elite educational setting. It will cover how the natural world was a tool for encouraging the pursuit of imperial careers, and how the language of hunting spilled over into militarist and racialised discussions about contemporary events. Discussions on education in England in the early twentieth century often highlight the assumed lack of scientific education, however, it was present in some forms, and the idea of masculine activities hunting and adventure as a means to study nature was a particularly common one. The views of the boys on different aspects of science and nature will also be explored, and conflict between the natural science and physical activity versus the mechanised urban deprivation highlights different views on science and its merits.

This paper focuses on aspects of associational culture within the public schools. As a source of information about the wider world the 'old boys' networks provided a range of lectures, reports and correspondence from various settings. Clubs and societies within the schools allowed boys to actively engage with the topics on offer, such as through scientific societies where research would be shown to debating societies where the merits of scientific adventures were discussed. Information comes largely from the school journals which provide detailed records of the activities within the school, as well as material sent to it from former pupils. This paper aims to give some insight into learners' engagement with how hunting, nature and ideologies came together within the educational setting.

Place, rôle et fonctions de l'argument de « nature » dans les réflexions entourant la prise en compte des filles et des garçons en éducation physique en France (1945-2008) (Français)

Doriane Gomet (Université de Rennes), Cécile Ottogalli-Mazzacavallo (Université Lyon)

Dans une étude publiée en 2009 menée auprès d'enseignants d'éducation physique stagiaires français, S. Couchot-Schiex, G. Cogérino et M. Coltice mettent en évidence que la majeure partie d'entre eux est convaincue que la "loi du naturel" explique, sur bien des points, le vécu et les résultats des filles et des garçons dans cette discipline scolaire. Ce constat tend ainsi à démontrer que, loin d'être aujourd'hui dépassé, l'argument de "nature" reste, pour bien des professionnels un cadre de pensée structurant. Prenant appui sur les études de genre (tant en sociologie qu'en histoire) et sur l'histoire de l'éducation physique, cette communication ambitionne de saisir les raisons sous-jacentes. Pour ce faire, elle se penche sur l'ancrage idéologique (nature versus culture) véhiculé par les textes officiels de l'EPS en France et par l'une des principales revues professionnelles, en l'occurrence la Revue EPS, et ce, depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Comment l'argument de "nature" est-il mobilisé? Trouve-t-il des contradicteurs? Quels usages, quelles places et quelles fonctions occupent les thèses dites naturalistes dans les réflexions entourant l'acte pédagogique en éducation physique?

Cette recherche repose sur deux corpus dont la complémentarité doit permettre de circonscrire les processus en jeu. Le premier comprend 120 articles abordant prioritairement l'éducation physique des filles (puis la question de la mixité) en France publiés entre la naissance de la Revue EPS en 1950 et 2008. Ces derniers ont été retenus afin de couvrir l'ensemble de la période ainsi que les diverses sensibilités et courants pédagogiques. Le second corpus, plus restreint, comprend les instructions et programmes officiels édités depuis la Libération. La méthodologie retenue repose sur une analyse de contenu réalisée à partir d'une grille de lecture elle-même construite en référence aux cadres théoriques mobilisés. Ainsi, les occurrences relatives d'une part aux termes sexe, nature, identité et qualité, d'autre part à leurs déclinaisons (douceur, fragilité, etc.) ont été repérées lors d'une première lecture. Par la suite, les propositions pédagogiques et didactiques ont fait l'objet d'une étude systématique (choix des activités physiques, mode de relation pédagogique privilégié, typologie de situations d'apprentissage).

Cette contribution montre que si le champ lexical a évolué, notamment à partir des années 1980, les arguments naturalistes demeurent le noyau central des représentations sociales organisant l'éducation physique des jeunes filles dans la revue professionnelle comme dans les textes officiels jusqu'à une période très récente. Ainsi, les termes "sexe" et "nature féminine" s'étiolent progressivement au profit de la notion "d'identité féminine" qui connaît un succès croissant. Par ailleurs, l'emploi du concept de genre devient systématique à la fin du XXème siècle. Pour autant, les unités de sens, les croyances comme leurs sous-bassements idéologiques ne connaissent guère d'inflexion depuis 1945. La différence "naturelle" des sexes organise toujours les propositions didactiques, renforçant ainsi les mécanismes de domination masculine.

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7.15 PANEL NATURE, RACE AND RACISM

Chair: Kari Dahli (University of Toronto)

Educated Ended: Oral Histories of the Effects of the Nazi Ideology of Aryan Superiority on the Education of a Young Girl, 1927-1945 (English)

Alan Sadovnik (Rutgers University-Newark)

Dans une étude publiée en 2009 menée auprès d'enseignants d'éducation physique stagiaires français, S. Couchot-Schiex, G. Cogérino et M. Coltice mettent en évidence que la majeure partie d'entre eux est convaincue que la "loi du naturel" explique, sur bien des points, le vécu et les résultats des filles et des garçons dans cette discipline scolaire. Ce constat tend ainsi à démontrer que, loin d'être aujourd'hui dépassé, l'argument de "nature" reste, pour bien des professionnels un cadre de pensée structurant. Prenant appui sur les études de genre (tant en sociologie qu'en histoire) et sur l'histoire de l'éducation physique, cette communication ambitionne de saisir les raisons sous-jacentes. Pour ce faire, elle se penche sur l'ancrage idéologique (nature versus culture) véhiculé par les textes officiels de l'EPS en France et par l'une des principales revues professionnelles, en l'occurrence la Revue EPS, et ce, depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Comment l'argument de "nature" est-il mobilisé? Trouve-t-il des contradicteurs? Quels usages, quelles places et quelles fonctions occupent les thèses dites naturalistes dans les réflexions entourant l'acte pédagogique en éducation physique?

Cette recherche repose sur deux corpus dont la complémentarité doit permettre de circonscrire les processus en jeu. Le premier comprend 120 articles abordant prioritairement l'éducation physique des filles (puis la question de la mixité) en France publiés entre la naissance de la Revue EPS en 1950 et 2008. Ces derniers ont été retenus afin de couvrir l'ensemble de la période ainsi que les diverses sensibilités et courants pédagogiques. Le second corpus, plus restreint, comprend les instructions et programmes officiels édités depuis la Libération. La méthodologie retenue repose sur une analyse de contenu réalisée à partir d'une grille de lecture elle-même construite en référence aux cadres théoriques mobilisés. Ainsi, les occurrences relatives d'une part aux termes sexe, nature, identité et qualité, d'autre part à leurs déclinaisons (douceur, fragilité, etc.) ont été repérées lors d'une première lecture. Par la suite, les propositions pédagogiques et didactiques ont fait l'objet d'une étude

systématique (choix des activités physiques, mode de relation pédagogique privilégié, typologie de situations d'apprentissage).

Cette contribution montre que si le champ lexical a évolué, notamment à partir des années 1980, les arguments naturalistes demeurent le noyau central des représentations sociales organisant l'éducation physique des jeunes filles dans la revue professionnelle comme dans les textes officiels jusqu'à une période très récente. Ainsi, les termes "sexe" et "nature féminine" s'étiolent progressivement au profit de la notion "d'identité féminine" qui connaît un succès croissant. Par ailleurs, l'emploi du concept de genre devient systématique à la fin du XXème siècle. Pour autant, les unités de sens, les croyances comme leurs soubassements idéologiques ne connaissent guère d'inflexion depuis 1945. La différence "naturelle" des sexes organise toujours les propositions didactiques, renforçant ainsi les mécanismes de domination masculine.

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The arguments related to the “nature” of slaves and blacks used in discourses about black education in Brazil (1868-1888) (English)

Graciane Daniela Sebrão (Instituto Federal de Santa Catarina)

The education of enslaved people was a very prominent and controversial question in the last decades of the slavery in Brazil. Since the discussions about the construction and implementation of the Free Womb Law in Brazil (September 28, 1871), which declared that any future children born of enslaved mothers would be considered free, the federal government became concerned with providing instruction for these children in order to prepare them for the new economic system and “civilize” them to preserve the social order. Meanwhile, many states were prohibiting slaves from attending school, being afraid that knowledge could open their minds. The views were permeated by particular (and shaped) notions about the nature of the enslaved and black population, used in the discourses with the intention of justifying the ideas and actions. This can be clearly observed in the 1877 speech of the agriculture minister, saying that “the seeds of vices and evil inclinations” of the slaves should require “special care and hefty expense”: the government wanted to create

schools specifically for them because slaves supposedly had an inferior nature in terms of intellectual and moral capacity. The documents reporting that some white families were opposed to accepting free blacks studying together with their white children also show a perception of inferiority, but now connected not to the social condition (slave) but instead to race (black, even free). The discourse imputing a negative nature to captivity, which alleged that slaves had limitations because of their condition in the slavery system, was directly connected to the one that attributed inferiority to Africans and their descendants, ruled by racist theories. It became the color of the person itself that became enough to make society link the person to servitude and deprived of rights, causing the applying of sanctions to free blacks even if the regulation was addressed only to slaves. In this way, the right of education was postponed to many blacks for years, while the parliamentarians and other segments of society used arguments about the nature of human differences to reach their purposes. In fact, the argument that the black population was not naturally prepared for the free labor system (consequently education should precede emancipation) did not result in actions to repair their forced disadvantage, it just contributed to the postponement of the extinction of slavery. The present research analyzes discourses of Brazilian governors and civil society in official reports and ordinary newspapers from 1868 (when the Free Womb Law bill was presented in Congress) through 1888 (the year of the abolition of slavery), intending to observe how they used ideas regarding the moral and cognitive nature to legitimize their aims in the arguments about black education. This debate is strongly pertinent today, a hundred thirty years later, when the discourse of human nature in opposite way – “there is no difference between races” is used to disqualify the affirmative actions that exist to minimize the present inequality which originated in slavery and constantly reinforced by mechanisms of maintenance of the white privileges.

The Nature of Race: Colonial Contradictions in Depictions of Australian Society in Picture Texts of the 1980s (English)

Sophie Rudolph (University of Melbourne)

At the time of British invasion of Aboriginal lands in Australia in 1788, the continent was declared by the colonists as ‘terra nullius’, land belonging to no-one (Reynolds, 1989). This declaration relied on a hierarchy of ‘race’, established through Social Darwinism, that suggested that Aboriginal peoples were inferior in civilisation to Europeans. In particular, the claim of terra nullius rested on the idea that Aboriginal people did not demonstrate the same relationship to the land that the invading Europeans did. Thus a complex set of (at times contradictory) ideas about race, nature and civilisation were employed as a means of gaining political power in the new colonial nation of Australia.

In this paper I turn to the decade of the 1980s – two hundred years after the British colonial occupation began in Australia – and examine a sample of primary school picture texts that depict Australian history, nationhood and social life. These texts range in their inclusion of Aboriginal voices and contributions and they demonstrate a range of discourses about nature and human relations with nature. For example, in some of the texts settlers and ‘pioneers’ are portrayed as taming and controlling nature as they set up their homes and livelihoods on the new colonial land (e.g. Taylor, 1983). In the texts authored by, or contributed to by, Aboriginal peoples, the connection to Country that is vital to Aboriginal culture and society is drawn out in a form of resistance to the colonial discourses of inferiority (e.g. Bickford et al, 1982;

Aboriginal Arts Board, 1977/1981). These texts demonstrate both the complex relationship between race, nature and civilisation and the ways in which pedagogical texts contribute to particular understandings among students.

This paper aims to contribute to scholarly debates concerning the pedagogical impulse of picture texts in settler colonial Australia, with implications for other settler colonial contexts. As Bradford notes, 'the workings of ideologies through texts are often invisible to readers, because they embody ideas and concepts naturalised within a culture' (2001, 3). This paper presents some preliminary analysis that intends to explore the ideological constructs related to race, nation and nature that are present in picture texts published in the decade of the bicentennial of British invasion. I argue that these texts depict a range of relationships to nature that are infused with ideas of race and civilisation that give insight into the ongoing contestation over sovereignty in settler colonial Australia.

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A Transformation of Racist Discourse? Color-blind Racism and the Re-emergence of 'Biological' Racism in Dutch Schooling (1968-2017) (English)

Maria Luce Sijpenhof (University of Alcalá)

Since the 1970s, geneticists have continually argued that the concept of biological race is not scientifically justified and racial categories are socially constructed (e.g. Smedley & Smedley 2005). Yet, these scholars have different perspectives on how race should be studied. For example, one perspective recognizes race as a key category such as gender and class, while another perspective argues that race is made real by those who emphasize it. This line of reasoning corresponds to a common idea in the Netherlands, that there is no such thing as race and therefore no such thing as racism. Some, however, argue that while race is socially constructed, the social significance is still very much present (Wekker 2016). Simultaneously, biological determinism – the idea that race is a biological reality – has also maintained. In fact, some biological notions of race are deeply-rooted in everyday thought. Offensive portrayals about 'peoples', for example colonial logics about Black people as being "naturally lazy and troublemakers" (Small & Hira, 53), have never disappeared from society. Thus, racial discourses are dynamic concepts transformed by social and political contexts (Omi & Winant 1986). The discourse of essentialist racism, for example, focuses on differences between racial groups, arguing that these groups possess traits and behaviors unique to them. The discourse of color-blind racism, on the other hand, has the tendency to exaggerate people's

similarities. This structural form of racism relies on the idea that race no longer matters: it claims inability to see color, disguising racial issues. While these discourses coexist, scholars suggest that color-blind racism has become the mainstream discourse in Western societies (and thus in education), more or less replacing 'biological' racism (e.g. Bonilla-Silva 2006). However, more recently, various scholars have indicated that biological racism is re-emerging (e.g. through rising nationalism). In Dutch context, for example, Essed (2013) argues that freedom of expression is misused to make racist statements. She refers to this phenomenon as 'Entitlement racism'. Essed (2014, 139) argues: "Race, often in terms of explicit references to people of African descent, is all over Europe, epitomized, among others in the "monkeyfication" of football players of African descent and politicians of African descent. In spite of the re-emergence of open biological racism, the denial of systematic racism is still central to the reproduction of racism in the Netherlands."

Therefore, we question: is biological racism making a come-back and how does this distract us from structural forms of racism? More specifically: how is this reflected in educational contexts? Based on forthcoming research regarding historic depictions of Black people (in a sample containing 200 Dutch secondary school history textbooks (1968-2017), N=40 per 10 years studied), we will discuss whether racist discourses have changed in textbooks. We will further this analysis by conducting 60 oral history interviews (30 (former) teachers and 30 former students: N=12 for every 10 years studied) to identify if teachers may have compensated possible racist discourses and if teachers' racial ideologies have changed in time. What are these voices of the past and present?

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7.16 PANEL INHERITANCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Chair: Carola Groppe (Helmut-Schmidt-Universität/Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg)

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: Eugenic Language and Education in the American Political System (English)

Alexandra Kathryn Fair (Miami University)

In 1965, Stanford University geneticist William Shockley spoke at the Nobel Prize conference on "Genetics and the Future of Man". The subject of his presentation was the "genetic deterioration" of the American population. He insisted that President Lyndon B. Johnson's recent Great Society legislation and its public assistance programs such as welfare facilitated the reproduction of "genetic defectives" and contributed to a damaging process of "evolution in reverse". Though the phrase "evolution in reverse" ran counter to scientific consensus about theories of evolution, Shockley refused to recant his statements.

This presentation of eugenic ideas to a gathering of Nobel prize-winning scientists was unique in its boldness but Shockley's description of his research as the science of "raceology" was the product of a larger rhetorical shift within the eugenics movement. In the wake of the Nazi eugenics program, American eugenicists were compelled to distance themselves from overtly eugenic language about "fit" and "unfit" reproduction and the danger of "feeble-mindedness". In its place, they substituted phrases such as "differential biology" and "hereditarianism" in order to continue conversations about biological differences between races without clearly displaying similarities to the Nazi eugenics movement.

The use of scientific language to repackage and ultimately sustain eugenic ideology under the auspices of academic research represents a defining moment in American educational practices about nature. Members of flagship eugenic organizations such as the Pioneer Fund, a group whose members supported domestic programs for forced sterilization, crafted a particular kind of educational environment with its own insular practices. On the surface, eugenic pedagogy mimicked the traditional trappings of academia with its emphasis on journal publication and organizational conferences as media of intellectual exchange. However, upon closer inspection, it is clear that educational practices in the eugenics movement merely imitated academic rigor. Journals such as the Pioneer Fund sponsored Mankind Quarterly did not employ a peer review process and did not integrate new research if it contradicted the organization's beliefs in the biological superiority of Nordic people.

Despite the secrecy surrounding these educational practices, the veneer of academic credibility helped American eugenic ideology disassociate with the Nazi eugenics program and reconstitute itself within the modern conservative movement. The quasi-academic relationships that eugenicists forged with universities and population control organizations opened the door for eugenic influence in the political sphere. For example, former Pioneer Fund directors Marion Parrot, Thomas Ellis, and Harry Weyher each worked in North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms's political action committees. This paper proposes to examine the educational practices of the American eugenics movement following World War II in order to understand how eugenic ideology achieved this level of political influence within the modern conservative movement. While the rates of sterilization in the United States declined sharply in the early 1970s, the practice continued in several states. Therefore, I propose an analysis of

the rhetorical shifts inside eugenic organizations and their educational practices in order to understand how the specter of eugenics retained influence in the political sphere.

Das Verhältnis zwischen Eugenik und Erziehung bei Ellen Key (Deutsch)

Emma Vikström (Örebro University)

Die schwedische Pädagogin und Autorin Ellen Key (1849-1926) adressierte in ihrem europäischen Bestseller *Das Jahrhundert des Kindes* (1900/1905) die Frage, wieso es der Menschheit „noch nicht gelungen ist, dem Kampfe ums Dasein edlere Formen zu verleihen“ (ebd., S. 2). Key war davon überzeugt, dass der Mensch zu einem „höheren Typus“ fähig ist und diese höhere Form erst dann erreicht werden kann, wenn durch die Umwandlung der Menschennatur ein Bewusstsein über die „Heiligkeit“ von Generationen und Kindheit entwickelt wird (ebd., S. 3ff). Hierfür antizipiert sie die Erziehung als eine der wichtigsten Gesellschaftsaufgaben. Mit der Berufung auf den Entwicklungsgedanken argumentiert Key, die Naturwissenschaften als Grundlage für die Rechtswissenschaft und Pädagogik anzuerkennen, und pointiert: „Der Mensch muss die Gesetze der natürlichen Auslese kennen lernen und in dem Geiste dieser Gesetze handeln“ (ebd., S. 44). Sie richtet sich hiermit ausdrücklich gegen ein christliches Verständnis von Menschsein als eine „physisch und psychisch unverrückbare Erscheinung“ (ebd., S. 3). Ihr Appell zur Anerkennung der „Heiligkeit“ von künftigen Generationen und ihr Bezug auf Natur und das naturwissenschaftliche Wissen ist allerdings als „Ersatzreligion“ kritisiert worden (Tenorth 2000, S. 302).

In dem Kapitel „Das Recht des Kindes, seine Eltern zu wählen“ behauptet Key, dass Kinder einen Anspruch darauf haben, nicht von Eltern erzeugt und erzogen zu werden, die durch ihre körperliche, psychische oder moralische Verfassung ihre Nachkommen

„schädlichen Folgen aussetzen“ (Key 1900/1905, S. 58). Laut Key muss die Gesetzgebung daher „ehehindernd“ eingreifen, um unerwünschte Elternschaft zu verhindern (ebd., S. 57). Sie widmet ihr Werk deshalb allen Eltern, „die hoffen, im neuen Jahrhundert, den neuen Menschen zu bilden“. Diese Idee von der „Perfektionierung des Menschen durch Eugenik und Erziehung“ (Andresen 2000, S. 35) charakterisiert und kritisiert Sabine Andresen als utopisch.

Dieser Beitrag schließt an die kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Keys eugenischen Ideen an (siehe z.B. Andresen 2000; Tenorth 2000; Skiera 2010; Mann 2003; Taylor Allen 2000; Hawkins 2012). Anhand ihrer Publikationen und ihres Briefwechsels wird das Verhältnis zwischen Eugenik und Erziehung in Keys Oeuvre skizziert. Durch eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Analyse Keys internationaler Netzwerke und ihre Kontakte mit prominenten Vertreter*innen der Eugenik, wie Herman Lundborg (1868-1943), Caleb Saleeby (1878-1940), Havelock Ellis (1859-1938) und Christian von Ehrenfels (1859- 1932), wird der Frage nachgegangen, wie Key das Verhältnis von Eugenik und Erziehung sowie Naturwissenschaften und Pädagogik Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts konzipiert hat.

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The North versus the South - the 18th century educational dispute with the Nature in the background (English)

Joanna Orzel (University of Lodz)

Education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was primarily held in noble colleges led by Jesuits and Piarists. There were disputes between them: regarding both the content and methods of teaching, as well as the prestige of the institutions and teachers employed in them. The competition at the symbolic level of two orders was also unitary – in the middle of the eighteenth century a dispute arose between two representatives of these orders: the Piarist Ubaldo Mignoni and the Jesuit Franciszek Bohomolec.

In 1750, Mignoni came to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth upon the invitation of Stanisław Konarski, the founder of the reform of Piarist schools in the Commonwealth. The guest from Italy from Italy started working at the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw, enjoying a good reputation. In 1751 he published his essay *Noctium Sarmaticarum vigiliae*. Mignoni used the concept of geographical determinism and climate theory to prove that not all peoples, including the peoples of the North, were capable of developing science and art at the highest level. According to the Piarist, the hazy sky, the harsh and damp climate of the North did not affect well the intelligence and cognitive abilities of the human. Mignoni compared people to the land – in every climate it is different and brings different fruit; even with the best intentions not much can be done. However, travelling may bear fruit in science - the author appreciated the poet Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, recognizing that after spending a few years in Italy, he became almost an indigenous Latin.

Jesuit Francis Bohomolec, at that time a teacher of pronunciation at the Warsaw Gimnasium School Zaluscianum, and next at the Collegium Nobilium, decided to answer the Piarist. In the work “Speaking in defense of the talents of Poles” (*Pro ingeniis Polonorum oratio*), published

in 1752, he opposed the theory of climate as the decisive factor of intellectual and artistic development of individual societies. First of all, he noticed that such an explanation had a negative impact not only on the reputation of Poles, but also deprived young people of their enthusiasm for learning. He argued that if we were to agree with Mignoni's theses, why would the young people want to study at all? Bohomolec decided to deny the theories of Piarist and give glorious examples from the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which could be examples for young people to follow. He focused primarily on figures from the Renaissance period, pointing out that only diligent study and work made Polish teenagers outperform their peers even from the South. What is more, Bohomolec pointed out that Poland constituted the same North as England or the Netherlands, so why did not Piarist criticize these nations? Naturally, the Jesuit does not do it - on the contrary, he stressed the keenness of the mind, the zeal of the Englishmen or the Dutch in practicing the sciences and the fame gained thanks to this, which surpassed the Southerners. As for Sarbiewski, Bohomolec ironically states that just as Sarbiewski was well influenced by the climate of the South, guests from the South coming to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were adversely affected by the bad climate and their mental acumen was limited?

Similar educational disputes with the theory of climate in the background occurred on the Apennine Peninsula. Thirty years after Mignoni's speech questioning the ability of people from the North, the Italians had to respond to similar allegations. The Frenchman, Jérôme Lalande, argued the superiority of French culture, which determined the climate and character of the nation. Michele Torcia from Naples stood up against him. The arguments quoted by him were similar to those used by Franciszek Bohomolec.

“How to remedy the harm this land impresses“: Education and Climate (English) Susanne Spieker (University of Hamburg, University of Koblenz-Landau)

When monks of different orders arrived in Central America, they faced a social upheaval. The Mesoamerican region distinguished itself through cultural diversity and different climatic zones (Smith, 2012). In the first generation after the arrival of the Spanish, the region was unsettled by revolutions, reorientations, and catastrophes (Lockhart, 1992; Prien, 2007). After 1545, the Spanish cultural invasion gradually would change social life.

Franciscans referred to the suppression of regional belief systems and the destruction of temples and written documents as a conquest spiritual. Autochthones were forced to participate in catechesis and mess (Prien, 2007). Spanish clergy did not refer to themselves as missionaries and mainly spoke in terms of instruction or indoctrination rather than conversion (Lockhart, 1992; Spieker, 2015). The notion of mission within this context refers to a violent approach to locals in response to the sorcery and witchcraft with which one was confronted (Prien, 2007).

The encounter with a new environment induced contemplation on the relation between education and nature. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, for instance, wondered whether the climate brought about “evil tendencies” that not only affected autochthones but also Spanish immigrants (Flor. Codex, 1577, 76-7). The old culture “knew how to remedy the harm this land impresses on those who dwell in it” (ibid., 77). He outlined how children were educated, but also how little successful the new Christian approach was. Descriptions of nature and climate form part not only of the Florentine Codex, but also of other works describing the

lifeworld of the autochthone population of the Americas. This paper aims at discussing the relation between education and nature as has been described in the works of missionaries, such as Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), Motolinía's *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (1536-41), Las Casas' *Apologética historia sumaria* (ca. 1559), Olmos' *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (1547), and Sahagún's *Historia* (Ríos Castaño, 2014, 74-7, 115-6).

These missionaries gathered information about the indigenous population and their language in different ways. For that reason Garibay Kintana (1954, 21) coined the notion of *misioneros etnógrafos*. Others proposed to see them as cultural translators who used inquisitional techniques (e.g., Burkhart, 1989; Ríos Castaño, 2014). The sources were developed for both fellow missionaries and the Spanish crown, which was gathering information concerning their new dominions (Brendecke, 2009). They are therefore available in Spanish. These sources, however, are biased and they offer but a limited view on Nahuatl concepts (Lockhart, 1992). For an analysis of the approaches and explanations out of the perspective of monks working in the region, they are nevertheless a most valuable source.

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FRIDAY August 31 11:00 - 12:30

8

8.1 SWG HISTORY OF LAIC EDUCATION (4/4)

PROBLEMS, TERMS AND WAYS FOR UNDERSTANDING LAIC EDUCATION

Chair: Felicitas Acosta (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento)

Education, laïcité et Eglise catholique -1962-1965 (Français)

Bruno Poucet (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

It may seem paradoxical to analyze these three realities in a single package. However, this communication is intended to show that the Catholic Church went a refusal attitude and fighting against secularism and education (encyclical of 1924 on the education of the youth) to an attitude at least opening on the subject. One of the decisive moments of this debate manifests itself by the way she has handled the issue of secularism and education during the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Now the distinction in the order of knowledge and faith is admitted. However, this statement was the object of many debates between 1960 and 1965, worn by the Bishops of France, Argentina and the Mexico. We'll also try to show how the General guidelines set by the Council in 1965 have been implemented in these three countries.

As this communication will attempt to clarify the definition of given secularism, the consequences on the conceptions of education, she will highlight the national connections and the flow of new standards brought about by decisions taken at the Council in a part of the latin Catholicism.

Educación, laicidad e iglesia católica

Puede parecer paradójico analizar estas tres realidades en un solo paquete. Sin embargo, esta comunicación pretende mostrar que la iglesia católica fue una actitud de rechazo y lucha contra el laicismo y educación (encíclica de 1924 en la educación de la juventud) a una actitud de apertura al menos sobre el tema. Uno de los momentos decisivos de este debate se manifiesta por la forma en que ha manejado el tema del laicismo y educación durante el Concilio Vaticano II (1962-1965). Ahora se admite la distinción en el orden de conocimiento y fe. Sin embargo, esta declaración fue objeto de muchos debates entre 1960 y 1965, usado por los obispos de Francia, Argentina y México. También intentaremos mostrar cómo los lineamientos generales establecidos por el Consejo en 1965 han sido implementados en estos tres países.

Como esta comunicación intentará aclarar la definición de secularismo, las consecuencias en las concepciones de la educación, pondrá de relieve las conexiones nacionales y el flujo de nuevas normas provocada por decisiones adoptadas en el Consejo en una parte del catolicismo Latino.

Fuentes: de los archivos de la Santa Sede - fondo del Concilio Vaticano II (Francia, Argentina, México); archivos Lasalianos: fondo Michel Sauvage; archivos de la Conferencia Episcopal de francés (CNAEF): "Declaración sobre la educación", los archivos departamentales de la Monto: financia Vandermeersch.

Education, laïcité et Eglise catholique

Il peut paraître paradoxal d'analyser ces trois réalités dans un même ensemble. Or, cette communication vise à montrer que l'Eglise catholique est passée d'une attitude refus et de combat par rapport à la laïcité et à l'éducation (encyclique de 1924 sur l'éducation de la jeunesse) à une attitude au moins d'ouverture sur le sujet. Un des moments décisifs de ce débat se manifeste par la manière dont elle a traité la question de l'éducation et de la laïcité lors du Concile Vatican II (1962-1965). Désormais la distinction dans l'ordre des savoirs et de la foi est admise. Or, cette prise de position a été l'objet de nombreux débats entre 1960 et 1965, portés notamment par les évêques de France, d'Argentine et du Mexique. On essaiera aussi de montrer comment les orientations générales fixées par le Concile en 1965 ont été mises en œuvre dans ces trois pays.

Aussi cette communication essaiera-t-elle d'éclairer la définition de la laïcité donnée, les conséquences sur les conceptions de l'éducation, elle mettra en évidence les connexions nationales et la circulation des normes nouvelles induites par les décisions prises lors du Concile dans une partie du catholicisme latin.

La loi française de 2004 et la réactivation collatérale du schème sacré/profane (Français)

Alain Panero (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

Faisant retour à la loi française de l'interdiction du port de signes ou de tenues manifestant une appartenance religieuse dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics, nous souhaiterions réexaminer, sous un angle philosophique et/ou phénoménologique, ce que l'on pourrait appeler la récente topique française de la laïcité. Comment s'articulent aujourd'hui, en France, l'espace public, lieu de manifestation légale de nombreux signes religieux, et l'espace scolaire, lieu de mise entre parenthèses de toute manifestation de ces signes ?

S'il est clair que pour les acteurs sociaux - élèves, professeurs, parents, juristes, chercheurs, etc. -, ce partage entre un espace extra-scolaire et un espace intra-scolaire ne fait pas mystère et semble même intériorisé comme une évidence, on peut toutefois se demander si la fondation juridique (à la fois sur la raison et sur la force) de ce partage suffit à expliquer son « succès » ou en tout cas sa pérennité. On ne peut en effet manquer de remarquer que, d'un certain point de vue, cette topique répète et entérine la partition originelle, bien connue des historiens des religions ou des ethnologues, d'un espace sacré et d'un espace profane. En interdisant le port des signes religieux dans l'enceinte scolaire, au nom d'un principe de neutralité, la loi de 2004 consacrerait, en quelque sorte malgré elle, cette enceinte comme un lieu « sacré », un lieu de culte inversé si l'on ose dire, celui du culte de la neutralité.

Bousculant malgré elle la partition traditionnelle entre, d'un côté, un espace public considéré comme profane et, d'un autre côté, les lieux de culte, la loi de 2004 aurait ainsi brouillé les cartes, en suggérant, pour le meilleur ou pour le pire, la possibilité d'une tripartition où l'espace redevenu sacré de l'école (avec son nouveau rituel de « dévêtement ») ferait pendant aux lieux de culte religieux sur fond d'espace public profane.

Sous cet angle, le fait que les lycéennes ont très vite retiré leur voile à l'école ou au lycée ne tiendrait donc peut-être pas tant à une reconnaissance assumée de la rationalité de la loi française qu'à une adhésion plus ou moins inconsciente à la topique immémoriale du sacré et du profane.

Méthodologie

Etude philosophique à partir de textes et documents issus de la philosophie et des sciences humaines : histoire, sciences de l'éducation, sociologie, psychologie (sur l'imaginaire et la quête de sens des ados, sur leur idée du « sacré » et du rapport au corps, sur leur aptitude à rationaliser), anthropologie, ethnologie, histoire des religions.

El régimen de laicidad : un método para analizar la educación laica (Español)

Adelina Arredondo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

Is it the same “secular education” that “laic education”? This is one fundamental point that has to be clarified in the group before continuing with the transnational and interdisciplinary discussion about the study them of our SWG. Terminology is not just a question of language but also a question of theory, methodology and epistemology, and a question of conflict and misunderstanding on what are we talking about. Historical concepts have to get their content from history and not just from a simple translation. Is it a cultural issue limited to one country or a process that occurs in the modern world? Different to the term secular education, the term laic education allows a better comprehension not only of the history of education in Latin and Catholic countries, but also of the history of Orthodox, Muslim and others. As well, this term, well conceptualized, contributes to project future realities within the globalisation processes.

In my paper I take Mexico as a case of study, where first it occurs a process of secularization, in other words, a separation of public education from Church. Then, it was omitted all religious education, cults and symbols, and finally it was prohibited and penalised any kind of religious contents, pedagogical means, symbols, cults, persons, institutions and financial or material resources related to any Church or religious association in public education in all its grades and levels, and even in some sectors of private education. I estimate that the case of Mexico could be an exemplar case for discussing this matter and because, probably, in Mexico the laicisation started first, was more radical, was more complex. My goal in this discussion is arriving to a baggage of common concepts, related to different processes, in time and geography.

To be able to analyse and compare different circumstances, in spaces and times, in my paper I will explain a methodological and epistemological approach, built for Roberto González and myself, the regime or laicity, which allows to understand better the changes and continuities, along politically moving situations. I will consider curriculum contents, means, symbols, grades and sectors of education, geographical spaces, actors, investments, having as a main analysis object the legislation of a country and its jurisdiction. I will take as an axis the legislation changes, not just as a formal aspect of the problem, but as the crystallization of conflicts, negotiations and power relations. Laws will be taken not just like a point of departure but mainly a point of arriving, or consolidation of fightings, an fundamental basis for policies, but as well as a frame for historical projections, for orienting conceptions and practices. My presentation would have more the format of an essay, mainly based on primary sources.

8.2 SWG OBJECTS, SENSES AND THE MATERIAL WORLD OF SCHOOLING (4/4)

COMPLICATING THE EDUCATIONAL OBJECT

Chair: Kazuhisa Fujimoto (Keio University)

Discussant: Lynn Fendler (Michigan State University)

From crystallography to kindergarten (English)

Jose Muñoz Alvis (Humboldt University Berlin)

Friedrich Fröbel is known as the founder of the kindergarten and for his design and systematization of the learning materials, named Gifts and Occupations. The Gifts were six sets of geometric solids introduced to foster children's understanding of volumes and their composition in space according to a geometrical and orthogonal pattern, while the Occupations were sets of materials introduced to work on the frame of a plane aimed for improving the composition skills reached during activities with the Gifts. Fröbel's kindergarten and the Gifts and Occupations played a determinant roll in the transformation of the Early Childhood Education of the second part of the 19th century and the preschool educational vision of the 20th century in Europe and North America. In comparison with other learning materials developed in the 19th century, the Gifts are still in use at the actual kindergarten to foster the learning activities of children through play. Fröbel's notion of education is based on a dynamic system of interaction among "nature, people and God". This pantheistic view does not comprise a difference between nature and culture. Children's understanding of this system should help them to their self-development. These aspects have been documented and analyzed from the perspective of the pedagogy during the last century serving for the understanding of Fröbel as a representative of Romanticism. Less is known, however, about Fröbel's notion of nature in relation with his formal background as a crystallographer and the influence of crystallography in the development of the Gifts. This paper proposes to examine the Fröbel's development of the Gifts more carefully. I shall reconstruct the parameters on which the six sets of the Gifts were designed and introduced into the learning activities at the kindergarten. For this purpose, I will compare Fröbel's German texts, his letters, his personal notes and the models of crystals he may used during his work with the crystallographer Christian Samuel Weiß. The aim is to show how Fröbel's understanding of nature, mastered in his studies on crystallography, directly influenced the design and systematization of the Gifts. Historians have long pointed out that Fröbel's studies in natural sciences and particular in crystallography may have influenced the development of the Gifts. This paper should highlight this relation more clearly.

La enseñanza de Ciencias para sordos en el siglo XIX y el método intuitivo (Español)

Cássia Geciauskas Sofiato (Universidade de São Paulo), Ronaldo Santos Santana (Universidade de São Paulo)

La educación de niños sordos en Brasil tuvo inicio en el siglo XIX en el Imperial Instituto de Surdos-Mudos, en Río de Janeiro, en 1857. El Imperial Instituto de Surdos-Mudos fue fundado por D. Pedro II, a través de la petición de E. Huet, profesor sordo francés (Rocha, 2007). En el Imperial Instituto de Surdos-Mudos el programa escolar para alumnos sordos presentaba, a partir de 1856, varias asignaturas y la enseñanza de ciencias naturales también ocurría por medio de actividades que envolvían la experiencia. El objetivo de esta investigación es presentar cómo se desarrollaba la enseñanza de Ciencias para sordos en la segunda mitad del

siglo XIX (de 1856 a 1889), con base en el método intuitivo, en el Imperial Instituto de Surdos-Mudos. La investigación tiene un enfoque cualitativo y es del tipo documental. Las fuentes documentales utilizadas fueron primarias, tales como: informes de los directores del Imperial Instituto de los Surdos-Mudos, de los Ministros y Secretarios de los Negocios del Imperio, Colección de Leyes del Imperio, entre otros. Con base en los estudios desarrollados percibimos que la enseñanza de Ciencias para alumnos sordos ocurría de forma transversal, es decir, por medio del desarrollo de una serie de actividades: experiencias sensoriales en el museo que fue creado en el Imperial Instituto de Surdos-Mudos, trabajo en el plan de horticultura para los alumnos sordos, etc. Lo que llama la atención es que en el período observado la disciplina de Ciencias Naturales no forma parte del currículo para los alumnos sordos y en contrapartida aparecía en el currículo de otros colegios en la misma época (colegios para oyentes y para ciegos), pero aún así contenidos de esa área eran trabajados.

Inanimate and animate nature between object lessons and open air schools (English) **Mirella D'Ascenzo (University of Bologna)**

The object lesson was an important Nineteenth and early Twentieth century pedagogical innovation in many school settings around the world. Object teaching was praised for its modernizing qualities in improving teaching practice far beyond the traditional school. They introduced a deep didactic innovation in schools, giving life to collections of objects and real educational museums for the objective teaching, still little known in historiography. Concerning the didactic level, the objective lessons allowed the students to see and touch the objects of nature, a cold and inanimate nature but at least real and visible to the eyes and touch. This type of teaching spread in Europe in the second half of the Nineteenth century and was practiced at least until the twenties of the Twentieth century and then was replaced by a 'live teaching' from the new schools' movement and the open air schools' movement. In particular, open air schools - spread since the early Twentieth century - have introduced new teaching practices such as gardening, slow trips, classroom pets, didactic specimens and plant care in a natural context where the pupils have experimented an animate culture and a different link between bodies and nature compared to the model of pedagogical positivism of object lessons. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the practice of the object lesson created through the collections of objects of nature collected in the Educational Museum for schools started by Luigi Bombicci in Bologna (Italy, 1883) during the pedagogical positivism and still used in primary schools, as an example of *longue durée* of the material culture of schooling. I will analyze the objects of this educational museum, the teaching practices realized by teachers and the relationship between the bodies of the students at school and the inanimate nature of the objects. This relationship will be compared with some teaching practices of Italian open air schools in the first half of the Twentieth century, to grasp the difference in the way of considering the body at school related to an animated nature: nature and bodies now perceived as 'lived' and alive.

Materializing American Progressive Education: Spinning Wheels and Book Covers

Noah W. Sobe (Loyola University Chicago)

This paper discusses object teaching pedagogy as presented in English-language pedagogical materials from the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. Of particular interest are the various forms that “objects” took. From these texts we see teachers being instructed to undertake forms of object teaching in which three-dimensional physical objects actually played a very minor part. Instead, object teaching in this period moves towards a reliance on the Trinitarian union of physical object, blackboard, and classroom poster/wall chart. While teaching manuals from the period under examination speak to teacher’s object cabinets and object collections, they also regularly expect teachers to use blackboards within object lessons. In many cases the teacher is directed to make an illustrative chalk drawing in advance of students arriving, as part of lesson preparation. Commercially printed posters, wall charts and paper cards also increasingly feature into the required preparation for object teaching. My research examines which objects and which domains of knowledge tend to be slated to which of these didactic strategies. Given the ISCHE 40 Education and Nature conference theme I pay particular attention to the ways that animal, mineral and plant objects are accessed in object teaching over the period 1860-1890. The transition of these elements of the natural world into school spaces reveals a host of fascinating transformations both in the play of living versus dead objects as well as in the animation of the inanimate.

8.3 SWG REFORPRO: REFORMISM(S), PROGRESSIVISM(S), CONSERVATISM(S) IN EDUCATION (3/3)

NEW EDUCATION, MODERN PEDAGOGIES AND THE QUESTION OF PROGRESSIVISM

Chairs: Joaquim Pintassilgo (Universidade de Lisboa), André Robert (Université Lumière Lyon 2)

Discussants: Mark Freeman (UCL Institute of Education), Heather Ellis (University of Sheffield)

The “Élisian pedagogy”: a conservatory of progressive education (English)

Henri-Louis Go (Université de Lorraine)

Élise Freinet is known to have been part of the Modern School movement, heir to the eighteenth-century discovery of a land-new, childhood (Philonenko, 1967). But his position in educational thought presents a paradox. His writings emphasize the rigor required by pedagogical action. She considered that the "part of the master" was the essence of the "Freinet pedagogy", while the vulgate of this pedagogy puts forward the autonomous activity of the child. The publications I study show Elise Freinet's relationship between the spirit of pedagogy, the correct practice of the techniques of this pedagogy, and the productions of the students who attest to it: "If you do not think to make articles but to propose documents which allow the practice of a Freinet pedagogy which thanks to the writings of Freinet can go reinforcing, taking the height and the broad one. It is necessary to disencumber oneself of this concern of literature which in the period of intense richness and fight that we live is gone".

From 1966, the main issue of Élise Freinet's action was to position herself for a safeguard of "Freinet pedagogy" as a practice, reminding educators that they have a reference for it:

"To move forward, be communicative and convincing, you have at your fingertips the active and critical thinking of Freinet. It's a precious legacy that you'll be able to grow."

Indeed, according to Élise Freinet, it is the lack of demand in the practices that leads militant teachers to practice what they call bluffing (Freinet, É., 1966, pp. 33-34). Its position can be understood, in the context of the late 1960s, as an educational "anti-laxism". The way not to go into lax drifts is to work the reference. Hence the idea that his vision of training is that of a progressive conservatory that I will strive to support on publications and archival documents.

The techniques of „grace and courtesy“ in Montessori pedagogy: progressivism or conservatism? (English)

Bérengère Kolly (Université Paris Est Créteil)

This communication aims to study progressivism or conservatism in education starting from the history of pedagogy, and by entering through a specific practice of schooling, the exercises of "grace and courtesy" proposed in Montessori preschools. Conservative in their form, progressive in their objectives and effects: these exercises demonstrate the possible coincidence between conservatism and progressivism, or, perhaps, their situation beyond these two definitions. They will be the occasion to draw several types of reflections: what are the possible progressive evolution in school, within this act by essence conservative of transmission ? What in this context would be Montessori's place in the history of pedagogical ideas?

Nature, a progressive educational space? The conception of nature as an educational environment at Geheeb, Hahn and Demolins (English)

Carmen Letz (Université de Lorraine)

«Nature is the greatest teacher» says Kurt Hahn (1886-1974), politician and founder of the prestigious Schule Schloss Salem, the Salem College (1920) and the concept of Outward Bound (1941), based on an Erlebnispädagogik, that means an education by "lived experience" to enable children to discover their talents in contact to nature and crafts: "There is more to us than we know. If we can be made to see it, perhaps for the rest of our lives we will be unwilling to settle for less" (Kurt Hahn).

The theologian Paul Geheeb (1870-1961) and his wife Edith Geheeb-Cassirer (1885-1982) chose the place of installation of their schools, the Odenwald School (1910-1934) and then the Ecole d'Humanité (1934), according to a specific environment, close to nature, far enough away from pollution and the permissiveness of cities, on sites that inspire to creativity by their beauty. The convergence with Hahn's approach already indicates their motto borrowed from Pindar and Nietzsche: "Become (who) you are".

As for Edmond Demolins (1852-1907), sociologist and creator of the École des Roches in 1899, nature as a land of pioneers and farmland represents one of the fundamental pillars of the education of active and creative men, needed by French economy. To be "well equipped

for life", pupils have to be trained in cultivating land, in managing with a minimum of utensils and in endurance.

The contribution seeks to present the different conceptions developed by the three founders of schools who represent, within the movement called "new education", the Landerziehungsheimbewegung - which Adolphe Ferrière translated by "the new schools in the countryside". It will therefore be necessary to analyse how, throughout the different approaches, the idea of nature as a pedagogical space is transformed into practice, particularly in the aim to educate a full citizen – as it was claimed by the three school founders.

From the hero to the actor of education policies, the progressive in question. Gilles Ferry (1917-2007)

Noëlle Monin (Université Claude Bernard)

The tributes to Gilles Ferry unanimously celebrate the progressive pedagogue. In the July 4, 2007 edition of *Le Monde*, P Meirieu praises a "great figure of the sciences of educationa major reference ... a great educator in our groping modernity: an educator at the level of man". In his post-face of the book *Le trajet de la formation* G Ferry published in 1988, P Meirieu writes "It traces a wayextending the great educational tradition of Pestalozzi Paulo Freire, Makarenko Illich the one who remains, in my eyes, one of the few true pedagogues of the last fifty years. "In *Nouvelle revue de psychosociologie* (2008/2, n ° 6), J C Filloux considers that G Ferry seeks to "make live another pedagogy ". G Vigarello, evokes, the "major figure of the sciences of education ... author of several texts widely recognized, matured and innovating at the same time" (*Esprit*, of December 2007). In reference to the book *l'Expérience d'une formation de chefs. Le stage de six mois à l'école nationale des cadres d'Uriage* (1945) adds "This reflection on Uriage contains in germ the great educational issues that will mark our time." B Comte (1991, 547) adds "Gilles Ferry, who played an important role in Uriage, as the Amiens conference, 20 years later, said" Uriage has developed a real educational model, which was inspired then without knowing explicitly the existence ""

What sense should be given to this process of heroism that makes G Ferry a progressive pedagogue? In what way did his commitment to the Petainist school of Uriage executives, between 1940 and 1942, contribute to paradoxically build this identity of man of progress? What is this "educational model" whose reputation is made that would have marked the educational policy between 1945 and 2007, or even later.

Several sources will allow us to answer these questions: the content analysis of about twenty of his publications, the documents kept in the departmental archives of Isère, those of the archives of the family of G Ferry, the testimony of his entourage:

This communication will attempt to deconstruct the process of heroism linked to the figure of G Ferry and reconstruct the trajectories and networks of the actor of the school system erected as promoter of progress.

The French pre-school after the First World War, a Montessorian melting pot? (English)

Fabienne Serina-Karsky (Université Paris 8 Vincennes Saint-Denis, LIRDEF Montpellier)

After having studied last year in this SWG the meeting points and tensions between progressivism shown by kindergartens, particularly from the point of view of the early childhood professionals training, and the French school institution between 1919 and 1939, we propose to continue our research by questioning the rise of Montessorism within the French pre-school after the First World War. The reconstruction of schools is accompanied by a "major renovation of early childhood education that is emerging in our country of old pedagogical organization" as affirmed in 1921 by Mrs Bardot, inspector of nursery schools of the Seine.

Indeed, it is through the simultaneous action of an American philanthropist, Miss Cromwell, who endows the "Ecoles Normales" and some of the Seine schools with Montessori equipment and furniture, and with the decree of July 15, 1921, which modifies in particular the time schedule in public pre-schools and calls for the use of a "sensory material", that we see the institution open, for a time, to the progressivism displayed by the methods of New education. According to the periodical press of the times, the French pre-school of Pauline Kergomard becomes a melting pot of Montessorism, relayed by personalities such as Suzanne Brès, Emilie Flayol, then director of the La Rochelle's Ecole Normale, and also Paul Lapie, Minister of Public Instruction, who prefaces the first translation by Miss Cromwell of the work of Maria Montessori, published in 1918 by Larousse. Miss Cromwell receives the "moral approval" of Ferdinand Buisson to continue her work, especially with schools most affected by the war that need to be completely reorganized with little means.

Using a corpus made up of public archives (National Archives, Archives of Fontenay-aux-Roses, library of "Père Castor") and private (Émilie Brandt school, New School of Antony), and by a socio-historical approach, we propose to trace the path of this "Apostle of Montessorism" and her disciples in order to better understand how the Montessori method tries to establish itself in the French pre-school without revolutionizing it, and also to question its reception in class and its impacts on the professional practices of teachers.

„Mental hygiene“ and eugenics: two notions at the heart of the reflection between interest of the child and interest of the State? (English)

Sylvain Wagon (Université de Montpellier)

Mental hygiene and eugenics, these two notions remain complex because of their representations. They must be put in context to be elements of reflection. We will analyse, in the reflections of the Belgian pedagogue Ovide Decroly (1871-1932), the elaboration of the notions of mental hygiene, social prophylaxis and eugenics. Founding member of the Belgian eugenic society in 1912, one finds in his writings the tension between interest of the child and interest of the State? Can this position be considered as a progressist one?

8.4 SWG MAPPING THE DISCIPLINE HISTORY OF EDUCATION (4/4)

PUBLISHING TRENDS IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION: KEY PERSPECTIVES

Chairs: Mark Freeman (UCL Institute of Education), Heather Ellis (University of Sheffield)

The View from History of Education Quarterly (English)

Nancy Beadie (University of Washington)

The co-editor of the US-based journal History of Education Quarterly will survey trends from the point of view of the journal. History of Education Quarterly is the official journal of the field's leading professional society in the United States, the History of Education Society, and has been published continuously since 1960. The journal published work from a range of intersecting sub-fields in social, political, economic, intellectual, and cultural history, including (but not limited to): urban history, policy history, sociology of knowledge, colonialism and colonial education, history of childhood and youth, gender studies, ethnic history, indigenous education, cultural studies, comparative history and the history of ideas.

The View from History of Education (English)

Mark Freeman (UCL Institute of Education)

The co-editor of the UK-based journal History of Education will survey trends from the point of view of the journal. He is also co-author of the journal's first annual review of periodical literature, covering 2016 and published in the last issue of 2017. History of Education focuses on the history of education in all parts of the world, and is recognised as a key resource for both educationists and social historians alike. It publishes papers dealing with both formal and informal education systems, comparative education, policy-making, and the politics and experience of education and pedagogy.

The View from the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (English)

Gary McCulloch (UCL Institute of Education)

The president of BERA, who is also the editor of the British Journal of Educational Studies, will consider trends in the history of education in the context of the wider field of educational research. BERA is a membership association and learned society committed to advancing research quality, building research capacity and fostering research engagement. The British Journal of Educational Studies is one of the UK's foremost international education journals. It publishes scholarly, research-based articles on education which draw particularly upon historical, philosophical and sociological analysis and sources.

Conclusion and Perspectives

Emmanuelle Picard (Ecole Normale Supérieure), Solenn Huitric (Lausanne University)

Synthesis and agenda for publications and ISCHE 41 (15 to 18 July, 2019) – Oporto, Portugal...

8.5SWG TOUCHING BODIES IN SCHOOL (3/3)

A Nature that Heals the Body and Brightens the Soul (English)

Heloísa Helena Pimenta Rocha (UNICAMP)

“Health is the true happiness!” This is what states the book *Vida higienica! Historia em figuras de duas crianças que nunca ficaram doentes* (Hygienic life! Illustrated story of two children who have never gotten sick), written by Deodato de Moraes and published by Melhoramentos in 1927. The phrase, written in one of the last pages of the book, follows an illustration that brings a smiling boy and a girl, who are well dressed and running through a field. Recommendations highlighting the benefits that games and walks out in the open could bring to health, as well as the repercussions they have on emotions are recurring in school textbooks, used in the first decades of the 20th century as a means to impart hygienic habits to children. Because of these activities that put children’s bodies in touch with nature, the short statements and narratives, as well as the images accompanying them bring to light strong, ruddy, energetic and joyful bodies, engaged in exercises and games that include objects such as balls or shuttlecocks. However, nature and its elements are not represented in these books only as a source of health and, consequently, of happiness and joy. At the same time that beaches, fields and mountains appear as idealized places for resting and for the healing of many illnesses, we frequently find references to a wild nature, infested with the most diverse contamination agents that represented a serious health threat in case of contact. Thus, there are recurring prescriptions stressing the need for using footwear as a means to prevent infestations by worms, for taking cover from excessive sun exposure and for being careful with standing waters from rivers and lakes, where insects such as the fearful mosquitos grew. In another dimension, it is noteworthy that the recommendations propagated by these books create links between contact with nature, health and happiness in contrast to representations that associate bad mood and sadness with confinement and the diseases resulting from contamination by natural agents. This paper analyzes the representations of nature in school textbooks oriented to teaching notions of health and hygiene in primary school, published in Brazil in the first decades of the 20th century. More specifically, it inquires about the role assigned to nature in the prevention and production of diseases, looking closely at references to emotions that would result from the contact with nature. Body, health, nature and emotions constitute the pillars around which we interrogate these books directed to pedagogical work, focusing not only on the wording, but also on the images that refer to the relations of children’s bodies with nature.

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“The Gentle Leaning of a Loving Little Body”: The Providence Lithograph Company and the Envisioning of Intimacy in the Sunday School Classroom 1920-50 (English)
Sandy Brewer (Oxford Brookes University)

In the British Sunday School Times in 1924 ‘A Teacher of Tinies’ observed that:

A teacher has many temptations in her work. ... it is difficult to be fair with the child who constantly annoys one. We must reprove, and if necessary punish, but we need to pray for love that will be just and kind to those who seem unlovely. We have our reward in the thrill of a confiding hand on the teacher’s knee, or the gentle leaning of a loving body.

It was implicitly understood by the writer that while (in appropriate circumstances) it was permissible for the child to touch the teacher, it was not acceptable for her to initiate or reciprocate such tactile encounters. ‘A Teacher of Tinies’ accepts the prohibition on touch, understanding it not, as we would today, as a necessary impediment to inappropriate behaviour by an adult towards a child, but rather a way to ensure that no indication is ever given that one pupil is favoured over others. It was a path that required careful negotiation if fairness and personal warmth were not to be sacrificed.

In both the UK and the USA, Sunday school education in the last century was reliant on the voluntary services of women. In the kindergarten and beginners’ class in the USA, Froebel’s concept of women as ‘natural’ teachers often combined with Bushnell’s Christian nurture, although the latter was now emanating from outside the sphere of the family. Lessons for the young were centred around storytelling, an activity which encouraged and facilitated an intimacy in the teacher’s relationship with children. But, the paper will argue, this was an institutionally-constructed intimacy where touching was carefully regulated rather than naturally expressed. The physical and institutional context is made evident in many schoolroom pictures which show teachers at the centre of a small group of young children. These prints were published by the USA-based Providence Lithograph Company, a business built upon providing illustrative teaching materials for use in Sunday schools, reminding teachers, as well as children of the appropriate modes of conduct in the classroom.

This paper draws on David Morgan’s work in the field of visual and material culture in a discussion of examples of this unique visual genre that emerged in the 1920s and was still in production in the 1950s, although updated to reflect changes in fashions. The selected pictures are analysed firstly by reference to the proxemics of the figures depicted; looking at the spatial relationship of child to teacher and vice-versa, by identifying what might be understood as ‘implied’ touching. The discussion then moves on to aspects of the pictures which signal ‘permitted’, as well as ‘invited’ touching. The paper concludes by suggesting that, underpinning the teacher’s positioning (and benign authority) in all the pictures discussed, is her role as intercessor and recipient of the divine, invisible touch emanating through the classroom window, a recurring visual trope in many of these illustrations.



All images by Dorothy Handsaker for the Providence Lithograph Company.

La Naturaleza en la Educación Alimentaria Escolar. Argentina, Periodo de Programa de Asuntos (Español)

Angela Aisenstein (Universidad de San Andrés), Cecilia Almada (Universidad de San Andrés)

La escuela fue una de las instituciones clave del proyecto modernizador. El sistema educativo en la Argentina nació de la mano de la conformación del Estado nacional y se constituyó en un dispositivo privilegiado para la educación de los cuerpos. La civilidad corporal fue un

requerimiento a priori para la afirmación de la escuela como tecnología de gobierno de la infancia y un punto de llegada de su trabajo formativo (Aisenstein y Almada, 2016).

El desarrollo armónico de los niños era concebido como una tendencia natural de los organismos sanos capaces de alejarse de las influencias nocivas. Para evitar las que pudieran alterar la condición “fisiológica”, entendida como “normal”, la escuela enseñaría sobre el valor nutritivo de los alimentos y prescribiría las mejores prácticas culinarias; la educación alimentaria sería una de las estrategias para modificar hábitos y costumbres; también para transformar “naturalezas” (la apatía criolla; el hogar del pobre).

Del análisis de los Programas para la escuela primaria del período de Programas de Asuntos (Palamidessi, 2004) y de los ejemplares de El Monitor de la Educación Común, entre los años 1936 y 1961, emergen sentidos contradictorios atribuidos a la naturaleza. Se la considera el ámbito privilegiado para la experiencia educativa infantil; un área de conocimiento geopolítico en el marco de las transformaciones de la Argentina; pero también una fuente de preocupación por los efectos de la crisis económica sobre el desenvolvimiento de la sociedad nacional.

Las experiencias educativas en la naturaleza y la enseñanza a través de la acción, sostenidas por el ideario escolanovista, recomendaron el trabajo de la tierra, la cría y el cuidado de animales y la experimentación.

A la vez, el discurso pedagógico sobre educación alimentaria puso en relación voces del campo de la producción y del control simbólico (Bernstein, 1997, 1998). El lugar de la Argentina en el escenario económico mundial permitió poner el énfasis en la producción de alimentos y en las riquezas naturales regionales, cuyos contenidos se desplegaron en Geografía e Historia. Los contenidos sobre alimentación presentes en el ramo Naturaleza matizaron argumentos científico-médicos y religioso- morales. También naturalizaron roles de género y perfiles laborales urbanos y rurales.

A la escuela actual se le atribuye la responsabilidad de contribuir a la construcción de la ciudadanía alimentaria (Gómez y Lozano, 2014), respetando el derecho de las personas a tener acceso, de manera regular, permanente y libre, a una alimentación cuantitativa y cualitativamente adecuada y suficiente que corresponda a las tradiciones culturales de la población (FAO, 1996). Conocer las formas que diseñó la escuela para la difusión de los conocimientos, sensibilidades, valores y prácticas referidos a la alimentación puede aportar a la comprensión de los desafíos que afronta la enseñanza escolar hoy.

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Reflections on Eugenics, Sanitation, Hygiene and Rural Schools in the Early Decades of the 20th Century (English)

Angélica Pall Oriani (University of São Paulo)

The purpose of this summary is to discuss the dissemination of ideas of the eugenics movement during the first decades of the twentieth century and to focus on aspects related to rural schools. In Brazil, eugenic science was associated with the principles of hygiene and sanitation and assumed a preventive tone. For this reason, in the debates of intellectuals who propagated it, it was common to defend human perfection through the reeducation of social behavior, body control and prevention of disease, alcohol, drugs and tobacco addiction, and practices considered immoral such as crimes, divorce and prostitution. To address problems affecting the moral and social nature of individuals, eugenics proposed, among other things, compulsory sterilization, prenuptial examinations, and educational practices. Based on curricular contents aimed at encouraging good habits, personal hygiene and sports practices, eugenics invested in associating the ideas of sanitation and hygiene with the idea of civilization. Specifically for schools located in rural areas, the curricular contents were focused on combating diseases and flaws in the moral character that depressed the "sertanejo" (people from the countryside), and on the dissemination of benefits related to rural life, through condemnation of the city and the urban environment because of the possible harm they could cause to human nature. Associated with the ruralist movement, the intellectuals that were connected to the dissemination of eugenic science defended the need to offer means for the fixation of individuals in the field through the guarantee of sanitary and educational conditions. Therefore, the emphasis rests on the school focused on meeting the desires of and in the rural space. Based on the theoretical contributions of the New Cultural History and the discussions of Stepan (2004), Souza, R. (2009, 2014 and 2015); Popkewitz (1997); Silva (2013), Miranda (2013), and Souza, V. (2008), this summary discusses aspects related to the defenses of sanitarianism and social control, which gained proportions in the first decades of the twentieth century, to reflect on the ways in which the eugenics movement directed its discussions to schools from textbooks, disciplines and school contents. Thus, the questions are: how do the propositions on the importance of social, moral, and body control that pervade environmental and natural issues incorporate medical-sanitary elements that were in vogue at the time, and were made public in schools? How did pedagogical ruralism and its advocates associate themselves with the eugenic movement? In this scenario, how did some curricular content and textbooks contribute to the propagation of eugenic, hygienic and preventative ideas? How were the scientific debates about nature and the ways of perfecting the human being linked to the educational discourse and produced a set of educational knowledges and practices that dealt with healthy, docile and productive bodies? How did the production of a discourse about the education/nature relationship, which incorporated scientific elements from the medical and educational areas, concentrate

proposals that delimited and constituted educational practices aimed at the reforming the society through the school?

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8.6 SYMPOSIUM KONZEPTE VON NATUR UND NATÜRLICHKEIT IM DISKURS UM DIE ERNEUERUNG DES LEBENS UND DER ERZIEHUNG – HISTORISCHE, SYSTEMATISCHE UND AKTUELLE PERSPEKTIVEN

(SCHWERPUNKTE: LEBENSREFORM UND REFORMPÄDAGOGIK) (3/3)

SPEZIFISCHE KONZEPTE IN DER REFORMPÄDAGOGIK

Discussant: Christine Mayer (Universität Hamburg)

Natur und Gesellschaft in reformpädagogischen Konzepten (Deutsch)

Johanna Hopfner (Universität Graz), Claudia Stöckl (Universität Graz)

Soziale und ökonomische Umbrüche fordern Neuverhandlungen über gesellschaftliche Formierungen. Es tun sich Spielräume für Utopien und konservierende Bewegungen auf. Stets geschieht dies mit Zugriffen auf das Feld von Erziehung und Bildung. Dort treffen sie auf

fruchtbaren Boden in reformpädagogischen Bestrebungen und Lebensreformbewegungen. Die Natur wird als Gegenpol und Fluchtpunkt konstruiert, der in einer fiktiven Dimension reale Widersprüche aufhebt und Geborgenheit erzeugt. Das Verhältnis von Individuen und Gesellschaft und die Entfremdung der Subjekte sind Kernthemen kritischer Reflexion, die auch in naturalistische oder technizistische Gesellschaftsmodelle münden können.

Der Beitrag analysiert ausgewählte reformpädagogische Konzepte von Gesellschaft, Gemeinschaft oder Kollektiv von der Makroebene bis zur Mikroebene der handelnden Subjekte. Im Fokus stehen die vielseitigen und gegensätzlichen Interessen, die individuelle Existenzsicherung und Entfaltung subjektiver Potentiale ermöglichen oder aber gefährden, sowie deren Verhältnis zu den angestrebten Neuerungen des Zusammenlebens und der Erziehung.

Kindliche Natur und naturgemäße Erziehung als Legitimationschiffren totalitärer Erziehungstheorien – Über konstitutive Aspekte der Pädagogik von Karel Ozvald, Ellen Key und Maria Montessori

Ehrenhard Skiera (Europa-Universität Flensburg, ELTE-Universität Budapest)

Die zunächst mit einem absoluten Geltungsanspruch versehene und im Zuge der Aufklärung geschwächte pädagogische Deutungsmacht der Kirche ging ab dem 17. Jahrhundert zunehmend, freilich nie endgültig, auf den Staat über. Der absolute Anspruch blieb dabei weitgehend erhalten. Nun ist es nicht mehr Gott, der vermittelt über seine kirchlich eingesetzten Stellvertreter als Legitimationsinstanz erzieherischer Gewalt fungiert; es sind jetzt transzendente Größen wie Nation und Volk(sgemeinschaft), in einer später einsetzenden Variante auch Rasse, überhaupt „überindividuelle Geistesmächte“ (Spranger), und dann in universalistischer Ausweitung verschiedene teleologische Wirkmächte. Im neueren universalistischen Diskurs spielt der Naturbegriff eine herausragende Rolle, vor allem in evolutionistisch und/oder geschichtsphilosophisch fundierten Weltbildentwürfen.

Am Beispiel des in der Tradition der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Pädagogik und des Herbartianismus stehenden slowenischen Pädagogen Ozvald kann beispielhaft die in der sogenannten „Alten Erziehung“ vorherrschende totalitäre Ausrichtung mit ihren autoritären Maßgaben gezeigt werden, nach der Erziehung ein beharrlicher Kampf gegen die Natur des Kindes ist. Ozvald liefert damit zugleich das Feindbild einer demgegenüber anderen Erziehung, die auf Grund einer vermeintlichen Kenntnis der natürlichen kindlichen, ja kosmischen Entwicklungsprozesse die Kinder aus den einschnürenden Zwängen der „Alten Erziehung“ befreien, gar den Zwang in der Erziehung völlig beseitigen will – Erziehung also nicht gegen die Natur, sondern mit ihr und in ihrem Dienste. Diese Bemühung führt bei manchen ihrer herausragenden Vertreter zu Erziehungstheorien, die deutliche Merkmale totalitären Denkens strukturell integrieren; Merkmale, die den erbittert bekämpften Konzepten nicht nur ähneln, sondern diese hinsichtlich ihrer autoritären Maßgaben an Rigidität und theoretischer Konsequenz übertreffen. Das soll hier vor allem an Ellen Key und Maria Montessori aufgezeigt werden.

Bedenkenswert erscheint die paradox anmutende Erfahrung und Einsicht, dass trotz ihrer totalitären Metaphysik die betreffenden reformpädagogischen Schulen den kreativen Handlungsspielraum der unmittelbar Beteiligten gegenüber der „Alten Erziehung“ erheblich erweitern konnten.

Nature, Naturality and Sacrality in Rudolf Steiner's Pedagogical Anthropology (English)

Brigitta Balogh (ELTE Eötvös Loránd University)

Among reform-pedagogical trends of the first decades of the 20. century, Waldorf pedagogy proved to be one of the most successful ones, partly so far as it became a wide-spread pedagogical option until nowadays, partly so far as it provided a powerful source of inspiration for varied kinds of pedagogical methods and educational institutions. It is obvious to suppose that one of the most important factors in its success and inspiratory potential should be that background theory, embodied mostly in Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, that ensures its coherence and its responsiveness to the human need of having an organized and harmonious life.

Our paper will examine the pedagogical anthropological aspects of this background theory, focusing on the relationship between Steinerian concepts of nature, naturality and sacrality. This focus could provide us with important insights in the relationship between life reform aspirations and pedagogical approaches of the beginning of the 20. century, as the Steinerian way of thinking has succeeded in giving a holistic answer to two major lacks of modern life that life reform movement and reform pedagogy aimed to combat: the loss of access to nature (as naturality, organicity and as a cosmic order at the same time) and the loss of access to true sacrality.

8.7 PREFORMED PANEL BOARDING SCHOOLS AND THE RETREAT INTO NATURE:

TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE RURALIZATION OF ELITE EDUCATION

From an Alpine Elite to the World and the Wealthy: Examining the Historical Trajectory of a Secondary School in Switzerland (English)

Petter Sandgren (Stockholm University)

This research critically explores the transformation over time of one economically elite, international secondary school in the Swiss Alps. Since its foundation in the early 1960s, this school has transitioned from an American-focused institution designed for the children of middle class American expatriates to what it now calls "A School for the World," and to one for the economically wealthy -- current families are drawn from over 40 countries and spend around €100,000 per student per year. This paper traces the school's changes and continuities over time and argues that the school's re-negotiation of its roots in the nature-based Swiss tourism industry, as well as in the United States military, conceptually facilitated this transformation.

This particular school was connected to Swiss nature-based tourism and the United States armed forces through its leadership, which included the Executive Vice President of the Swiss Federation of Tourism and the Director of Plans and Programs for the US Air Force Dependent Schools. Both of these industries can be framed as elite ones. In the 1960s, as Switzerland began converting Alpine villages like St. Moritz and Zermatt into ski resorts, its nature-based tourism sector positioned the country's natural environment as both exceptional and exceptionally welcoming to foreigners. Meanwhile, the US military regarded itself as superior to its European counterparts in morals and might in this era of the Marshall Plan. Over time,

the school studied here retained its association with nature-based tourism but distanced itself from the military, commensurate with the declining reputation abroad of the US armed forces. This paper argues that conceptually, a foundation rooted in such elite entities in combination with the re-negotiation and re-configuration of those connections over time, fostered the school leadership's ability to imagine and ultimately achieve the school's positioning as one for the global economic elite.

Retreat into the 'Pedagogical Province'? German (Elite) Education on Its Way "Back to Nature", 1870 to 1930 (English)

Karen Lillie (UCL Institute of Education)

The 'Pedagogical Province' was a popular subject of German intellectual debates and utopias ever since Goethe had established the concept as a remote place for elite education in the 1830s. Yet despite the education boom, which had grasped the German states during the 19th century, the majority of the schools for higher education were founded in small and medium towns, particularly so-called 'Städtische Gymnasien'. That only changed when at the end of the century general criticism of the mainstream cultural and education turned against the alleged reprehensible impact of the urban environment. As a result, reformist educators such as Hermann Lietz, or Paul Geheeb established their own institutions as boarding schools in rural areas, far away from major towns and cities. While the story of reformist educators and their "way back to nature" is broadly now, they were not alone. Renowned pedagogues and policymakers such as Friedrich Althoff stressed the importance of a rural and natural setting for elite education, too. The foundation of the new Arndt-Gymnasium in Berlin-Dahlem in 1908, and the relocation of the famous Joachimsthaler Gymnasium from Berlin to the village of Templin in 1912 can be seen as evidence for this new attitude. At the same time, nature in general increasingly played an important role at schools and in class in Germany, e.g. in the growth of science education, and the integration of nature observation and experience. The paper will outline this 'natural turn' of German (elite) education since the late 19th century in more detail. It will ask for the correlation of this process to other historical phenomena such as the German youth movement ('Wandervogelbewegung'), and more general developments such as the biologization of nature. And, it will relate the German history to developments elsewhere in Europe.

The Pastoral Turns in the History of Secondary Education: A Transnational Perspective (English)

Daniel Gerster (University of Münster)

The main focus of this paper, is to examine, from a comparative and transnational perspective, how nature writ large and the idea of pastoral life has been used to motivate the rural, sometimes even isolated, location of many elite boarding schools. This paper uses printed primary sources from boarding schools in France (École des Roches), Sweden (Lundsbergs skola), Canada (Upper Canada College), Scotland (Gordonstoun school), and Australia (Geelong Grammar School) to examine and illustrate the transnationally interconnected history of the role nature and pastoral life has had in the global history of elite boarding schools. These printed primary sources mostly consists of letters and books written by the founders of each school. All of these schools was either founded in a rural location or

moved to a rural location in the period between 1880 and 1935. Using a transnational perspective to make sense of the reasons why these schools were founded or re-located into rural, sometimes outright isolated, areas, is a way of challenging conventional master narratives of this process. At the same time, this approach will by no means dismiss the national context. Rather, it hopes to add a crucial transnational, indeed a global, dimension. The nation and local contexts is, therefore, 'not effaced but is examined afresh – from different angles, from within and from without, in larger context, and in dynamic relation with myriad social forces, many of which cannot be contained by national boundaries', to put it in the words of historian Mae M. Ngai. One of the major arguments of this paper, is that there was not one "pastoral turn" in the history of secondary education, but several. But what unites these turns, are that they were the product of the global movement of ideas and people.

8.8 PREFORMED PANEL EDUCATION, THE NATURAL WORLD AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN POST-WAR BRITAIN

Nature as Educator? The place of the body in the teaching of formal Sex Education in postwar Britain (English)

Ellie Simpson (University of Winchester)

In 1943, Britain's Board of Education published a pamphlet on Sex Education. The pamphlet, which detailed how teachers might go about teaching the subject, included a strong emphasis on the use of biology and the natural world to teach reproduction. For example, among the suggestions was the adoption of a biological approach to reproduction with examples only from the animal kingdom, in addition, to adoption of livestock in schools was suggested to aid Sex Education. This paper will examine the position of the natural world in the formal Sex Education provided by secondary modern schools in 1950s Britain. Through a close analysis of school textbooks and educational policy, this paper seeks to contribute to the history of Sex Education by exploring the teaching of Sex Education from the perspective of the teacher and by considering the significance of the positioning of the body and the natural environment at the centre of post-war education. It will argue that by placing emphasis on the natural world as a site of reproductive education, post-war educators positioned the human body as forbidden knowledge, while emphasising the importance of 'knowing' the natural world. However, this paper will also present examples of progressive pedagogies that invited the body into the 'classroom' as not only the subject of study, but also the object, reflecting changing emotional and physical understandings of the individual after the Second World War.

The School pond: from an 'essential' place to a disused space within the primary school (English)

Catherine Holloway (University of Winchester)

This paper will explore how educational 'reforms' have led to changes in how certain physical spaces within the primary school have become redundant or seldom used. Jane McGregor discusses how the physical environment of the school is influenced and constrained by the enforcement of the state-mandated curriculum and the school timetable. This paper

addresses the ignored and often forgotten place/space of the school pond and the original thinking behind its introduction in the post-war period with its positioning as an 'essential' feature within the primary school. It will examine the use of the school pond, and the educative part it played in contributing to children's exploration of nature and the environment, through Education reports and Acts including the Plowden Report (1967), through architectural primary school designs from the post-war period, and through primary school archives. It will explore the progressive attitudes that were developing towards education and childhood in the post-War period which included the thinking that the outside space of the school was as important as the inside space. In addition, it will examine the view that 'real' nature needed to be integrated into a child's learning experience and that learning by doing and exploring the natural environment was deemed beneficial to the child. I will argue that the later reduction in the importance and use of the school pond can be linked to restrictions regarding the allocation and use of time and space within the primary school. Moreover, I argue that as the focus has moved from Rousseau's thinking of the 'speed of the child' and the experiential ideas of a child playing and exploring the natural world, to an education system whereby learning is limited by fixed lesson times with specific outcomes to be achieved, the school pond has become a disused and often discarded place/space.

Conservation, Environmentalism and Citizenship in the British Girl Guide Organisation during the Long 1980s (English)

Sian Edwards (University of Winchester)

This paper will explore the meaning and significance of environmentalism within the Girl Guide youth organisation in the latter years of the twentieth century. Utilising a variety of archival and organizational materials, ranging from magazines to reports and logbooks, this paper will consider the ways in which the Girl Guide organisation reconceptualised meanings of citizenship in the wake of increased public concern surrounding the world environment. Elsewhere, I have argued for the importance of the English landscape in the construction of ideas of national citizenship and duty within youth movements, with the stewardship of countryside being presented as an important route to good citizenship. This research will explore the extent to which growing awareness of environmentalism in the latter half of the twentieth century saw a move towards global understandings of duty and the construction of an idea of a planetary citizenship. In doing so, I will explore the extent to which the 1980s can be convincingly understood as the period in which ideas of an international community of Guiding, which had been building since the interwar period, overtook national identity in significance, with the natural world at the forefront of this.

8.9 PANEL NATURE AND CHILDHOOD (1)

Chair: Daniel Töpper (Humboldt University Berlin)

Changing conceptualisations of childhood. Accessing the child in residential childcare between instability, sin and pure nature (English)

Gisela Hauss (University of Applied Sciences Northwestern Switzerland)

In the course of the 19th and 20th century, the insight gained traction, likewise in residential childcare, that childhood had to be viewed as a separate and distinct phase bound up with a specific nature and with 'natural' laws of maturation (Ariès 2007). The proposed paper's focus of inquiry is residential childcare in which the view of the child outside the family was thematized. The debate on residential childcare was concentrated in German-speaking Switzerland in two periodicals, which can thus be described as veritable "laboratories" (Esser 2007) of growing up outside the family. Here a 'natural childhood' in the residential care home was drafted and projected. However, analysis reveals that 'the' child and his/ her nature was by no means conceptionally uniform in the view of the experts on residential childcare. Rather, childhood in the residential home was gauged by various different codes claiming validity on the basis of certain scientific disciplines, religious conceptions or reference to time-honored traditions. In the discussion on residential childcare, we initially find various religious encodings dating far back in cultural history. These proceeded from a notion of the fundamental sinfulness of humankind; viewing with mistrust everything that sprang and developed of itself from the inherent nature of the (sinful) child. This implied that the will of the child had to be eliminated: this in order to integrate the child's maturation into a superordinate divine order. A second relevant element was thought grounded on the development theory within middle-class bourgeois pedagogy in the first half of the 20th century, which encoded childhood as a space of transition, in which 'orientation-less' children had necessarily to be normalized, controlled and protected by means of education and adaptation. A third encoding consciously set itself apart from these two more conventional orientations, juxtaposing a child free and elementally natural, which had to be preserved in its pristine innocence (Rousseau, 1971/1762). This image comprised the foundation of approaches in reform pedagogy that stressed the autonomous powers in the child and aspired to ensuring that those capacities could develop unhindered in the most free as possible manner. These differing encodings of the 'nature of the child' generated multifaceted different practices and programmatic conceptions within residential child care. In the journals, for example, articles focused thematically on "free play", "education for community", the effort to provide a child growing up outside the family with an anchorage of "stability and security" and a "place to call home" -- or on replacing the notion of retribution in juvenile justice by measures of education. The proposed paper will look critically at these programmatic conceptions, attempting to connect these with overreaching encodings of childhood. In doing so, the paper seeks to contribute to the historicizing of the 'nature of the child' caught in the field of tension between religion, Enlightenment and middle-class bourgeois pedagogy.

The basis of the proposed paper is the Sinergia Research Project "Placing Children in Care: Child Welfare in Switzerland (1940 - 1990)" funded by the Swiss National Foundation, www.placing-children-in-care.ch.

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“Betwixt-and-Between“. The pedagogical function of the relation between Children and Nature in Children’s literature (English)

Maria Teresa Trisciuzzi (Freie Universität Bozen - Libera Università di Bolzano)

The world of classic and contemporary children’s literature, picturebooks or anime films, sometimes tell children’s stories that are misunderstood by adults. These narratives tend to return childhood directly to the heart of natural world; these stories claim an ancestral affiliation of the child with Nature. So, why do children, more than adults, feel an almost primordial attraction towards Nature? From Carlo Collodi’s Pinocchio to James Matthew Barrie’s Peter Pan, from The Little Mermaid of H. C. Andersen to Charles Kingsley’s Water Babies, from Hayao Miyazaki’s Princess Mononoke to Ponyo on the cliff by the sea, we find narrated childhoods that feel “at home” (Cantatore, 2015) in Nature, linked to it by a strong and irrevocable sense of belonging. Children, *pueri aeterni* (Hillmann, 1964), are emblematic figures of passages, threshold crossings, mutations and changes: a “Betwixt-and-Between”, constantly subject to metamorphosis. Through their literature, children are indeed the representations of what Calvino call Lightness (*Six Memos for the Next Millennium*, 1988). They are amphibious creatures suspended between multiple kingdoms, in a constant game of being something or something else, someone or someone else, not in a world intended as given and with each creature in the “right place”, but possible transformation and elusiveness. A Reading Key searches in works for children’s – like children’s books or films – , through the interpretative category of narrated pedagogy, for the meaning of literary and artistic descriptions as historical testimonies of the pedagogical function of the relation between Children and Nature.

Visual History of Childhood: working with paintings, wooden-block prints and illuminated manuscripts (English)

Orsolya Endrödy-Nagy (Eötvös Loránd University)

Pictures are autonomous carriers of meaning, but they also function, as coded texts; they are capable to conserve the information about anything depicted. The study of image-use helps break the silence regarding child-rearing practices and other educational contexts, such as showing the parents’ or instructors’ attitude towards children. Visuals help researchers gain a genuine day-to-day experience of childhood and create a possible narrative of childhood in any period and place. The present researcher agrees with Nyíri (2009) that pictures can convey information that cannot be coded in any other way.

Objectives of the research

1. To introduce possible visual analysis methods for qualitative research methodology.
2. To introduce new sources for Visual History of Childhood and Education—such as paintings, wooden block-prints and illuminated manuscripts.

Since the last decade of the 20th century, some researchers have focused not only on textual but also on visual documents as sources of education and childhood history, Grosvenor

(1999), Depaepe – Henkens (2000), Mietzner and Pyllarczyk (2005), Kéri (2009), Dussel and Priem (2017), Polenghi (2018). These works are based on photograph and film analysis as possible sources of education history.

The present paper based on the researcher's investigations on focusing paintings, illuminated manuscripts and wood-cut prints, possibilities and limitation of such sources in Visual History of Childhood. The methodology is based on Iconography, Visual Semiotics and Visual Anthropology. The presentation is summarizing the possible analysis methods based on the following researchers' works: Collier, Panofsky, Bouteaud, Addis.

Problems mentioned in the presentation:

1. How to classify the analysed documents?
2. What are the limitations of a possible analysis method?

In the past five years our personal commitment was to scaffold the possibility of Visual analysis methods within History of Childhood. As benchmarks of this process we gathered a large corpus (contains over 1000 pieces) visual documents in Medieval, Renaissance and Early Modern Era. There are collections of such Visual sources about European and Japanese images, technically diverse such as paintings, wood-cut prints, incunabulis (old-prints) and illuminated manuscripts. These corpuses should be widely used for research and teaching.

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Nature or nurture? Parenting and the cognitive development of the child, an analysis of childrearing advice (1945-1958, 1994-2007) (English)

Carla Vilhena (Universidade do Algarve), António Gomes Ferreira (Universidade de Coimbra), Luís Mota (Universidade de Coimbra)

During the second half of the 20th century, increased attention has been given to the psychological dimensions of child development, namely to cognitive development (e.g. Apple, 2006; Prusank, 2007; Quirke, 2006; Smyth, 2014). Progress has been made in understanding the role played by genetics and environment in the development of intelligence and debates about the importance given to nature and/or nurture have changed accordingly (e.g. Aldrich, 2014; Stiles, 2017). The maturational developmental discourse and its strongly deterministic model of cognitive development, which emphasized nature over nurture, prevailed in the fifties. This discourse was later replaced, due to the rediscovery of Piaget's theory, which emphasized the child's action and experience, opening up the possibility for the nurture of intelligence.

In the last decades, the development of brain science has revolutionized the understanding of cognitive development shedding new light in the longstanding nature-nurture debate about intelligence. The dissemination of the notion of brain plasticity, along with the emphasis in the importance of the cognitive stimulation of children - in the right quantity, and in the right time - or, in other words, with the nurture of brain development, has led to an increased concern with the maximization of children's intellectual potential (e.g. Kaskak & Pupala, 2013; Macvarish, Lee, & Lowe, 2015; Nadesan, 2002; Wastell & White, 2012).

Our aim is to examine the ways in which childrearing advice about cognitive development has changed since the end of the Second World War and to what extent the psy discourses mentioned before are translated into information and instructions given to parents.

Drawing on a critical analysis of articles on children's cognitive development published in Portuguese parenting magazines in two distinct time periods (1945-1958 and 1994-2007), we argue that, although there has been, as several authors have shown (e.g. Espino, 2012; Schaub, 2010; Wall, 2010) a growing concern with children's cognitive development, this is not a new phenomenon. Our results show that, in the fifties, parents were advised to transform the home in an educational environment and to engage in a set of activities, with the aim of promoting the development of children's senses, considered the adequate strategies to promote cognitive development and school readiness. However, the changes in the understanding of cognitive development, namely the emphasis on nurture over nature, have had, as consequence, the attribution of a more active role to parents in fostering children's cognitive development, and an increased responsibility in the future academic success of their children. At the same time, the study of brain development in antenatal period and in the early ages led to the discovery of fetus and infants as intelligent beings, stressing the importance of the nurture of intelligence since the antenatal period.

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8.10 PANEL 'NATURE' AS A DEEP CHARACTERIZATION (2)

Chair: Gabriela Ossenbach Sauter (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

The nature of social and class relations in images in Spanish textbooks from 1923 to 1975 (English)

Christian Werner Roith (Universidad de Almería), Rosa María Granados-Martínez (Universidad de Almería)

The interpretation of images as well as the analysis of textbooks have increasingly been accepted as standard procedures in history of education. The combination of both methodologies, i.e., the interpretation of images contained in textbooks, allows studying and understanding how social groups in power manage to convey their prevailing concept of the nature of social and class relations to the new generations in certain societies. This study describes a research in progress into the iconographic representations of the nature of the relations between different social classes contained in Spanish textbooks from 1923 to 1975, which preferentially intends to identify how schoolbook editors and authors tried to transmit their concept of desirable social class relations through images in different historical time periods in Spain. Therefore, the images in a large sample of textbooks published and used

during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the Second Spanish Republic, the Civil War and the dictatorship of Francisco Franco are registered and analysed with hermeneutically constructed categories based upon contemporary social theory, which allow statements about the question of similarities and differences in the construction of the social and national identity in schoolbooks during different time periods in Spain. Preliminary results suggest that the number of boys and men represented in Spanish textbooks is considerably higher in all examined time periods, including the Second Republic and late Francoism, than the number of girls and women, whereas the iconography related to the representation of social class relations tends to offer a more egalitarian concept of society in the formerly mentioned periods than during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and early Francoism.

A Historical View On The Nature Of Mathematics Education In Western Countries (English) Shaghayegh Nadimi (University of Luxembourg)

Why do pupils need to learn mathematics? What have been the reason for curriculum makers or school planners to include mathematics? This paper historically investigates the nature of mathematics education in different times and places in western countries. The paper studies the nature of mathematics education from the 16th century onward to understand how it was related to the culture of the society, historical incidence and the development of the science of mathematics. The paper is an outcome of four years studying the history of mathematics education with focusing on the implementation and the development of a specific math reform (the New Math) during the 1960s and 1970s in Luxembourg. However, to understand how the New Math was born and developed, the research expanded its temporal and spatial boundary beyond its initial scops. Thus, this paper studies the related literature as well as some legal documents and regulations of some Western countries (such as France and the US) to understand the nature of mathematics education.

This research is grounded in a historical study of the reasoning of schooling and the culture that practices that reasoning. For the historical aspect, the approach of the study was inspired by works of Foucault (1976) on the history of ideas and works of Popkewitz (e.g., 1997, 2009; Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2004) and Hacking (2012) in developing the historical study of the reasoning. The data of this study is drawn from a collection of text related to education in general and math education in particular, in the United States and different European countries. The time scope of the study is from the 16th century onward, with a focus on the New Math reform in the 1960s and the 1970s.

By studying the arguments and reasoning behind mathematics education in different places and times, the research distinguishes two main paradigms, which shaped the reasoning and thus the nature of school mathematics. One of these paradigms was based on the idea that mathematics offers a tool to learners to solve the problems of everyday life such as economics, engineering, etc. The other paradigm was based on the notion that doing mathematics improves brain power, which serves the learners not just in solving mathematically defined problems but also in other fields such as philosophy or critical thinking. This study shows that these two paradigms were altering each other in different places and time until the time of the New Math reform when the two paradigms co-existed in the discourse. Following the reasoning of math education up to today, the paper shows that this co-existence continued and how it shaped the math education of our time.

Keywords: Math education, nature of math education, new math reform,

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Educación en Derechos Humanos en el ámbito de Historia y Ciencias sociales: naturaleza y desafíos de la relación entre formación de profesores y enseñanza escolar en el Chile post-dictadura (1990- 2017) (Español)

Daniela Luque (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile), Mabelin Garrido (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)

De acuerdo a Magendzo y Pavéz (2015), la educación en derechos humanos (EDH) en América Latina ha tenido que enfrentar obstáculos y tensiones de diferente naturaleza. En esa línea, el objetivo de nuestra investigación es caracterizar la relación entre EDH en la formación inicial docente del área de Historia y Ciencias sociales frente a sus requerimientos de enseñanza a nivel escolar en el Chile post-dictadura. La disciplina de Historia y Ciencias sociales ha sido relevada en las políticas curriculares como un espacio fundamental para el tratamiento de temáticas vinculadas a formación ciudadana, identidad nacional y cultural, y memoria histórica (Reyes, 2006), especialmente a partir de la historia reciente de violaciones a los derechos humanos durante la dictadura cívico-militar.

Nuestro estudio se enmarca en el campo de la Historia de la educación, considerando cruces entre formación inicial de profesores y currículo escolar. A nivel metodológico, realizamos una investigación cualitativa respecto de tres instituciones emblemáticas en la formación de profesores en Santiago entre 1990 y 2017: Pontificia Universidad Católica, Universidad de Chile y Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación. Se consideraron los planes de estudio de las carreras conducentes a la pedagogía de Historia y Ciencias sociales, sus perfiles de egreso, entrevistas a profesores formadores vinculados al área de formación ciudadana y derechos humanos, y los cambios curriculares a nivel escolar del período 1990-2017.

Desde 1990 se pueden identificar algunos hitos relacionados con la reformulación de la enseñanza de la Historia y las Ciencias sociales respecto del pasado reciente y la necesidad de incorporar temáticas vinculadas a la memoria histórica y la EDH, en un contexto de disputas de distintos actores sociales conceptualizado como “batallas por la memoria” (Illanes, 2002). Entre estos episodios destacamos la reforma curricular de enseñanza primaria y secundaria

(1996 y 1998 respectivamente), que marcó un debate respecto de la concepción de la disciplina que se quería transmitir luego de diecisiete años de dictadura (Henríquez, 2011).

A partir de lo investigado, se evidencia que la EDH está débilmente presente en la formación de profesores del ámbito de Historia y Ciencias sociales, pese a su importancia en las políticas escolares del Chile reciente. Frente a esto consideramos que, si bien se ha configurado un espacio natural para los derechos humanos a nivel escolar en la disciplina de Historia y Ciencias sociales, no se prepara adecuadamente a los profesores en el tratamiento de estas temáticas en el aula. Asimismo, permanecen visiones que vinculan los derechos humanos exclusivamente con las violaciones de derechos humanos ocurridas en el contexto de dictadura. A partir de ello, esbozamos algunos elementos que consideramos relevantes para la formación de profesores del área: tratamiento de temáticas éticamente conflictivas, habilidades de argumentación en base a evidencia, pedagogía de la memoria y análisis de temáticas de vulneración a los derechos humanos en la actualidad desde la mirada de las ciencias sociales (diversidad, pobreza, género, interculturalidad, medioambiente, entre otras).

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FRIDAY August 31 11:00 - 1:00

9

9.1 MULTILINGUAL PANEL QUESTIONNER LA DIVISION NATURE/CULTURE DANS LES DISCOURS ET LES PRATIQUES EDUCATIVES II: LES FEMMES PEDAGOGUES EN FRANCE ET AU BRESIL (2/2)

Chair and Discussant: Rebecca Rogers (Université Paris Descartes)

Enseignante et professionnelle : la double nature de la pédagogie du technique (Français)
Véra Léon (Université Paris Descartes (CERLIS) – Université Paris Ouest Nanterre (HAR))

Cette communication s'appuie sur mon travail de doctorat portant sur le genre des formations professionnelles dans l'après-guerre en France (1945-1975). Elle se nourrit plus spécifiquement de l'analyse des archives d'établissement du centre d'apprentissage Quinault (AD Paris) et du dossier de personnel de Henriette Bion (AN), qui y fut professeure.

Henriette Bion, née le 7 avril 1910, exerça comme professeure de retouche au centre d'apprentissage pour filles de la rue Quinault (Paris 15e) de 1953 à 1971. Ancienne élève de ce même établissement, elle a d'abord travaillé dans l'industrie pendant une vingtaine d'années, avant de mettre à profit ces capacités et ce capital de relations pour postuler sur un tel emploi. Commencant d'abord par quelques heures pour remplacer une enseignante partie en congé maternité, elle finit sa carrière à temps plein sur un poste où elle déploie ses conceptions d'un enseignement au plus proche des nécessités de l'industrie.

À la lecture de ses rapports d'inspection et de sa correspondance avec la hiérarchie, sa valeur en tant qu'enseignante est certes jugée à l'aune d'attendus connotés du côté de la nature féminine, comme le dévouement. Son parcours et son expérience dans l'industrie semblent cependant constituer des atouts au moins aussi importants. L'analyse des discours sur l'apprentissage des métiers industriels, dans son dossier de personnel mais aussi plus généralement dans les archives de l'établissement où elle enseigne, permet d'interroger la question de la pédagogie de savoirs non scolaires : dans quelle mesure ces savoirs doivent-ils être transmis par des femmes de métier, et comment celles-ci forgent-elles une pédagogie spécifique par rapport à des enseignantes davantage formées à la transmission ? L'enseignement du technique est-il naturel, ou doit-il passer par l'apprentissage de techniques pédagogiques propres ?

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Woman, college professor and researcher: the trajectory of Amélia Americano Franco Domingues de Castro (1920-) in higher education (English)
 Katiene Nogueira da Silva (Universidade de São Paulo)

The paper presents and analyzes the trajectory of Amélia Americano Franco Domingues de Castro (1920-). At a time when it was still considered "natural" that women stayed at home taking care of the children and the family, as if they were biologically better suited to such tasks than men, and access to higher education was rare for all, especially for women, the professor was a pioneer. She became one of the first students to integrate the student body of the newly-founded University of São Paulo (1934) and, after, became one of the first professors to work in the institution. Her work on the psychogenetic bases of didactics constitute, until now, a reference in the field.

An avid reader of European and American New School enthusiasts, Amelia was one of the pioneering researchers to disseminate the ideas of Jean Piaget in Brazil. It is important to note, in this respect, her work about Piaget's theory in educational practice. Influenced by the Movement of the New School and the psychological theories current at the time, she joined the group of professors that examined the work of Hans Aebli, who proposed the implementation according to piagetian theory to didactic. Such analysis represented a major breakthrough in the study of genetic psychology and its diffusion in Brazil, through courses at the University and of the books published.

Building a career in higher education that brought her recognition in multiple instances, given her performance so significant in both teaching and in research and extension, it is noteworthy that this is still the only case of a professor to receive the title of "Professor Emeritus" by the three São Paulo state universities: USP, UNICAMP and UNESP.

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Trajectoire d'une promotrice de l'enseignement primaire supérieur féminin à Paris: Berthe Chégaray, fondatrice de l'école Sophie Germain (Français)
 Sébastien-Akira Alix (Université Paris Descartes, Sorbonne Paris Cité)

Après avoir été institutrice entre 1868 et 1874, Berthe Chégaray, née Bécher le 9 décembre 1850 à Paris, est nommée directrice d'une école communale de Clichy. Huit ans plus tard, en 1882, elle fonde le premier établissement d'enseignement primaire supérieur pour les jeunes filles de Paris, l'école Sophie Germain, dont elle devient la première directrice. Aussitôt,

Chégaray insuffle à l'école, dont l'objectif est d'offrir aux jeunes parisiennes « une éducation morale et intellectuelle saine, solide, assez étendue pour former des femmes accomplies », une orientation pédagogique et féministe. La directrice innove en effet dans l'enseignement des sciences, en recourant à des professeurs de qualité, guidées par deux idées maîtresses : « n'enseigner jamais que ce qu'on peut vérifier expérimentalement ; ne jamais dépayser ou éblouir les élèves et, pour cela, partir toujours de ce qu'elles savent. » À Sophie Germain, elle développe également des méthodes nouvelles d'enseignement du dessin en lien avec le mouvement féministe dans l'art décoratif.

De telles innovations suscitent rapidement l'intérêt des responsables scolaires français qui en font l'éloge. C'est notamment le cas à l'Exposition universelle de 1900, où le jury décerne un grand prix, avec la note maximale de 25, à l'école Sophie Germain. En reconnaissance de son engagement et de son travail en tant que directrice, Chégaray est nommée Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur en 1906. À partir de l'étude des archives de l'école Sophie Germain et du dossier de légionnaire de Chégaray, cette communication a pour objectif d'explorer et de mettre en lumière la trajectoire et l'œuvre éducative singulières de Berthe Chégaray, en soulignant les dynamiques de genre qui les traversent.

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The encouragement of educator Carolina Ribeiro to extracurricular activities at the Caetano de Campos School: science and gender (Français)

Rachel Duarte Abdala (UNITAU NIEPHE-FEUSP)

In the scope of the discussion about the gender dimension in Brazilian educational practices, in this research still underway, the objective was to investigate how this issue was treated at the Caetano de Campos School, based on the work of Professor Carolina Ribeiro as director.

Carolina Ribeiro (1892-1982) was a primary teacher and held administrative positions in the area of education. She was a militant of educational and feminist causes and had a political career. She was the director of the Caetano de Campos School in the city of São Paulo and the first Secretary of Education of the State of São Paulo, in 1955.

From 1935 to 1948, he directed the Primary School attached to the Institute of Education, assisting Fernando de Azevedo, then director of the Institute of Education. In the direction of this school, the educator created, in 1936, together with Iracema Silveira, the *Jornal da Escola Primária*, called *Nosso Esforço*. This school newspaper for decades was consolidated as an educational practice, also aligned with the tendency to create school newspapers and other educational periodicals.

Thus, Carolina Ribeiro encouraged and made visible educational practices at the Caetano de Campos School, many of them aligned with the scientific dimension, such as: Child Care Center, School Museum, experiences and contact with animals in Primary School and Kindergarten, campaigns against tuberculosis and the Healthy Snack Service. She created and kept in school the so-called "auxiliary institutions of the school" and wrote the work: "Out-of-school education" about these initiatives.

In this research, we sought to investigate and understand, from the analysis of the mentioned work, articles from the newspaper *Nosso Esforço* and photographs of the school collection, if there was gender difference in the accomplishment of extracurricular activities, specifically those related to contact with the nature.

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9.2 MULTILINGUAL PANEL CULTIVATING A SECOND NATURE: THE HANDLING OF EMOTIONS AND AFFECTS AS A GROUND SOIL FOR EDUCATION IN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA (XVIII-XXTH)

Convenor: Pablo Toro Blanco (Universidad Alberto Hurtado)

Feeling of belonging: cultivating emotions to evoke belonging (English)

Sabine Krause (Universität Koblenz-Landau)

Building a nation most often goes hand in hand with forming emotions to evoke feelings of belonging and create passionate citizens (Bénéï 2008; Collins 2009); the same is true to communities and social movements, especially in times of great patriotism like the early 20th century. This paper attempts to illuminate practices that help to form emotions to create the feeling of belonging to a social group by introducing two case studies.

One case presented is the German Jewish Zionistic Youth Movement Blue-White that – strongly influenced by other German youth movements – sought after creating a new Jewish being in educating bodily and mentally strong youth in turning away from so called “urban risks.” Establishing new role models and referring to ideas of the life reform movement, they tried to overcome existing attitudes and feelings of otherness to finally create a new community spirit. The emotional binding and intimacy on the one hand and the instructional usage of selected stories on the other should have ensured social cohesion and moral and intellectual continuity. But sources such as diaries and newspapers from that time show prove that in the early years’ performances previously embodied norms, forms and feelings persist. How come?

The second source might shine some light: the book “Manja” written by Anna Gmeyner. Gmeyner gives literally form to social living by introducing condensed types of characters. Taken this piece of literature as thick description of social settings in time, reading “Manja” helps to understand structures of collectiveness and emotional binding to certain mindsets thus helping to understand feelings of belonging. Using a comparative approach, the paper will focus on evoking feelings by carefully scrutinizing the sources of Blue-White and looking at situated embodied forms and norms with an educated understanding of the interweaving of social belongings.

Fighting against a poisonous nature: emotional attachments to anti-alcoholic educational campaigns. Chile, c.1890-1940 (English)

Pablo Toro Blanco (Universidad Alberto Hurtado)

Crusades against alcoholism in Chile at the end of nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth are usually understood as one more symptom of the so called “Social Question” (deprivations and harsh living conditions suffered by popular classes during the oligarchical regime led by nitrate exporters, bankers and landlords which seized political power until the irruption of middle and popular groups in politics since 1920’s). Beyond the role of alcoholism as a rhetorical weapon used in national politics to denounce it as “social disease” or a factor leading to “race degeneration”, it became a critic educational issue as well. Medical knowledge joined to moral and religious statements and both entered in schools through different means (students associations such as “Temperance Leagues”, hygiene as a curricular issue, informative leaflets, images, etc.). Pedagogic associations, teaching organizations and other collective actors denounced alcoholism as a clear and present danger for childhood. All this militant responses might be seen as an emotional reaction against a very specific enemy:

fear. If, as our general frame points out, “education was conceived as gardening labour by which adults would prune, give shape and straighten out children’s state of nature turning it into a second nature: the triumph of reason over feeling and emotions”, any menace to self control would put school’s efforts in risk. Alcoholism was targeted as a danger both for the triumph of reason and the handling of emotions.

Accordingly, this paper aims to shed light on anti-alcoholic educational campaigns in order to emphasise their emotional dimensions. Based upon a wide range of documental sources (scientific and pedagogic bibliography, official legislation, journals, periodical press, among other), we follow two main conceptual paths regarding emotions: the study of fear as social and cultural phenomenon and the sociological notion of “moral panic”.

9.3 MULTILINGUAL PANEL THE NATURES OF SEGREGATION IN 20TH & 21ST CENTURIES U.S. EDUCATION

20th Century Black Power Schools in Harlem as a Response to Educational Injustice (English)

Viola Huang (Teachers College, Columbia University, Universität Passau)

Although segregated public schools in New York City were unlawful since the early 20th century, the reality was that most of Harlem’s public schools were segregated during the 1950s. In response to failed struggles for equal education and integration within the public school system, between 1960 and 1980, Harlem saw a number of schools emerge out of the Black Power Movement. These institutions varied in terms of purpose, methodology, ideology, and curriculum, but they each have their origins within the Black Power Movement or were influenced significantly by Black Power ideas. Based on archival collections by community activists and educators who were involved in Black Power schools in Harlem, I argue that these Black Power schools were a response to the fights over establishing quality education within the Black community. Activists tried to achieve educational justice and equality outside of the public school system rather than within it as attempts at transforming the public school system had failed. The unique status of Harlem as a diverse Black community sets the stage for the equally complex and diverse schools that emerged out of the Black Power Movement. As such they reflect the diversity and contradictions of the Black Power Movement and the different goals and avenues for change activists within that movement envisioned. Finally, this history exemplifies how the theoretical ideology of Black Power was translated into practice on the local level in very particular issues; how the concepts and ideas that people dealt with played out in the real world. Thus, these schools and their approaches provide a unique lens through which to reassess the Black Power Movement as well as the natures of segregation in 20th century U.S. education

Mapping urban school segregation, how the neoliberal school market does not regulate itself (English)

Nora Nafaa (Université de Perpignan Via Domitia)

The neoliberal turn taken by K-12 education in the United States of America, especially since the Reagan administration, and furthermore, since *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) has developed

a new type of school market, based on differentiation and hierarchization of schools. The idea of “one size does not fit all” has allowed education providers to create various types of schools and to diversify the offer of a market in which schools are products, and parents are consumers – based on the idea of choice, and especially, free choice.

Urban school segregation is not a new nature of segregation, and often tends to be the paroxysm of school segregation because of the inequalities and disparities in cities that gather all the offers of the school market (public, private, confessional, charter, magnet...). However, do urban children, and actually urban parents, all truly have the right to choose within this school market?

Since this work is based on a dissertation in geography, this paper will present two case studies that map the current school landscapes of two cities: Atlanta, Georgia, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The data allows us not only to locate the schools and characterize them, but also to highlight the differences in the cities and to pinpoint the fractures of urban areas, through and by the school market. It will question the logics of segregation in the city and fine-tune the so-called free choice on this market.

Ségrégation invisibilisée : les enjeux de la standardisation de l'éducation en Caroline du Nord dans les années 1970 et 1980 (Français)

Esther Cyna (Teachers College, Columbia University, Université Sorbonne-Nouvelle)

Comment comprendre les réformes de standardisation de l'éducation des années 1980 à la lumière des efforts de déségrégation du début des années 1970 ? L'exemple de la Caroline du Nord éclairera cette question : après des années de résistance post *Brown v. Board of Education*, la déségrégation active des écoles en 1969 dans cet état sudiste donna lieu à de combats intenses et violents. Par la suite, le gouverneur démocrate Jim Hunt fit des tests standardisés une réforme-clé de ses mandats (1977-1985, 1993-2001). Rares sont les analyses historiques qui ancrent la montée de ces réformes dans le contexte historique de ségrégation, déségrégation, et reségrégation scolaires.

À partir du milieu des années 1970, les efforts de déségrégation ralentirent. Les historiens citent de nombreux facteurs pour expliquer ce ralentissement, tels que certains arrêts de la Cour suprême qui limitèrent grandement les possibilités de déségrégation métropolitaine, et la « fuite des Blancs » (*white flight*) vers des districts scolaires de banlieues aisées. C'est dans ce contexte que la Caroline du Nord établit ses premiers tests standardisés. À partir de 1977, une évaluation standardisée devient déterminante pour l'obtention du diplôme de fin d'étude secondaire (*minimum competency test*). La mise en place de ce test creusa des écarts considérables entre la population noire et la population blanche, mais très peu d'attention a été portée à son impact ségrégatif.

Lors de l'élection de Reagan, la démographie des salles de classe n'est plus la priorité des réformes scolaires. Un nouveau paradigme semble dominer les politiques éducatives fédérales et étatiques dans ce contexte de Guerre froide : celui de la compétition et de la performance scolaire, via des tests mesurables. Quel rôle la promotion des tests standardisés a-t-elle joué dans le désinvestissement des efforts de déségrégation ?

9.4 MULTILINGUAL PANEL THE ROLE OF THE NATURE IN THE CONTROL OF EARLY CHILDHOOD TO SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SPAIN (1838-1936)

Panel Overview: The Role of Nature in the Control of Education in Spain (1838-1936). Theoretical and Terminological Issues (Deutsch/English)

Juan L. Rubio (University of Sevilla), Carmen Sanchidrián (University of Málaga)

This panel is based on the research developed in the I+D+i project The State and the Church as control organs for non-university teaching staff. Spain 1857-1931 (EDU2014-53679-P). It is composed of five papers (four plus the introductory one) linked by the idea of nature as a source of knowledge. The scientific knowledge generated through methods based on systematic observation and experimentation causes a profound transformation in the ways to understand the reality of the historical period analysed. The ecclesiastical censorship and the control of the State were opposite to these models in the search of a useful national education system. Political and spiritual purposes were supposed to be means to promote the progress of the nation, but actually they were just means to keep their own power through education.

The first work is devoted to the scarce development of scientific knowledge during the 19th Century. According to the Concordat of 1851, the Catholic religion was recognized by the State as the only official one and every educational level should follow its principles. This Concordat was the first step to centralize and control both teachers and education contents and implied the systematic rejection of all knowledge that could challenge the dogmas and principles of both institutions.

The topic of the second paper, Nature and natural as handy excuses to control the early childhood education (Spain, 1838-1876), is the analyse of the first stage of Spanish early childhood education through the use of “natural” and “nature” in the first writings and manuals. The theories supported by politicians and pedagogues about the role of women as teachers in infant schools and kindergartens are closely examined. Besides, the use and abuse of the words nature and natural support the professional role for women as preschool teachers on the basis of the distinctive natural qualities of women for this work. This argument links with the content of the next paper –Moral education, physical instruction and the emancipation of girls (1900-1930)– where the model of physical education for women is analysed from the principles of male education and under the influence of medical and educational discourses. Physical education, in light of the sources, was no exception: Many of the slogans around the physical education for women and its theoretical bases were grounded on the natural and biophysical differences of girls and boys.

The last paper –The education of the ‘natural man’ according to Ramón y Cajal. Reality, science and utopia versus dogma, beliefs and ideology– focuses on the study of scientific fiction applied to the education of the natural man. This natural man is seen by Ramón y Cajal (awarded the Nobel Prize for 1906) as a possible response to the ideas of traditional education based on dogmas and beliefs outside the reality of knowledge facilitated by the scientific research. It starts with the training model described in “The artificial man and the natural man”, that is part of the book Tales of vacations. Pseudoscientific narratives. Cajal’s proposals about the education of the young are inserted in his autobiographical accounts and in his literary and scientific work.

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The Educational Nature of the State and the Church on the Fringe of Nature. Spain, 19th Century (Español)

Isabel Grana (University of Málaga), Francisco Martín (University of Málaga)

The state monopoly of education started in Spain with Carlos III (1728-1779) being affirmed in the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 (art. 131) and the later legislation. But while in other countries, which also strengthen their public educational systems throughout the nineteenth century, displace the traditional role of churches in education, in our country that displacement is minimal. Some liberal attempts in that direction, like those of the First Republic (1868), are rejected by the conservative forces relying in the own constitutional texts (1812 and 1876), where the Catholic religion is imposed as the only true one of the state, and in the Concordat with the Holy Thirst of 1851, which orders that instruction in the various teachings will be done according to the doctrine of the Catholic religion (art. 91). This mandate has an immediate impact on the incipient educational system through the Public Education Act of 1857.

Protected by the state, it opposes the right to freedom of expression and of education, it rejects secularism in the public centers, the coeducation and the freedom of chair started to complain from some sectors of the teachers in defense of the freedom of science and of conscience in their teachings.

In short, the church in its official version raises an education that goes beyond the ideals of pedagogical renewal that begin to emerge at this time where human nature is the center of attention. Precisely, the objective of this work is to analyze how it reacts to this situation.

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Nature and Natural as Convenient Excuses to Control the Early Childhood Education (Spain, 1838-1876) (English)

Carmen Sanchidrián (University of Málaga)

This paper will focus on the Spanish early childhood education from 1838 (when the first public school was opened) to 1874 (when there were attempts to introduce the Froebelian method) and it is considered the first wave in its history. These schools were for children under six, not compulsory, although they were considered as the first level of primary education and most of them were situated within the premises of primary schools.

Over this period, the words nature and natural appeared frequently in the literature (official documents and handbooks) with different meanings that it is possible to find also in Spanish, English, French or German, for instance. We are going to focus in Nature (as character, or the main characteristic of something, or life) and Natural (as found in the nature or as a natural ability or characteristic that someone is born with). This latter meaning will be particularly important when we refer to infant schools or kindergarten' teachers. In order to discuss this issue, we have analyzed the use of these words in the first Manuals (Montesino, Carderera and García Navarro) using images as a complementary source. The analysis leads to the conclusion that the claims made by pedagogues and politicians of infant schools –first-, and kindergarten -later- for a professional role for women as teachers in these institutions were grounded in the special and distinctive natural qualities of women for this work. Actually, this trapped women in roles associated with motherhood that were publicized as requiring and having a high moral impact.

The use of the words nature and natural show a way to get the control over the teachers, curriculum and teaching methods, although falling into obvious contradictions or into the naturalistic fallacy that no-one seemed to notice at that time.

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Moral, Physical Instruction and Emancipation of Girls (1900-1930) (English)

Victoria Robles (University of Granada)

The concern for education at the beginning of the 20th century in Spain allows us to see very diverse initiatives, in the idea of giving them a scientific character. Disciplines such as educational gymnastics, with recommendations of postures, techniques and practical exercises, will make the students leave the classroom space and transform models of femininity more in line with those of an active and strong woman.

As historical-educational literature has indicated on numerous occasions, the differential character of the masculine and feminine in education has been systematically justified by its root in biological differences.

Physical education, in light of the sources, was no exception: many of its slogans and its own theoretical bases were based on the natural and biophysical differences of girls and boys. But his study has warned us of some ways of liberation for them and of contradictions in their theories.

What I am interested in showing in this work is that, despite the specific weight and acceptance of the maternological, eugenic, medical and educational discourse of the first third of the 20th century, aimed at an adequate physical education for women, that physical education was a contradictory approach: firstly, because it showed a range of educational opportunities for girls; and secondly, because he used elements of male education (exercises, games, spaces, objects, physiological foundations, school programming, clothing), transferring them to the female without the supervision of patriarchal competence and expertise.

My interest is to focus on some pedagogical discourses and manuals on gymnastics aimed at schools, whether national, unitary, rural or municipal. As sources we have used articles from pedagogical magazines, newspaper articles, school memories, manuals and photographs of that time.

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The Formation of the 'Natural Man' in Ramón y Cajal. Reality, Science and Utopia versus Dogma, Beliefs and Ideology (Français/Deutsch)
 Guadalupe Trigueros (University of Sevilla), Juan L. Rubio (University of Sevilla)

The control of education by the State and the Church as institutions that hold the material and spiritual power was guaranteed in the Concordat signed by both in 1851 and through the educational reforms that from 1857 will give shape to the model and educational system of Spain. After the Bourbon Restoration, the so-called crisis of '98 makes the idea of regeneration of national life transformed into a need to get rid of the burdens that impede the transformation of the country. This reality finds in the literary and scientific work of Santiago Ramón y Cajal a singular and unique projection. The Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1906 published a set of five stories under the title of Holiday Stories that qualifies in the subtitle as pseudoscientific because in them experimental knowledge is applied in a creative and ingenious to the solution of human problems. The initial object of our study is the last of them, entitled: «The natural man and the artificial man» where it shows the consequences of the model of formation controlled and governed by the values and contents of the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

Along with the weak presence of public education run by the State, Ramón y Cajal describes the genesis of natural man through an educational model based on contact with nature. His

rigorous observation as a source of knowledge is the training guide from which to overcome the limitations that dogmatic knowledge and political ideas impose on their control of teaching to individuals and societies. This research analyzes the natural man's training model that links with a good part of the autobiographical components narrated in the whole of his literary and scientific work. Its description coincides with the facts, feelings and ideas that as "mental reactions" provoke the contact with nature and its principles, confronting the reality of the world to the training models of the human being to offer and inspire possible solutions to the problem of national education.

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9.5 MULTILINGUAL PANEL LOS MANUALES Y LA SISTEMATIZACION DEL ESTUDIO DE LAS CIENCIAS DE LA NATURALEZA EN COLOMBIA (SIGLOS XIX Y XX)

La filosofía de la naturaleza en Colombia 1780-1825 (Español)

Martha Yaneth Cerquera Cuellar (Universidad del Valle)

El análisis ubica un momento significativo en la Nueva Granada, hoy Colombia, para la enseñanza de la ciencia (filosofía natural) en los estudios superiores. Si la “Ilustración europea reposicionó a la naturaleza como el campo determinante y el trasfondo fundamental de las prácticas educativas” (ISCHE 40, 2018), en el contexto de la Nueva Granada el estudio de la naturaleza tuvo sus propias singularidades a la hora de la enseñanza. Esto se expresa en el catedrático José Félix de Restrepo (1760-1832) a su paso por las diferentes instituciones educativas del San Bartolomé en Santa Fe de Bogotá, y posteriormente en el Seminario San Francisco de Asís en Popayán.

En estos ámbitos el catedrático logra sistematizar la enseñanza de sus lecciones en su obra: Lecciones de física experimental del año 1825 en contraposición al libro del padre Goudin (1639-1695). Las lecciones de física de Restrepo fueron publicadas en español como curso para los jóvenes del colegio Mayor Seminario de San Bartolomé, y constituyen en su género el primer texto publicado en el país. Las lecciones de física de Restrepo configuran el proceso de normalización del nuevo saber de la ciencia tras un proceso que abarcó medio siglo.

El curso de física de Restrepo y la noción de lo útil configuró diferentes profesiones en la sociedad naciente del siglo XIX (jurisprudencia y teología, y más adelante medicina e ingeniería militar), y no necesariamente conllevaron a profesiones científicas en Colombia.

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Los estudios de la naturaleza en la escuela primaria: reflexiones desde el manual

Elementos de Pedagogía (Español)

Rafael Ríos Beltrán (Universidad del Valle)

En el manual Elementos de Pedagogía, de los hermanos Luis y Martín Restrepo, editado en Colombia desde 1885 hasta 1915, nos encontramos con la pregunta, ¿de qué manera podemos ir a la ciencia? (1911,12) Interrogante que a nuestro modo de ver abre los primeros esbozos sobre el cómo abordar los problemas sobre la enseñanza de las ciencias en el saber pedagógico colombiano.

Elementos de Pedagogía, editado en dos tomos, fue el manual oficial para la formación de los maestros normalistas en Colombia, desde el final del periodo de la Regeneración y, sobre todo, durante la Hegemonía conservadora, (1903-1930). Tuvo sucesivas ediciones hacia 1885,

1893 y 1905 en Popayán y en 1911 y 1915 en Bogotá. Es un compendio que apropia, combina y selecciona aportes de la tradición pestalozziana tanto norteamericana como francesa, pero también retoma elementos de otras tradiciones pedagógicas, tanto nacionales, alemanas y españolas.

En este manual para la formación de maestros de la escuela primaria, los hermanos Restrepo Mejía afirmaban que la observación es la fuente de todos nuestros conocimientos y que el maestro debe comenzar la enseñanza de todas las materias observando el medio natural. En consecuencia, a través de este texto de formación, nos sitúan en el campo enunciativo de los métodos intuitivistas que desde Comenio hasta Herbart, conducen lo que se ha denominado como la piedra angular de la enseñanza de las ciencias de la naturaleza en la escuela primaria: la observación.

Su papel paradigmático como manual oficial para la formación de los maestros normalistas en Colombia, lo sitúa como una fuente fundamental para comprender la configuración de los estudios de la naturaleza en el tránsito entre los siglos XIX y XX.

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The Nature of Física PSSC: Translation, Pedagogical Innovation and the Modernization of Science Education in Colombia (1945-1975) (English)

Josep Simon (Universidad del Rosario)

In 1964, Física PSSC, an introductory physics textbook, was published in Medellín, as the first step in a timely endeavour to introduce new methods in the teaching of physics in Colombia. Its production was carried forward by a team of Colombian alumni of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and physics and engineering professors from the major universities in Bogotá, with the support of the Organization of American States and the Colombian Association of Universities. The team translated into Spanish the main textbook produced a few years earlier by the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) at MIT, as part of a paradigmatic project of educational innovation which included not only textbooks, but also laboratory and teacher guides, scientific instrument kits, films and popular science books, with the aim of transforming science teaching in the USA and worldwide. Física PSSC meant not only the production of a new textbook for Colombian schools and universities, coached in the language of Cold War American physics and modernization discourse in Latin America. It was also an object that catalysed in Colombia the development of major initiatives of pedagogical innovation, debates on the nature of science teaching, an Institute focusing on science education, a Committee on the Teaching of Physics, and subsequent physics textbooks. Its impact transcended the educational framework and contributed to the foundation of a national council of science and technology.

In this paper I discuss the production of Física PSSC by analysing translation, pedagogical approaches, and appropriation by Colombian teachers. Furthermore, I provide a panoramic view of contemporary textbook physics in Colombia, and present the educational initiatives of the Committee on the Teaching of Physics. Finally, I evaluate the impact of Física PSSC on the nature of science education in Colombia, and provide links to connected projects in Latin America.

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9.6 MULTILINGUAL PANEL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA:

NATURE, SOCIETY AND CHILDHOOD

Convenor: Moysés Kuhlmann Jr. (Universidade Católica de Santos)

Los recursos naturales como bien público. La enseñanza de la expropiación petrolera a los niños del México posrevolucionario (Español)

Susana Sosenski (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

El petróleo fue un recurso natural vinculado estrechamente con la identidad nacional y el nacionalismo mexicano durante las décadas que siguieron a la revolución mexicana (1910-1920). La expropiación petrolera decretada en 1938 por el entonces presidente Lázaro Cárdenas se apoyó en el trabajo con una amplia base social de mexicanos a través de diversas campañas de propaganda a través de la prensa, el cine, la radio y las publicaciones periódicas y que se dirigieron a un amplio contingente de obreros, campesinos, maestros y niños. Parte importante de estas campañas fue educar en la idea de los recursos naturales como bien público y como parte de la soberanía nacional. La retórica patriótica acompañó las discusiones sobre los recursos naturales y en las escuelas mexicanas se orientó a los educandos a tomar una posición política frente a la expropiación petrolera a la que se asociaba la independencia económica del país. Obras de teatro guiñol, ejercicios matemáticos en los que los niños debían calcular los impuestos por barril de petróleo, explicaciones sobre la unión obrera y la instalación de “semanas del petróleo” en las que se conmemoraba año con año el día de la expropiación, fueron algunas de las estrategias educativas utilizadas en las escuelas. En esta ponencia me interesa analizar las formas que el estado mexicano, a través de las escuelas, buscó concientizar a miles de niños y niñas en torno a la importancia de la defensa de uno de los recursos naturales más importantes en aquel momento: el petróleo.

Le mouvement international des écoles de plein air en Amérique du Sud (Français)

André Dalben (Universidade Estadual de Londrina)

Les écoles de plein air sont nées au début du XXe siècle dans les pays européens : Allemagne (1904), Belgique (1904), Pays-Bas (1905), France (1907), Angleterre (1907), Suède (1907), Suisse (1907), Italie (1907) et Espagne (1910). La communauté internationale les a connues grâce à des publications dans des revues de médecine et d'éducation et des congrès internationaux sur la tuberculose (1905 - Paris, 1906 - La Haye, 1908 - Washington, 1912 - Rome) et l'hygiène scolaire (1904 - Nuremberg, 1907 - Londres, 1910 - Paris, 1913 - Buffalo). En 1922, est organisé le premier Congrès International des Écoles de Plein Air (Paris) pour attribuer des lignes directrices à ce mouvement alors en pleine expansion. En 1922 est également créé le Comité International des Ecoles de Plein Air sous la présidence du médecin uruguayen Américo Mola, ce qui conduit Anne Marie-Châtelet (2003) à déduire que le mouvement s'étendait également à l'Amérique du Sud. Le Congrès International des Écoles de Plein Air se tient aussi à Bruxelles (1931), à Bielefeld (1936), en Italie (1949) et à Zurich (1953). Américo Mola a présidé sa troisième édition (1936) et fut responsable de la divulgation des écoles de plein air uruguayennes sur le continent américain avec des publications dans le Bulletin de l'Institut International Américain pour la Protection de l'Enfance (1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1936). Cette recherche utilise également comme sources les actes des Congrès Panaméricains de l'Enfant (1916 - Buenos Aires, 1919 - Montevideo,

1920 - Rio de Janeiro, 1924 - Santiago) afin d'analyser la circulation des connaissances sur les écoles de plein air en Amérique du Sud. En effet, différents pays sud-américains ont créé leurs propres versions de l'école de plein air, comme l'Argentine (1909), l'Uruguay (1913) et le Brésil (1939).

Volver a la Naturaleza para recuperar la salud. Las escuelas y colonias para niños débiles en Argentina en las primeras décadas del siglo XX (Español)

Lucía Lionetti (Universidad Nacional del Centro)

En la Argentina de los albores del siglo XX la dinámica del cambio social fue percibida de modo dispar, mientras para unos era el síntoma del progreso para otros era la clara evidencia de una sociedad trastocada por el desorden. Esas luces y contraluces del cambio se mostraban en toda su magnitud en el escenario de la ciudad. Símbolo de la civilización, al mismo tiempo, era la expresión contundente del caos de un crecimiento impredecible e incontrolable. La metáfora del cuerpo social enfermo era recurrente y la población infantil, en su gran mayoría hijos e hijas de una inmigración no deseada, se la percibía de forma ambivalente como una niñez desvalida y débil. Ante esa preocupante realidad, reformistas sociales, sectores de las elites reaccionarias y profesionales de la educación convocaron a la escuela para rescatar a esa niñez peligrosa y en peligro.

A partir de diversos registros documentales –informes y cartillas médicas, prensa, revistas educativas y registros orales- se analizará de qué modo médicos escolares, maestros y pedagogos denunciaron que el encierro del aula poblada por una multitud de niños –símil de la muchedumbre citadina- era un contexto artificial y contaminante para educar a los futuros ciudadanos de la república. Bajo ese paradigma, promovieron la radicación de colonias y escuelas para niños débiles lejos del paisaje urbano, deviniendo en la expresión de la revalorización de la naturaleza y el mundo natural como el contexto ideal para recuperar la salud de esas corporalidades enfermizas. Tal como se procura mostrar, más allá de que esas prácticas escolares fueron una variante del control social, para muchos de esos niños y niñas fue una experiencia que les permitió interactuar y valorar el espacio de la naturaleza.

Nature, Hygiene, Physical Education, Landscaping and Pedagogy in the Parque Infantil. São Paulo, Brazil, 1920-1950 (English)

Moysés Kuhlmann Jr. (Universidade Católica de Santos)

Since 1940, in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, there was the significant expansion of a non-school type of educational institution called Parque Infantil [Childhood Park], which had been initially implemented in the city of São Paulo, the state capital, in 1935. Intended for children aged 4 to 12 years, it was a version of the American playground, which spread around the world since the early 20th century. The Parque Infantil was also implemented in other Brazilian states. This communication will deal with the denominations assigned to this type of educational institution since the 1920s, as well as with a few currents that formed them: the social hygiene movement, physical education, urbanism and pedagogy. In each of these, the relationship with nature is a fundamental element. With regard to the social hygiene movement, it is related to propositions of open air schools or sunlight schools as means to prevent tuberculosis, since the late 19th century. One early denomination, which marks the transition from one institution to another was Escola de Saúde [Health School]. With regard

to physical education, we identify the propositions around this discipline which focused on physical and mental health, such as holiday camps, camping activities, the creation of rules for sports and the building of game courts and pitches. The building of squares and parks is associated with urbanism and landscaping, through propositions of parks for the population, as well as institutions to be placed in them. Finally, pedagogy appears as a field of knowledge that supports these currents and founds the institution's proposal as educational. Despite its being particularly associated to the progressive education movement, we also identify its inspiration in Froebel's conceptions, as well as its roots back in Wilderspin's infant school propositions.

9.7 MULTILINGUAL PANEL NATURE IN TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE AND AFRICA (1890-1945)

Feminine nature? Gendered representations of primary school teachers in Brazil (1920-1930) (English)

Diana Vidal (Universidade de São Paulo)

In 1927, Nestor Lima, teacher at Normal School in Natal, submitted a paper to the First National Conference of Education, held in the city of Curitiba, defending the feminine celibacy for primary teachers. He advocated the incompatibility between domestic labor and teaching tasks. For him a committed teacher should probably be a lousy housewife and mother. The questions he posed were far from being consensus; however, some educators, among them women teachers, agreed with the argument. Benevenida Ribeiro, headmaster of the Feminine Professional School Rivadávia Corrêa in Rio de Janeiro, considered the pedagogical celibacy for women a necessity. She, herself a celibatarian, stated "teaching is a calling, and a profession of renunciation". "Some excellent single women teachers, when married had to be reprehended", she added. (Carvalho & Vidal, 2001)

Actually, in Brazil as in the USA at the time, not only were women teachers already the majority in primary school, but they also "faced two looming and contradictory specters: the idealized image of the gentle, nurturing teacher, and the reality of the cold and confusing working conditions of city schools" (Rousmaniere, 1994, p. 49). To deal with this ambiguity, representations of primary school teachers rooted in gender issues either proclaimed the feminine celibacy or defended the state of marriage for women primary teachers to avoid the risks of sexualism. Merging in these representations, this paper aims to offer a scenario of the different conceptions of women primary teacher in Brazil and scrutinize their relations to "feminine nature".

Character formation: metaphors, nature and the work of teaching in the first decades of the 20th century (Español)

Myriam Southwell (CONICET/Universidad Nacional de La Plata)

Discursive modeling of bodies and their passions has been a constant in school systems. It is a policy of aesthetics, a configuration of effects of the common experience produced by

practices and forms of visibility. Also, an aesthetics of politics, that is, a configuration of sensitive data-the beautiful, the desirable, the correct, the civilized, the modern-as a matrix of political subjectivation. Are the emotions stated? Do they manifest with the body? Are they visualized in links between subjects? Are they regulated, modeled in relation to correction and incorrectness? Is it necessary for pedagogical work?

From the beginning of the 20th century, the Argentine educational system produced cultural modernization, patterns of selection and assessment of new subjectivities. The social climate of the post-war period put into crisis the most rationalist precepts of nineteenth-century liberalism. It favored the inclusion of other forms of knowledge linked to sensitivity (intuition, perception) as new tools of intellection and production.

Character formation - that polysemic affirmation - went on to metaphorize the sensitive training proposed and it also became a field of struggle. Aesthetics is a way of appropriating the world and acting on it, which is why it is inherently ethical and political. Character was proposed as a form of self-regulated discipline with a disciplined autonomy, where imitation and teaching action continued to be the model. Character was a way of referring to moral formation, the sensible way of relating to the world and the self-government of behavior and passions.

I will analyze this aspect in the production of those years through three educational magazines aimed at training and teaching work during 1920 and 1930.

(Language: Spanish with slides in English)

[El modelamiento discursivo de los cuerpos y sus pasiones ha sido constante en los sistemas escolares. Se trata de una política de la estética, unos efectos de reconfiguración del tejido de la experiencia común producidos por las prácticas y las formas de visibilidad. Asimismo, una estética de la política, es decir, una configuración de los datos sensibles –lo bello, lo deseable, lo correcto, lo civilizado, lo moderno- como matriz de subjetivación política. ¿Las emociones se enuncian? ¿Se manifiestan con el cuerpo? ¿Se visualizan en los vínculos entre los sujetos? ¿Son reguladas, modeladas en relación a la corrección e incorrección? ¿Es necesario hacerlo para el trabajo pedagógico?

Desde inicios del siglo XX, el sistema educativo argentino produjo frente la modernización cultural, patrones de selección y valoración de nuevas subjetividades. El clima social de la post-guerra ponía en crisis los preceptos más racionalistas del liberalismo del siglo XIX. Se propiciaba la inclusión de otras formas de conocimiento ligadas a la sensibilidad (la intuición, la percepción) como nuevas herramientas de intelección y de producción.

La formación del carácter –ese polisémica afirmación- pasó a metaforizar la formación sensible propuesta y también se transformó en un terreno de disputa. La estética es una forma de apropiarse del mundo y actuar sobre él, por ello es inherentemente ética y política. Lo que parece bello resulta, además, correcto. El carácter se propuso como una forma de disciplina autorregulada con una autonomía disciplinada, donde continuaba rigiendo la imitación y de la acción docente como modelo. El carácter fue un modo de referir a la formación moral, el modo sensible de vincularse con el mundo y el autogobierno de conducta y pasiones.

Analizaremos este aspecto en la producción de esos años a través de tres revistas educacionales destinadas a la formación y el trabajo docente durante 1920 y 1930.]

Female gymnastics and female elementary school teacher training in Italy at the end of the XIXth century (English)

Paolo Alfieri (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore), Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)

Education with reference to gender differences unveils its strength particularly in body education, where beyond natural differences in the pedagogical and cultural ideas and prejudices play a significant role.

In the last decades of the XIXth century gymnastics was introduced in the Italian elementary schools. The great difference between male and female physical training characterized the process of institutionalization of this discipline and therefore teacher education and further training, too. Already before gymnastics became a compulsory subject in elementary schools, it was taught in preparatory courses for aspiring teachers, which were sharply different for the two sexes. When gymnastics was officially introduced in the curriculum, future women teachers still followed an education that had peculiar traits. These gender differences not only concerned the contents of the discipline, they also involved women teachers attitudes, teaching language, their style of clothing.

The ministerial rules, the school texts and handbooks as well as some literary sources allow us to prove how the school culture of the time assigned specific educational aims to female gymnastics, which were physically inferior to those of males. This subalternity was a consequence of the prevalent military aim of modern gymnastics as well as of the mistrust of public opinion towards female gymnastics, especially in public spaces. Still at the end of the century, when some gymnasiarchs maintained that from the point of view of anatomy and physiology gymnastics had to be the same for both sexes, women elementary school teachers had to carry on teaching their female pupils a gymnastics which had to be different from the one for boys.

Nature in South African Teacher Preparation Curricula during the inter-war years (English)

Linda Chisholm (University of Johannesburg)

Approaches to the history of education in South Africa during the inter-war years generally focus on the emergence of a segregated system of schooling in which the state assumed control of schooling for whites while missionaries remained in control of African education, a situation that prevailed until the apartheid state took over control of African education in the mid-1950s. Histories of teacher preparation in the first half of the twentieth century accordingly tend to focus on the emergence of a racially-divided system of college education framed by a wider colonial project that attempted to tie Africans to particular roles through their construction as intrinsically 'rural'. A recent study on agricultural education during this period is instructive. In juxtaposing black and white policies and college curricula, and examining not only their racial, but also gendered and class dimensions and responses to them within specific contexts, it highlights and reveals important dimensions of similarity and difference (Tischler, 2016). This paper will examine how the aims and curricula for teacher preparation constructed race, gender and class difference in terms of 'rural' and/or 'urban' futures. It will do so through firstly highlighting and critically analysing the discourses

naturalising difference in key Commissions of Enquiry on teacher preparation and secondly exploring how these found expression in college curricula and responses to them.

FRIDAY August 31 5:00 - 6:30

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10.1 PREFORMED PANEL KNOWING NORDIC NATURE. NATURE AS A SUBJECT OF EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY NORDIC COUNTRIES

Natural borders and national tensions – descriptions of Scandinavia in textbooks and maps after 1814 (English)

Ruth Hemstad (University of Oslo, National Library of Norway)

Reorganisation of state structures leads to renewed names, revised maps, and reformulated political, historical and geographical narratives. The revived image of the state has to be communicated to the inhabitants, not least through the educational system. This is, however, not simple and uncontroversial processes, and may lead to national tensions, as will be demonstrated in this paper. In the reorganized Nordic countries after the Napoleonic wars, the geographical term the Scandinavian Peninsula – defined as a ‘natural entity’ – played a crucial role. In Swedish textbooks and maps after 1814, geographical and political definitions merged. This was in line with the policy and agitation of the former French Marshal Jean Bernadotte, elected as Swedish Crown Prince Carl Johan in 1810. His favorite geographical term was that of the Scandinavian Peninsula representing the natural borders of the new union, the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway from 1814. “Scandinavia” was, in Sweden, defined as Sweden and Norway exclusively, in order to strengthen and legitimate the union, in a range of textbooks in geography, in schoolbooks in political science and history and in the new maps being drawn and published after 1814. Narrowing the content of Scandinavia meant also actively forgetting about Finland, until 1809 a part of Sweden, and leaving Denmark out of the picture. In this paper, I will explore textbooks and maps as interesting sources illuminating how new concepts, images and narratives of the state as well as new mental maps were disseminated to the coming generations. There was, however, rival national narratives existing within this new state construction. The Norwegians, forced into the union, feared for ‘amalgamation’ and disliked the new geopolitical terminology. They rejected the Swedish interpretation of ‘natural borders’ and protested against the use of ‘false concepts’, especially when utilized in textbooks directed at younger generations.

Natural science as Bildung. Scientific teaching in Norway in the mid-nineteenth century (English) Merethe Roos

(University College of South-East Norway)

This paper sheds light on how natural knowledge was presented to Norwegian children from the 1860s, and how this caused a debate related to religious questions in newspapers and periodicals the following years, subsequently leading to the establishment of a dissenter congregation in the southeast of Norway, in Jarlsberg in 1872. Due to the Norwegian School Act of 1860 and the subsequent publishing of Peter Andreas Jensen’s reader (1863), natural science became a compulsory school subject for all children. This caused a massive protest from traditional Lutheran believers all over the country. They argued that science conflicted the traditional dogmas and would lead the children to perdition, and demanded that other,

more dogmatic, readers or the Bible should replace Jensen's book. Their views were disproved by Lutheran believers with a more modern and undogmatic understanding of faith, the latter group often inspired by the Danish clergyman N.F.S. Grundtvig. The debates between these fractions was published in contemporary newspapers and periodicals, and the conflict resulted an even stronger fragmentation of the Norwegian religious landscape than what previously had been seen, with the establishment of the Jarlsberg congregation as the most important result. This paper will discuss/demonstrate how natural science was presented to Norwegian children in the 1860s, and how this lead to a debate in the Norwegian public sphere the following decade. Connecting with Henrik Edgren's presentation, the paper addresses an overarching question of educational relations in the Swedish-Norwegian union at the time under consideration.

The teaching of natural knowledge in Swedish upper elementary school in the 1870s (English)

Henrik Edgren (Uppsala University)

During the last decades of the nineteenth century – in the era of mass industrialization and nationalism – natural science increasingly discussed as an important school subject. Some teachers and public voices even saw it as crucial for educating young Swedes to become good citizens. Others were not that convinced of the importance of natural science. Among those, it was regarded as unnecessary that the poorer strata of the population – who were dominant in the upper elementary schools in Sweden at that time – should learn any natural science at all. It was enough if the young boys and girls learned basic skills, such as reading and writing, they argued. The school children were also expected to have knowledge about the Christian dogmas, which often opposed rational science. The purpose of this paper is to discuss and analyze how science was apprehended in Swedish upper elementary schools during the 1870s. On one hand, it is obvious that natural science gained more influence. However, on the other hand, there were a lot of resistance against implementing natural science in the practical teaching. From empirical examples in text books, teacher instructions and school inspection protocols, this paper sheds light on how natural science successively was more accepted, even in schools for the poorest people in Sweden.

Legitimising natural knowledge: A comparative study of the teaching of natural science at the Nordic folk high schools 1860-1900 (English)

Hans Henrik Hjerimitslev (University College South Denmark)

From the 1860s, hundreds of folk high schools mushroomed in the Nordic countries. They offered both liberal and vocational education to young men and women primarily from rural areas. Most of the folk high schools – especially in Denmark and Norway – were based on a nationalist and religious ideology inspired by the Danish educator and Evangelical-Lutheran clergyman N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). The teaching of natural science was included as part of the educational program at most of the schools. However, it was not without difficulties for folk high school teachers to legitimize the teaching of natural science, since Grundtvig remained extremely critical of the natural sciences of his day and excluded them from his educational concept of formation (Bildung). In this paper, I will demonstrate how folk high school teachers sought to legitimize the teaching of natural knowledge by distancing

themselves from positivist, materialist and Darwinian worldviews often associated with natural science, on the one hand, and focusing on disseminating non-controversial useful knowledge of agriculture to the rural youth, on the other hand. In this way, teachers succeeded in advancing the circulating of natural knowledge among the rural population, which in turn resulted in a rapid modernization of agriculture. This being said, there were important differences between the Nordic countries. In Denmark, the vast majority of the folk high schools were based on Grundtvigian ideology and therefore sceptic of the formative value of natural science while, in Sweden, a rationalist worldview among many folk high school teachers resulted in a more unproblematic inclusion of the natural sciences. Somewhere in between these extremes, the folk high schools in Norway and Finland balanced the Grundtvigian and rationalist ideologies when teaching the natural sciences in order to deliver both liberal formation (Bildung) and vocational education (Ausbildung) to the rural youth.

The presence and function of nature in Norwegian school textbooks, 1889 – 1914 (English)
Tuva Skjelbred Nodeland (University College of South-East Norway)

This paper will explore the presence and function of nature in a selection of Norwegian school textbooks from the period 1889-1914 and discuss the role of nature in how shared national identity and shared cultural heritage was being configured in such texts. The analysis of the textbooks will be placed in the cultural context of the late 19th century, often portrayed as an age of anxiety in Europe, where rapid changes provided formidable challenges to traditional values and the established social order. Scandinavia also had their share of cultural pessimists. On the one hand, social movements and an expanding suffrage contributed to rouse conservative fears of mob rule and chaos. On the other, mass emigration and the health of the industrial workforce brought nature and science into discussions of socio-biological decline and degeneration, alongside attempts at social reform. Against this backdrop, the role nature plays in establishing a unified national identity, as well as a means of countering social unrest, will be discussed. Viewing textbooks as a mechanism for the production and reproduction of ideas, the paper will trace the lineage of how meanings and connotations of discourse about nature are used by the textbook authors throughout the period. The paper will investigate to what extent nature in textbooks appear in different categories such as the transmission of scientific facts, a desire for social control, ambitions of moral improvement, and finally a shared cultural heritage expressed in a language of “nature”.

**10.2 PREFORMED PANEL THE ‘NATURAL’ LANGUAGE VERSUS FOREIGN TONGUES IN EDUCATION
IN RUSSIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY**

The languages of Teaching at Russian Universities in the Second Half of the 18th Century: the Balance between the 'Natural' and the Foreign (English)

Tatiana Kostina (Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

The process of transition from the Latin language of teaching to national languages in European universities now is well studied, but Russian universities (the Academy University of Saint Petersburg and Moscow University) which had significant features, have been underestimated yet. Studies of Helmut Glück, Kristina Koch, Vladislav Rjéoutski and Ekaterina Kislova do present a detailed picture of the functioning of various languages in Russian 18th century educational institutions, however they are mostly focused on 'secondary' and not 'higher' education. In the first half of the 18th century, Russia was crucially modernized. As a result, different elementary and secondary schools appeared to be directed towards different social groups and designed for the graduates with different career strategies; moreover, the schools provided their pupils with different language programs. The so-called Gymnasia were supposed to prepare for university education, but they were oriented towards nobility. Nobles were interested in learning German and French as an advantage in the service. As a result, the programs of the gymnasia (at the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University) were overloaded with foreign languages. Studying several foreign languages simultaneously, pupils felt to be overburdened; besides, children had different 'natural abilities'. The attempts to increase the proportion of languages in the programs led to an imbalance between the study of 'natural' and foreign languages, to the detriment of the former, and also to the deterioration of teaching sciences.

The programs of university lecture courses allow us to reveal episodes when the university teaching was delivered in German and French in the form of public lectures. Gymnasia pupils, students and society in general reacted swiftly to such opportunities.

The report is meant to analyze the relationship between the language proficiency of the university students and such difficulties experienced by Russian universities in the second half of the 18th century as an insufficient number of students, age of some of the graduates, unpopularity of university education among the nobility, etc.

'Natural' vs Foreign Languages in the Education of the Nobility in Russia in the 18th Century (English)

Vladislav Rjéoutski (German Historical Institute Moscow)

The choice of the language of instruction is one of the important issues of the history of education in Russia in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Nonetheless, it has been paid little attention to by historiography. In the Russian Empire, several generations of noblemen studied different subjects not in their native language, but in a foreign one, usually in German and/or French. This happened not only among the higher nobility, who employed foreign teachers, but also among a part of the poor nobility, educated in state educational institutions (first of all, in the Noble Cadet Corps). The phenomenon affected other social groups, in particular the clergy, although there were significant differences between the nobility and other social groups in this respect.

Analysing the material collected throughout the academic project devoted to the study of languages in Russia in the 18th century, which is being conducted at the German Historical

Institute in Moscow, I will try to answer several questions: what are the reasons for choosing a particular language of instruction, both in the public and private education systems, including home education? Does this choice have any relevance to the teaching staff, to the availability or absence of teaching materials in one or another language, to didactic properties attributed to this or that language...? Was there a significant difference in this respect between different forms of education? How was the use of a foreign language as the language of instruction perceived by contemporaries and what role did the ideas of the 'natural' language and its role in education and upbringing, which were then widespread in Russia, play? What were the consequences of adopting a foreign language for pupils as a language of instruction? Is it always appropriate for a Russian of the 18th century to consider the problem within the framework of the familiar concepts of 'native' and 'foreign' languages?

'Natural Languages' and 'Languages of Science' in Russian Orthodox Seminaries in the 18th Century (English)

Ekaterina Kislova (Moscow University)

In the middle of the 18th century, Russian seminaries taught a number of languages: Church Slavonic, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and German, as well as the languages of people considered as the targets of missionary activities (Tatar, Kyrgyz, Chuvash, Mongolian, etc.). All of them had a different status, each of them was a symbol of a certain socio-cultural type and lifestyle, was a marker of education received or not received, a sign of family, career, personal aspirations of a specific representative of the spiritual milieu. Each of these languages was also associated with classes – 'seminar levels' of instruction, and with subjects that were taught at the seminary. Thus, Latin was most closely related to theology and philosophy, Russian actively penetrated into rhetoric and poetics classes along with Russian literature, French and German were intended for the higher classes (forms) and functioned as independent subjects, in which, nevertheless, a lot of attention was given to rhetorical and poetic aspects.

The 'natural languages' (native languages of students) and the 'languages of science' (Latin, Ancient Greek, Ancient Hebrew) were most keenly opposed. As a result, during the 18th century, some languages were reconsidered. Thus, Polish, once a 'language of knowledge', which any educated person needed to know, received the status of a 'missionary language' in the Great Russian seminaries; Russian, on the contrary, began to sidetrack the main language of knowledge – Latin – by the end of the 18th century, not only in the middle – rhetoric and poetics – classes, but also in the higher – philosophy and theology – ones.

In our report, based on archival and historical sources, we will try to show what reasons conditioned this attitude towards languages both from the direction of the seminaries and the direction of the Orthodox Church, the Holy Synod.

10.3 PREFORMED PANEL NATURE AND THE EDUCATION ECONOMY: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES FROM THE US AND SWEDEN

Resource Extraction and Education Funding: Nature and the Political Economy of State Formation in the United States (English)

Nancy Beadie (University of Washington)

In the US, state funding of education has always been closely tied to resource extraction. It began with appropriation of land itself. In the 1780s, Congress directed that portions of all new lands be set aside to support schools, a tradition continued in subsequent acts. By allocating land for schools, Congress encouraged (white) family settlement. More importantly, allocation of school lands served a political purpose. In order to realize an income on such lands, states either sold them outright, investing the proceeds in banks or other capital enterprises, or leased them to private interests such as timber and mining companies. By this means, then, school and university land grants established a fundamental building block of modern political economy. Through *both* the sale or lease of school lands *and* subsequent investment of capital, federal and state governments allied themselves with capitalist interests and economic development. At the same time, states also dedicated income from sales and investments to benefit settler families through matching funds for local schools. In short, school and university land grants forged a “community of interest” among capitalists and ordinary settlers that was essential to the logic of modern state formation and liberal political economy. Studies of the US land grant system (Gates, 1979) and natural resource development (Cronon, 1991), discuss the significance of school lands, but with little attention to the political logic of such provisions. Leading scholars of US political economy and government (Bensel, 1990, 2000; Skowronek, 1982; Skocpol, 1992), meanwhile, have largely ignored education as a domain of state and national policy-making. Based on education provisions from all territorial acts and state constitutions from the late 18th through the early twentieth centuries (Thorpe, 1909), this paper analyzes the historical significance of connections between resource extraction and education funding in US political economy.

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Brokers between teachers and the resources of nature? The role of family and village in nineteenth century school funding (English)

Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

Particularly in rural areas, nineteenth century school funding relied to a significant degree on payments in-kind, such as grains, hay and fuel. In this respect, studies have shown how Swiss teachers were remunerated in grains, wine, firewood and sometimes bread, salt or salmon in 1800, how French mid-nineteenth century teachers occasionally were granted foodstuffs such as eggs, milk and butter, and how German teachers were presented with grains, wine and loaves of bread.

Using a wide range of source materials, including local school district minutes and teacher's memories, the aim of this paper is to examine the roles of (male) teachers' families and the local villages in the monetary and non-monetary economy of primary school system of mid-nineteenth century Sweden. Theoretically influenced by the social history of livelihood, and family history, I will analyze the work conducted by teachers' wives and children to transform in-kind salary into something of value for the teacher and his family. I will also address the efforts of family members, and local villagers to mobilize additional in-kind resources, enabling teachers and their families to make a living out of a meagre teacher salary. Apart from shedding new light on teachers' salaries, this article will thus also point to the significant roles of the social institutions of family and village, and gender relations, in the funding of nineteenth century school systems.

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Child Labour and Elementary Schooling in Sweden, 1870–1910 (English)

Madeleine Michaëlsson (Uppsala University)

In the countryside of Sweden, the requirements for children's schooling sometimes conflicted with the need for labour, as children's contributions were valuable in the agricultural work. Industrial child labour, on the other hand, could be arranged smoothly in cooperation with the local school. Elementary schools located nearby a local industry could, for example, be used as a labour reserve. The school could arrange the pupils in such a way that they were mobilised for production when there was a lack of regular staff members, for example in the smithy. The schooling could also be organised in such a way that the pupils could be put to work in parallel with their studies during school terms and holidays. The parents' attitude to this kind of work is, however, much debated. Influential interpretations suggest that both the working children and their parents made a conscious and free choice when the children were used in the industries. Although this interpretation has been vigorously questioned, it has been influential in economic history.

Previous research raises questions about the extent to which industrial child labour coincided with the elementary schooling in Sweden and about the environments in which it occurred. During this session I will present some results about the relationship between the Swedish elementary schooling and industrial child labour during 1870-1910, which may modify earlier interpretations. Above all, my presentation will contribute to the valuation of the children's labour in various contexts.

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Economics, Natural Law, and the Development of For-Profit Colleges in the US (English) A.J. Angulo (University of Massachusetts Lowell)

Academic economists in the US have long assumed certain foundational principles in their field that have functioned as economic laws of nature. Over the course of the twentieth century, these academics have increasingly assumed that the economy can be described by economic laws, that economic risks can be managed using statistics, and that the economy is rational, efficient, and self-regulating. The profession's cornerstone principle is the notion that the economy is made up of independent, enlightened, rational, self-interested individuals (Bernstein, 2014; Fourcade, 2009; Van Horn, Mirowski, & Stapleford, 2011).

This paper examines the "natural law" of enlightened self-interest in relation to the development of for-profit colleges in the US. Economic assumptions would predict that those who have enrolled in proprietary institutions of higher education have done so out of enlightened self-interest.

The historical record, however, complicates this view. By exploring the twentieth century formation of the for-profit college and university sector in the US, this paper argues that the driving force behind what has become a \$35 billion industry has had less to do with enlightened self-interest and more to do with ignorance (Gross & McGoey, 2015). Government records, investigations, and lawsuits indicate that the for-profit college industry has relied on fraud to advance in terms of growth and expansion (e.g., City Club of Chicago, 1912; U.S. House of Representatives, 1950; U.S. Senate, 2012). Recurring themes of aggressive recruitment, misleading advertising, and market manipulation have produced systematic ignorance among students considering their options for postsecondary studies. These practices, common throughout the twentieth century, have yielded outsized gains for owners and operators of for-profit colleges and consistent losses for college students as well as state and federal governments. As such, this paper will explore the value of ignorance for the study of for-profit higher education history in the US.

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10.4 PREFORMED PANEL KOREAN NATURE? – “EDUCATION FEVER” IN KOREA FROM EARLY MODERN TIMES

TO THE PRESENT

Convenors: Klaus Dittrich (The Education University of Hong Kong), Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus (Freie Universität Berlin)

Discussant: Lee You Jae (Universität Tübingen)

Education Fever and the Meaning of Life in Choson Korea (English)

Hahn Yong Jin (Korea University)

Education fever” best represents the Korean educational sentiments. In this contribution, I would like to discuss the three following points: Firstly, what are the characteristics of the concept of education fever and is it truly a negative factor as most Koreans imagine today? Secondly, how did education fever impact upon a Confucian scholar’s life during the Chosŏn Dynasty? Thirdly, I will analyse how the education fever arose from the kwagŏ (科學) system, the state examination system for recruiting officials. Even though the cult of success of the examination system is thought to have fostered excessive education fever, education in a Confucian understanding is not directed at others (爲人之學) but is strictly for one-self (爲己之學). Moreover, the kwagŏ system was a competence test following the principle of equality which does not accept the influence of hereditary status. Therefore, self-satisfaction through self-realization was the cause of education fever and also the meaning of life for Confucian scholars in Chosŏn Korea. This is in contrast to today, when education fever has lost its direction between the current government’s private tuition oppression policy and the parents’ intense aspiration to make their children survive in the age of limitless competition.

Between Assimilation and Resistance: The Strive for Education during the Colonial Period (English)

Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus (Freie Universität Berlin)

During the period of Japanese occupation in Korea (1910-1945), the Japanese enforced a series of educational policies that were designed to inculcate Koreans with loyalty towards the Japanese Emperor. Revisionist narratives of the colonial period usually stress the importance of “modern” educational structures introduced by the Japanese as a basis for post-war Korean development. However, this approach ignores the inherently discriminatory nature of the colonial education system which aimed at assimilating Koreans but at the same time effectively barred Korean children from pursuing higher education. This was to be achieved through an emphasis on vocational training for Korean pupils and, during the war years, the attempted eradication of the Korean language. This presentation examines the ways in which Koreans embraced education as a means of upward social mobility and, equally defining, as the basis of their future ability to challenge Japanese rule. Therefore, the Korean

strive for education after the failure of the March First Movement in 1919 was not only motivated by considerations of personal gain but also by acknowledging the need for nurturing national unity opposite the Japanese colonizer.

The Paradoxical Effect of Democratization on the South Korean Education System (English)

Clark W. Sorensen (University of Washington)

In an article published in 1994 I argued that South Korean education success was a consequence of how education was embedded in the fabric of Korean society (“Success and Education in South Korea,” *Comparative Education Review*. Vol 38. No 1. Pp10-35). Between 1963 and 1987 authoritarian governments had created an educational system that suppressed private schools and tried to equalize public schools by assigning students by lottery and rotating teachers from school to school. While private tutoring and cram schools still allowed families to translate monetary resources into children’s educational success to a degree, middle and high schools still served as avenues of social mobility for a considerable proportion of children from modest rural and urban backgrounds. Following the restoration of democracy in 1987 parental pressure, however, led to the dismantling of regulations limiting enrolments and to the development of private schools so that advantage in the continued intense educational competition paradoxically tilted back toward the wealthy and well-connected. This paper compares and contrasts how education has been embedded in South Korean society before and after democratization showing that democratization led to less equality in the education system.

English Education in a Neoliberal Era: Its History and Implications for Educational Equity (English)

Choi Tae Hee (Education University of Hong Kong)

Choi Tae Hee focuses on the most recent developments in relation to education fever, focusing on the neoliberal era, using English education as a case. She will present a historic overview of neoliberalism around English education as reflected in related policies and initiatives, from the introduction of the neoliberal discourse into English education to a recent movement aiming to reflect an alternative, counter-discourse. She also analyses how different initiatives reflecting diverse degrees of neoliberal ideals have created or mitigated English fever, and hypothetical implications they have had or may have on life chances of students from less affluent backgrounds. She will depict a rather complex landscape in this endeavour, trying to capture the lived experiences of both the majority and outliers within these socio-economically marginalised students. The discussion will draw on policy documents, media reports, and data from a multi-case study. The findings will highlight the important role played by the global and local contexts, which are going through continuous changes, in shaping and reshaping the meaning and impact of the policy initiatives of and on the English fever, and explore whether Korean society is now ready to outgrow it.

10.5 SYMPOSIUM CULTIVATING CHILDREN AND YOUTH: TRANSNATIONAL EXPLORATIONS

OF THE URBAN AND THE NATURAL (3/4)

Convenors: Tim Allender (University of Sydney), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)

Discussant: Martin Lawn (University of Oxford), Kate Rousmaniere (Miami University)

'Nature' and Education within German Colonial Literature for Children (English)

Elke Kleinau (University of Cologne), Lilli Riettiens (University of Cologne)

German colonialism has long been treated as a sort of footnote in the epoch of the Empire due to its relatively short time span. The focus was mostly on the reconstruction of a story of 'white' men - as the story of pioneers, 'discoverers', missionaries, traders and officers. In the last two decades, German colonial rule has been re-analysed from a post-colonial perspective, as well as from the point of view of gender research, which increasingly took into account the mutual interlocking of various inequalities. This shift in focus was also taken up by gender-oriented historical educational research, and the question was discussed which functions were assigned to 'white' women in the colonial system (see Walgenbach 2005, Gippert/Kleinau 2014).

But how were children included in the colonial project? So far, only literary studies have dealt with this question with regard to the genre of colonial literature for children that emerged in the German Empire (see Pellatz 2002, Kirch 2002 & 2003). However, these colonial novels are also of significance for the historical educational research due to their pedagogical impetus: they were explicitly put in the service of instruction to inspire the children with the meaning of colonial issues, of the challenges of the future. While colonial novels for the male youth are already detectable in the early phase of colonization (since 1882), colonial readings for girls were only published after the anti-colonial war in German Southwest Africa (1904-1906). The novels appeared at a time when the racial laws in the colonies were massively tightened and colonial policy pushed the emigration of unmarried German women to prevent 'mixed marriages' between German men and indigenous women.

First readings revealed that 'nature' had a high priority within the colonial literature for children. However, up to now, the question of what was understood by 'nature' and the question of its importance for colonial education has not been focus of research. On the basis of selected colonial novels for boys and girls, our lecture will investigate the question of how the relationship between man and animate and inanimate nature, but also between Germans and indigenous people ('civilized' versus 'natural' people) is described in the respective novels.

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Play as the nature of the child. Visual and textual discourses on urban childhood in Argentina around 1900s (English)

Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV)

“Play is the highest stage of the child’s development... the purest, the most spiritual product of man at this stage, and it is at once the prefiguration and imitation of the total human life – of the inner, secret, natural life in man and in all things”, said Friedrich Froebel in 1826 (1885, 30). The definition of play as the most authentic and true-to-nature activity of children was forged by educational philosophers of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but it took over a century to integrate these ideas into the organization of formal schooling.

Interestingly, the affirmation of the natural condition of play did not prevent it from becoming a privileged arena for educational and urban social reform (Kinchin and O’Connor, 2012; see also Jenkins, 1998; Gutman et al, 2008; Ogata, 2013)). By the late 1890s and 1900s, it was widely accepted that play had to be included as part of school time, buildings had to be redesigned to include safe play spaces, and teaching materials ought to be simultaneously instructive and playful. Increased urbanisation played its part in this growing preoccupation with children’s play in educational settings, which was seen both as a “return to nature” in children’s development and as a moral counterbalance to the harsh life of cities -as one of the advocates of the American playground movement said in 1898, “The child without the playground is father to the man without a job” (Joseph Lee, quoted in Kinchin and O’Connor, 2012, 43).

In this paper, I would like to analyse the visual and textual discourses about urban children’s play with a particular focus in Argentina around the 1900s. In continuation with previous work done on a set of 77 photographs of children’s games in largely urban settings that was produced by the Society of Amateur Photographers in Argentina around 1902 (Dussel, 2017), and in which prominent educational administrators took part, I would like to explore the visual and textual discourses about children’s play at that era. In addition to this album, I will also analyse two illustrated journals for children that had a brief but intense life (*Diario de los Niños*, 1898, and *Pulgarcito*, 1904), as well as an illustrated journal for a broader audience (*Caras y Caretas*, 1898-1904), looking at how they depicted children’s games, particularly the arrangement of spaces, materials, and bodies in these images, and the visual media that was used to produce them (Szir, 2008). I will also trace the textual discourses about children’s play that, although timidly, were starting to emerge in the educational journals of that era (i.e., Herrero, 1897; Senet, 1906; see also Ciafardo, 1992). Through these bodies of documents, I would like to interrogate how the urban child came to express the “true nature” of the child and the role that photography and other visual media played in the production of this new imaginary about childhood.

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New education, Nature, and Nation: Exploring images in The New Era (English)

Sjaak Braster (Erasmus University Rotterdam), Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés (University of Alcalá)

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If nowadays children think that milk is made in factories and that purple cows produce chocolate, than schools have work to do. Some schools take this task very serious. Their websites picture education as something that is mainly taking place outside. Children in these schools seem to spent their educational hours climbing trees, building huts, or being surrounded by animals, especially rabbits. These alternative schools are still exceptional, but they do reproduce an educational model that was invented before, and that went back to the beginning of the twentieth century when new or progressive educational trends were shaking up traditional mainstream schooling.

The typical, ideal picture of traditional education is taken from inside classrooms of schools that tend to be located in cities. In the new and progressive schools, however, education should be taken outside of urban classrooms and into nature. New education followed the idea that children should grow up in a natural and spontaneous way, but educational activities should preferably take place in a natural setting as well. In this paper our first aim is to explore the spaces where new education was taking place in the first decades of the twentieth century. As our main source we use the images that were published in *The New Era*, the English-language version of the journal of the New Education Fellowship (NEF), in the period 1920-1939.

A first exploration shows that the number of pictures of children taken inside and outside classrooms is perfectly balanced: about half of the photographs are taken inside schools or

other buildings, and about half are taken outside in streets, school yards, gardens, the countryside, or forests (Braster, 2018; Braster & del Pozo, 2018). It must also be noted that the use of space differs by location: most of the American photographs of children are taken inside (69,3%), while most of the French pictures of children are taken outside (63,0%). Most of the children pictured in German photographs can also be found in the vicinity of trees and animals (57,1%).

This difference between continental Europe and the USA indicates a difference between the propagandists of new education in Europe that were charmed by new schools in the countryside, like the Odenwald schule in Germany, while the representatives of progressive education in the USA were more focussed on project based education in urban spaces. Explaining the differences in the use of educational space between nations will be the second aim of our paper.

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10.6 PREFORMED PANEL TEACHING AND LEARNING IN PROGRESSIVE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS: A TRANSCONTINENTAL PERSPECTIVE (1896-1932)

'Unfolding a child's nature' at the Dewey school kindergarten (1896-1904) (English) Larry Prochner (University of Alberta)

John Dewey established a school for children at the University of Chicago in 1896 as a laboratory for scientific research on his ideas of curriculum. The school had a short duration but a wide influence, including on the schools described in this panel. Yet reports on the Dewey School from the period shed little light on either the methods of teaching or how teachers were prepared to teach in the new ways suggested by the curriculum. Dewey wanted his teachers to work as curriculum researchers in which subject-matter was 'psychologized' to engage student experience within his view of human development. However, as Smith and Girod (2002) have pointed out, deep discipline-based analysis and understandings of students' diverse experiences is difficult for many teachers. How, then, were teachers at the Dewey School able to complete their experimental work in a few short years, as claimed by Dewey (1899)? This paper explores Dewey's curriculum experiment from the teaching standpoint, with a focus on the school's kindergarten, which stood in relative isolation from the higher grades. While teachers of older children were mainly college-trained content experts and, for the most part, not trained teachers, the kindergarten teachers were graduates of training schools grounded in Froebelian ideas. Dewey's understanding of the nature of the child, though reflecting the spirit of Froebel, rejected Froebel's unfoldment theory (Dewey, 1916). This paper investigates the prior training of the Dewey School's kindergarten director to consider what experiences of learning to teach reveal about later understandings about teaching in new ways. The paper draws upon journals, teachers work

reports, correspondence, and photographs to explore teaching at the Dewey School through the lens of biography (Finkelstein, 1998; Goodson, 2011).

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Jardim de Infância da Escola Caetano de Campos (1896–1930), São Paulo, Brazil: Traces of its culture of teaching and the concept of child nature (English)

Alessandra Arce Hai (Universidade Federal de São Carlos)

This presentation draws on a study that aims to illuminate the culture of teaching formed at the Jardim de Infância da Escola Caetano Campos – a Kindergarten in São Paulo City – and to analyze the concepts of child nature contributed by this culture to early childhood education in Brazil in the first third of the twentieth century. To do that I focus on the teachers who worked inside the school, how they were prepared and how they translated, transformed and appropriated the knowledge they received during their training. The presentation analyzes the work of one teacher in particular: Alice Meirelles Reis. Meirelles was a Kindergarten teacher who worked with New Education ideas at the Jardim de Infância Caetano Campos; she also taught at the Normal School in which the Jardim de Infância was located. Between 1929 and 1940, Meirelles photographed her work in classrooms and wrote two unpublished manuscripts based on her practical appropriation of pedagogical knowledge. Those materials show how Meirelles mixed her readings about educational theories from other parts of the world with examples based on her everyday work in São Paulo. This analysis of Meirelles' images and texts highlights the ways in which she entangled educational ideas at different levels, articulating foreign ideas and causing them to fruitfully interact with Brazilian cultural and educational environments. Ultimately, I argue that the culture of teaching shaped by Meirelles translated the New Education view of child nature into the Brazilian context. Her photos reinforced this view by presenting children as always busy – concentrating on constructing something, for example. The rich materials related to her pedagogical practice provide us with a glimpse of life in her classrooms, and allow us to capture traces of the concepts that made the Jardim de Infância Caetano Campos both international and Brazilian at the same time.

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The long reach of the English Malting House School experiment 1924–1927 (English) Helen May (University of Otago)

This paper outlines the long reach of a brief experiment amidst the fledgling disciplines of early education, child development and psychoanalytic pedagogy. The Malting House School is known through the writings of its director Susan Isaacs (1929, 1930, 1933) and several biographies (Gardner, 1969; Smith, 1985; Graham, 2009) A new kind of teacher was imagined in an environment framed around psychoanalytic understandings of the development of children and espousing ideals of a free childhood and indeed ‘nature’s child’. At Malting House the natural environment included the possibility of fostering scientific enquiry. Nobel Laureate Ernest Rutherford was engaged to assist in the appointment of a physicist and in setting up a scientific laboratory. The presentation considers the sites of influence of three of the school’s teachers: First, Isaacs herself, whose writings popularized new understandings of children, much influenced too by her friendship with Melanie Klein whose approaches in the new field of child analysis clashed with Anna Freud’s. Isaacs’s advanced course on child development established at the London Institute of Education attracted teachers from many countries. Second, there is Nathan Isaacs, Susan’s husband. His interests in science and his long engagement and critique of Piaget’s work were still apparent in the 1960s with his role in the British Plowden Committee on Education. And finally, there is Evelyn Lawrence, whose later career, as Director of the English Froebel Foundation, linked older and newer strands of progressive thinking about ‘nature’s child’, early education and teaching. Also integral to progressive practice of the ‘reimagined teacher’ is a story of intense personal relationships between Susan, Nathan and Evelyn as well as other key players in the experiment. The personal and professional lives of teachers were both fused and confused and it is interesting to consider the place of sexual freedom in the re-imagined progressive teacher.

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“An outlook towards learning and life”: Teaching and learning in the Hietzing school (1927-1932) (English)

Kristen Nawrotzki (Pädagogische Hochschule Heidelberg)

The Hietzing school, founded in Vienna by Dorothy Burlingham, Eva Rosenfeld, and Anna Freud in 1927, was modest in scale, existing only for about five years and educating fewer than two dozen children at any given time. Nevertheless, it has gained renown as an incubator of sorts for the psychoanalytic vision(s) of the school’s founders and teachers – including Freud and Burlingham as well as Erik Erikson and Peter Blos. Mentions of the school in the historiography of psychoanalysis have tended to describe it somewhat uncritically as both generally progressive and more or less psychoanalytically-influenced. However, where scholars have examined actual evidence of the teaching and learning that took place in the school itself, a far more complex picture has emerged (Göppel, 1991; Houssier, 2010; Midgley, 2008), raising meaningful questions about how progressive and/or psychoanalytically-oriented the education offered in the school - described by Erikson himself as an “improvisation” - might actually have been (Erikson & Erikson, 1987, p. 4). This paper seeks to build upon this critical body of literature by focusing even more specifically on the culture of teaching and the role of teachers in the school, which it analyzes on the basis of published and unpublished memoirs, correspondence, and curricular materials produced by the school’s teachers and pupils. It investigates the social, linguistic, and material environments of teaching as well as the unique and changing natures of the teacher and of the learner - which at times overlapped with the roles of therapist, parent, and patient in this most unusual school. Ultimately, the paper situates the study’s findings in the context of Deweyan and other progressive educational philosophies, early attempts at psychoanalytic pedagogy, and the transnational and transcultural spread of innovative educational ideas.

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The developing child in the progressive landscape of in-service teacher training in the laboratory schools in Russia (1917–1928) (English)

Yordanka Valkanova (Canterbury Christ Church University)

The Bolshevik government that came to power in 1917 in Russia sought to unify all schools through labour-focussed education, communist morality and aesthetic experience, all of which were thought to ‘alter’ nature. Progressive ideas of child development were accommodated within the Marxist labour school philosophy. A leading role in the propaganda of progressive education in Russia was played by Stanislav Shatsky (1878–1934) and his fellows who founded a settlement for working-class children in Moscow in 1905. Soon after the Revolution, Shatsky promptly set about re-establishing their progressive endeavour,

promoting their view on education reform among Soviet bureaucrats and teachers, and garnering support for an innovative idea: a network of laboratory schools, named experimental stations, devoted exclusively to experimental work. John Dewey was highly complimentary about the achievements of Shatsky's group when he visited Russia in 1928. This paper seeks to question the possibilities and limits of 'the developing child' as model for thinking about early childhood pedagogy. It employs a documentary method to explore the use of representations of science and scientific knowledge for understanding childhood development. In particular, it identifies and evaluates some of the themes and forms of discourse that surrounded the use of research into child development within in-service teacher training in Shatsky's station. The method of inquiry is to engage critically with existing theoretical analyses of 'scientization' of education (Baker, 2007; Beatty, Cahan & Grant, 2006; Clark, Gleason & Petrina, 2012) and substantive analysis of the meaning of child development drawing on a range of material including trainers' notes and trainees' reflective diaries, commentaries in books and journals, and children's drawings and recorded learning logs.

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10.7 PANEL NATURE AND CHILDHOOD (2)

Chair: Nelleke Bakker (University of Groningen)

Child as nature': transnationalizing and postcolonializing progressive education in pre-WWII East Asia (English)

Yoonmi Lee (Hongik University), Jung-Ah Lee (Seoul National University)

New education (in Europe) or progressive education (in the US) became a trend in the early twentieth century as a movement opposed to the predominant traditional conception of education (Röhrs & Lenhart, 1995). East Asia was not an exception in this global movement. In Japan, new ideas on education and the 'child' were introduced beginning in the early twentieth century by noted reformers. While the national educational policy remained intact due to the strong centralized state-driven system, these new ideas were embodied in various private institutions during the Taisho Democracy in Japan (Yamasaki & Kuno, 2017; Rappleye, 2012; Kangi & Kinoshita, 1995). Also in Colonial Korea (1910-45), new ideas were introduced and practiced by reform-minded intellectuals, although the practice was extremely limited due to pressures by the colonial government (Author, 2006).

This paper will look at how the idea of understanding the child as a 'global' trend of progressive education was received, translated (Steiner-Khamsi, 2013) and re-constructed in the East Asian context. Particular focus will be placed on how the Western ideas were filtered

through East Asian conceptions and how they were transformed politically under the Fascist/colonial situations.

Closer attention will be paid to more 'indigenous' strands of the movements: the SEIKATSU TSUDZURIKATA [Writing on life] movement in Japan and the CHONDOGYO media movement (or EORINI & HAKSENG [children and student]) in Korea. Both movements, developed in the 1920s and early 1930s, were appropriated from larger waves of progressivism to serve more devotedly to the actual lives of the children. SEIKATSU TSUDZURIKATA in Japan was led by progressive educators and widely spread among teachers, and the CHONDOGYO media movement was part of the larger nationalist cultural/enlightenment movement initiated by the association of intellectuals supported by a local religion called Chondogyo.

Like other liberal/progressive movements these practices went under suppression in the late 1930s, by the Japanese Fascist regime. Through these movements, this paper will discuss the possibility of challenging the politicized and colonized notions of childhood such as the 'Fascist child' or the 'nationalist child,' as opposed to the notion of 'child as nature.' The idea of the child as portrayed by the early progressives focused on children's dignity and right in light of humanity's natural right, and often on their natural (God-given) goodness. In the East Asian's reception and translation of western ideas into their own local contexts, these notions not only came into conflict with nationalist/fascist urges but were often ambiguous themselves. This paper explores the medium through which these movements celebrated child's experience, as in the form of narratives appeared in various magazines, and looks at the potential of the movements' commitment for 'child empowerment,' beyond 'child saving' or 'child protection' (Wall, 2010; 2017).

This paper seeks to contribute not only to the existing literature on the pre-World War Two history of education of Japan and Korea, but also aims to shed light on the transnational aspect of progressive education from comparative perspectives. Major sources for analysis will be on the documents and magazines published and circulated by the movement participants in Japan and Korea, such as TSUDZURIKATA SEIKATSU (in Japanese), EORINI (in Korean), and HAKSENG (in Korean).

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Naturaleza y la educación inicial argentina en la primera mitad del siglo XX (Español)

Mónica Fernández Pais (SAHE)

El discurso sobre la educación preescolar nace bajo la interpretación espiritualista de un sujeto niño ligado al orden divino y a la herencia del pensamiento de Rousseau sobre la bondad natural. La impronta que llega de la mano del pensamiento de Fredrerich Fröbel y su articulación con el pensamiento de Karl Krause se instala en Argentina y consolida las tendencias que ubican al niño como protagonista de la escena educativa en los jardines de infantes nacionales.

Así, mientras Comenio proponía en el siglo XVII una educación infantil ligada al regazo materno, Jean Jacques Rousseau en el siglo XVIII estudiaba al sujeto que se educa en diálogo con la sociedad desde una perspectiva política y un siglo más tarde el pensador alemán diseñaba el kindergarten o jardín de infantes cuya versión llega a la Argentina de la mano de la versión norteamericana del kindergarten que trajera Domingo F. Sarmiento al país. De esta manera la naturaleza infantil sería educada en valores católicos matizados por las tendencias propias del protestantismo

Así, durante la primera mitad del siglo XX, se afianzaría un modelo de enseñanza ecléctico capaz de reunir el ideario del pedagogo alemán junto al de la italiana María Montessori y del belga Decroly capaz de combinar las mejores tradiciones que imponían aquellos pedagogos europeos con la versión En esa mixtura en la que se advertían las distintas matrices, la naturaleza ocupaba un lugar destacado.

La idea del infante distinto al adulto cuya una naturaleza “pura” debía cuidarse para que creciera firme y recta encontraría en el jardín de infantes argentino una oportunidad que se diferenciaría de las tradición positivista de la escuela elemental al estimular el juego como actividad central y el contacto permanente con la naturaleza. En esta perspectiva, la libertad se volvía sinónimo de autonomía aunque los niños, al igual que Emilio siempre obedecían. Libertad que era obediencia y libertad regulada.

La vida con la naturaleza y el juego estructuraron las dinámicas de trabajo en el jardín de infantes volviéndose medio y fin. Nos interesa en este trabajo presentar las indagaciones en la revista *La Obra* en la primera década del siglo pasado con la intención de sistematizar las propuestas didácticas que funcionaban como guías para las maestras de los jardines de.

Les jardins d'enfants montessoriens en France durant la première guerre mondiale (Français)

Fabienne Serina-Karsky (Université Paris 8)

Alors que les pédagogues de l'Education nouvelle s'intéressent à la nature enfantine dès l'orée du XXe siècle, la guerre de 1914 vient mettre en péril les expérimentations pédagogiques qui souhaitaient mettre « l'enfant au centre ». Sur le terrain de la France dévastée, l'action de Miss Cromwell, une philanthrope américaine adepte de la méthode

Montessori, va néanmoins permettre l'implantation de jardins d'enfants dans le cadre de l'accueil des populations réfugiées à Paris et sa région, implantation qui se poursuivra dans l'immédiat après-guerre dans l'école maternelle française. En effet le décret du 15 juillet 1921 appelle à l'utilisation d'un « matériel sensoriel » susceptible de prendre en compte la nature de l'enfant. A en croire la presse de l'époque, l'école maternelle française de Pauline Kergomard devient un creuset du montessorisme, relayé par des personnalités diverses du monde de l'éducation.

Par une approche socio-historique et à partir d'un corpus constitué d'archives publiques (Archives Nationales, Archives de Fontenay-aux-Roses), privées (Archives Montessori, Ecole Émilie Brandt) et de la presse de l'époque, nous proposons de resituer la prise en compte de la nature enfantine dans les jardins d'enfants mis en place par Miss Cromwell à partir de 1915, et de voir en quoi son action tant philanthropique que militante la conduit à doter les Ecoles normales d'institutrices ainsi qu'une partie des écoles de la Seine du matériel et du mobilier Montessori, impactant l'école maternelle française de l'après première guerre mondiale.

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Religion is intrinsic to human nature': using Statement Archaeology to reveal influences on state mandated religious education in the UK (English)

Jonathan Doney (University of Exeter)

'Religious education [is] an essential element in any true education, because religion is intrinsic to human nature'.^[1]This claim, much repeated during the 1940s in political debate, the news media, amongst church leaders, and within the pages of the teachers' professional journals was used to justify the introduction, under the 1944 Education Act, of state mandated Religious Education (RE) in English state-funded schools. Even now RE must, by law, be provided in all such schools, with many of the provisions of the 1944 Act being restated and strengthened in the 1988 Education Reform Act and subsequent legislation.

Yet prior to the 1944 Act, RE was already 'almost universally provided', with none of the Local Education Authorities availing themselves of their right to withhold religious teaching in their schools, a situation that perhaps suggests the statutory imposition of RE was unnecessary. Further, in 1944 the President of the Board of Education, Rab Butler, stated categorically that the Act 'was not designed to deal with what is taught in schools: it was designed to provide a new administrative framework'.^[2] The Act includes no stipulations regarding key subjects, such as English or Mathematics, yet gives RE a special place within the legislative framework. Policy makers at the time record their realisation of 'the impact of such recognition, giving as

it would a unique position to religious teaching above all other elements of the school course, no one of which is now prescribed by statute.’[3]

Through an inter-disciplinary method of interrogating policy development, Statement Archaeology (which focuses on the circumstances of production of key statements, their repetition, circulation, and relationship to other key statements), this paper explores what was believed about the nature of the child and the extent to which religion (mostly Christianity) shaped a child whilst in school, revealing how influential these ideas were on the introduction of state mandated RE in English state-funded schools.

[1] Basil A. Yeaxlee, "Reconstruction and Religious Education." *Religion in Education* 8, no. 2 (1941): 45-50, p46.

[2] The National Archive, Kew, Middlesex, UK. ED 136/692 - Mr Butler's minute to Dr Weitzman summarising the background of the Education Act, 1944: Minute from R.A.Butler to Dr Weitzman, May 1945.

[3] The National Archive, Kew, Middlesex, UK. ED 136/228 - Discussions and correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury and others on the Archbishop's Five Points and the Dual System: Paper prepared by M.G.Holmes for R.A.Butler, 30 July 1941.

10.8 PANEL NATURE AND PEDAGOGIES (3)

Chair: Angelo Van Gorp (University of Koblenz-Landau)

“Journeys in the room.” Teaching about nature without nature (English)

Attila Nóbik (University of Szeged)

The link between nature and education was one of the most prominent themes of Hungarian educational journals in the late 19th century. The articles in this field covered a wide range of topics. Since natural sciences (e.g. physics, chemistry, biology, geography) were part of the curricula of elementary and secondary schools, many publications dealt with methodological issues. Many articles discussed the role nature can play in education. Also, human nature, often from philosophical and/or psychological aspects, was a permanent subject of the publications.

In my research I analyzed a special, smaller group of publications from the 1870s and 1880s, published in educational journals for elementary teachers. A handful of articles described imaginary situations in which parents homeschooled their children. Some authors arranged their article around “journeys in the room”, where each journey covered a natural phenomenon. During these journeys children and parents, of course, visited nature only through verbal and/or visual illustrations. Some articles even described children’s rooms that were purposefully designed and equipped for educational purposes, therefore they contained various collections of natural artefacts.

Researchers examined (eg, Pukánszky, 1999; Nóbik, 2002) these articles and concluded that they should be interpreted as products of changing parental, especially paternal roles. They highlighted that the widespread figure of a caring and partaking father was a relatively new phenomenon. The construction of new parental roles can be connected to the idea of the

bourgeoisie family that started to shape the public image of families in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century.

In my paper, I argue that other possible interpretations are possible too. First, these articles can be linked to an old methodological tradition that nature is not observed in its real existence but through its representation.

I will also analyze in my paper that these articles fit into a traditional kind of discussion about nature and education. I argue that 'bringing nature into the room' is an analogy of the topic of the garden/cultivated soil that we can find educational discourses throughout the history of education.

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“In the depths of Nature” – a hungarian intellectual’s lifeway from the 20th century (English)

András Hegedüs (University of Pécs)

In my research I examined the life of the famous hungarian litterateur, tutor and librarian, Nándor Várkonyi (1896-1975), especially his relationship with the hiking and the non artificial environment.

When Várkonyi was a child, he lived in Nitra (now Slovakia), and this region was an adventurous place for him – Várkonyi made great hikes in wilderness, sometimes with pals, most often alone. Later, in his adolescence he met his „first and only master”, Joseph Höllrigl. Höllrigl was Várkonyi’s art teacher in the highschool, but paralelly he went on with his own research too. During their two years of cooperation they combined the acquisition of academic learning material with museum practice and large-scale field trips in the surrounding areas.

These events were decisive for Várkonyi’s whole life and later, when he became a father and a teacher, he used his experiences in his own teaching methods too. Moreover, he has become an impassioned hiker throughout his life.

The searching of hiking's benefits and the idea of „back to nature” comes can be traced back to Rousseau and the various life-reform movements, that adopted his philosophy. Furthermore many contemporary studies research the positive effects of spend time in nature and wilderness.

The purpose of my study is to discuss how the love of nature and finding a suitable mentor and learning method helped Várkonyi’s development, who was obviously particularly talented based on his work and his contemporaries’ memoirs.

My research method was based on the content analysis of personal and public source texts as well as the comparison and the processing of relevant literary sources.

Primary sources were Várkonyi's autobiography and contemporaries' memoirs, while secondary sources were selected from the relevant literature.

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Progressive ideas of Dewey on nature and the natural (spontaneous) human being as an educational aim (English)

Hajnal Kiss (Eötvös Lóránd University)

Dewey's pragmatism exhibits a close liaison between human behaviour and nature. From this standpoint is only one step to take to influence human mode of thought and behaviour with education itself. This is one proof only to the approach that child-rearing and education in the sense of becoming a prosocial member of society has its deep roots in philosophy. We have found an overview about how philosophers have been thinking about the best practices to educate children over history. (Pukánszky, 2001) However, in this paper we only focus on the interpretations of nature in Dewey's (educational) philosophy. „Dewey's starting point is that the human environment is not only physical-material but a cultural environment as well; therefore, humankind during the turning points of its life faces problematic situations. Dewey's naturalism manifests itself in the fact that human thought springs from the immediate interaction between the organism and its environment”. (Sós, 1981, 9) The keyword nature brings about the concepts of natural behaviour, naturalism, naturalistic humanism, spontaneity and nature versus nurture in the context of rearing a human being. In Dewey's educational philosophy and practice nature plays a significant role. Not only in a literal sense but in the sense of naturalness. The latter appears as an aim of instruction related to Progressive Education.

Aims: We intend to explore the following areas of human nature based on Dewey's relevant primary work: a) What happens to all natural events when we communicate. This issue has been explored by Dewey by putting „nature, communication and meaning” under limelight (Dewey, 1958,166) The issues of interactions of human beings, understanding and misunderstanding both in verbal and nonverbal form and the language as an intermediary tool are examined. b) “Shared experience is the greatest of human goods.” (Dewey, 1958, 202) This is a rather contemporary issue among all the „goods” of the postmodern world has to offer. It brings about the deweyan keyword of participation naturally in education or educating with natural means. c) „Nature would have children be children before they are men” (Dewey, 1915) The aim is here to explore what deweyan progressive education has to offer for contemporary practice. d) Experience and nature get on harmoniously together in certain contexts where experience as the only method leads us to nature. Scientific method

as an experience is one of Dewey's examples. (Dewey, 1958, 2a) However, this requires a highly specialised environment and experience takes possession of some proportion of nature. (Dewey, 1958, 3a) Experience is of as well as in nature (Dewey, 1958, 4a) Experience is a starting point and terminal point, as setting problems testing proposed solutions. At Dewey the natural environment for education is a social setting designed to be close to the pupils' natural environment, while „the accidental environment is swapped by an environment designed educative.” (Dewey, 1926, 5)

Method: Literature review based on primary and secondary sources on Dewey and nature and naturalism fitting into the context of education.

The natural Method and the Nature as Content: Modern Jewish Pedagogy in Palestine at the End of the 19th Century (English)

Miriam Szamet (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Leibniz Institute for Jewish History and Culture – Simon Dubnow)

The special place of the local nature was subject of criticism in Jewish education during the Haskalah (Jewish enlightenment movement) from the middle of the 18th century on. It introduced many aspects educators dealt with throughout the 19th century in order to normalize the Jewish society: to change the employment structure of Jews, to modify their knowledge of natural sciences, and to transform their physical abilities and more. From the early 1880s on Jewish nationalists sought to create a new pedagogy through the transfer of methods from Europe and particularly from Germany to the Jewish immigrant community in Palestine. The two main goals were the creation of Ivrit (Hebrew), the modern Jewish language based on ancient biblical Hebrew, and the formation of a strong link between Jews and nature in the “old-new” homeland: Eretz Israel, then Palestine. Teachers and scholars such as Y. Epstein, Y. Ozerkovsky, M. Krishavsky and Y. Yechielchuk, who shaped this pedagogy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, based their teaching on two European methods that were suitable the unique situation in which they worked: Based on (1) the “Natural Method” through which they taught modern Hebrew and (2) with the method of observation, the Anschauungsunterricht following Pestalozzi, they established a particular intimacy of the students with the nature in Palestine. Thus, the first Hebrew teachers combined the two methods: the lessons in Hebrew, which was not theirs and their students' mother tongue, were at the same time a strict engagement with the nature and the space in Palestine. In my paper, I will relate to this case study and at the same unfold a theory of innovation in teaching in which political principles are read together with the professional aspects of the pedagogical act.

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10.9 PANEL NATURE AS AN EDUCATIONAL IDEA (3)

Chair: Rosa Bruno-Jofré (Queen's University)

Educar para domesticar la naturaleza humana. John Dewey y Antón S. Makarenko: dos perspectivas, una misma aspiración (Español)

Xóchil Virginia Taylor (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos), Antonio Padilla Arroyo (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos)

El presente trabajo se centra en la revisión de las principales tesis del concepto orgánico del hombre que propusieron John Dewey y Antón S. Makarenko. Para ambos autores la naturaleza infantil, en particular, y la naturaleza humana en general, es moldeable por lo que puede transformarse a través de prácticas pedagógicas que inculquen el conocimiento del medio ambiente. Para Dewey era importante pensar la escuela de la acción concentrada en un huerto donde los estudiantes pensarán cómo podían utilizar los recursos naturales. De esta manera la escuela era el centro de la acción constructiva y real en la cual el trabajo debería atenderse en dos vertientes: en las relaciones sociales de esta producción constructiva y por otro lado, con el contacto con la naturaleza al facilitar los materiales. Un ejemplo que nos proporciona Dewey es el trabajo en la carpintería, en el cual se utilizan materiales en la construcción de una casa modelo, como centro de instrucción social y también científica. Lo importante a considerar es la formación de hábitos físicos y mentales en el que el ojo y la mano trabajen de manera coordinada en un proceso orgánico.

Por su parte Makarenko proponía domesticar la naturaleza humana suavizando el carácter y de ese modo su condición biológica. Por ello, Makarenko puso en práctica sus postulados pedagógicos por medio de la planificación y la dirección de dos colonias para niños delincuentes: la colonia Gorki y posteriormente la colonia Dzerzhinski. En ambas colonias aplicó sus métodos pedagógicos enfocados en la relación del niño con la naturaleza y su manera de transformarla para su supervivencia. La formación del hombre nuevo soviético debía considerar el trabajo colectivo como una práctica necesaria para superar las crisis económicas. El contacto con la naturaleza les permitió a los colonos formarse hábitos para arar la tierra y cultivarla para abastecerse de alimentos. Además, eran importantes las prácticas pedagógicas basadas en el cultivo de flores y huertos que los hacían uno con la naturaleza. También Makarenko utilizó prácticas pedagógicas a través de la conformación de talleres de carpintería, costura, dibujo, así como los paseos en el río y en el bosque.

Tanto Dewey como Makarenko proponen sus tesis pedagógicas a partir de los cambios sociales que se vienen realizando en sus respectivos países. En el caso de Dewey, le tocó vivir la Guerra de Secesión o Guerra Civil, la Primera y la Segunda Guerra Mundial, mientras que a Makarenko, la Revolución de 1905 y de 1917, que conllevaron al surgimiento del régimen socialista, la guerra civil de 1917 y la Primera Guerra Mundial. En estos aportes pedagógicos podemos ver sus convergencias y divergencias, el encuentro de horizontes que se sostiene y

que los llevaron a compartir retos similares y preocupaciones intelectuales por la educación basada en una interacción con la naturaleza misma.

El tema de la mesa en el que queremos participar es ; "naturaleza y el mundo natural como contextos educativos".

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“... That We As Women Have Different, New, and Highest Values to Give:” Imagining Women’s Citizenship at the International Congress in Berlin, 1904 (English) Katja Koehnlein (University of Washington)

When in June of 1904 women from around the world gathered at the International Congress of Women in Berlin, Germany, Alice Salomon pushed for the inclusion of a meeting for girls and young women. The exposure to international discussions was not only part of the social

education that the German social work pioneer envisioned for bourgeois young women in Wilhelmine Germany, but also a central element of her own work. A participant in the international discourse on social reform and social work early on in her life, she later assumed a leadership position in the International Council of Women, and developed life-long friendships with women across borders.

Her international engagement, however, went alongside notions of nationalism, as she developed and professionalized social work education, and sought to prepare young women for civic participation and work for the German state as part of the training. This paper explores how Salomon imagined women's citizenship, by asking how it was informed by ideas on women's nature, and how it corresponded and compared with the range of ideas expressed by the delegates at the International Congress in 1904. Drawing on official records of the Berlin Congress as well as the papers of Salomon and other Congressional leaders, the paper builds on the research on Salomon's life and work, and engages literature on international and national women's movements.[1] In particular, it uses Leila Rupp's thesis on the construction of women's collective identity, as well as Anne Epstein's and Rachel Fuchs's work on gender and citizenship as the theoretical framework to explore the use of maternalist arguments for women's civic engagement in the context of nationalism and internationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century.[2]

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Nature in the *Orbis sensualium pictus* of J.A. Comenius (English)

Adam Fijalkowski (University of Warsaw)

Many authors of the German "didactic movement" wrote about the need to adapt teaching and education to the nature: Wolfgang Ratke, Elias Bodinus, Christoph Helvicus, Joachim Jungius, Einhard Lubinus, Stefan Ritterus, Philips Glaumius, Esechiel Vogelius, Jacob Wolffstirnus, Janus Caecylius Frey, Johannes Rhenius Andreas Wilkium Andreas Camerarius, Stadius Buscherus, Sigismund Evenius, Samuel Siderocrates, Johann Saubert, and after reading their writings - also Comenius. He wrote in "The Great didactic": "We venture to promise a Great Didactic, that is to say, the whole art of teaching all things to all men, and indeed of teaching them with certainty, so that the result cannot fail to follow [...] Lastly, we wish to prove all this a priori, that is to say, from the unalterable nature of the matter itself, drawing off, as from a living source" (1627-1657). Comenius, in contrast to the authors of the "didactic movement", wrote also textbooks that brought him the greatest fame in the epoch, including the most innovative of them - "*Orbis sensualium pictus*" (1658), which was translated into more than 20 languages, published over 200 times, and used in schools still at the beginning of the 19th century. In the Authors Preface to the Reader, Comenius wrote: "Instruction is the means to expell rudeness [...]. The ground of this business is that sensual objects be rightly presented to the senses, for fear they may not be received. [...] Now there is nothing in the understanding which was not before in the sense" (1659). This last sentence is a reference not only to Francis Bacon (1620), but also to the earlier school dispute of young Comenius in the Hohe Schule in Herborn, by his master Johann Heinrich Alsted (1613). A visualisation (*Anschauung*) in instruction was thus derived from the nature. The "*Orbis sensualium pictus*", in the intention of the author and his numerous collaborators, was supposed to be an illustrated small encyclopedia for children in 150 chapters: "we will go into the world, and we will view all things". What is the role of nature in this handbook? How is it presented? The first 43 chapters, with the exception of chapter 1: "God", are devoted to nature: from four elements, through inanimate nature, plants, animals (according to Aristotle's classification - even before Linnaeus) to man. From chapter 44 to 81, Comenius presented the activities, professions and efforts of man who interacts with God and nature, and uses nature for his own good. Chapters 82 to 99 are devoted to the discussion of various forms of interpersonal communication. In chapters from 100 to 150, the author presented various forms of human cultural and social life. In summary, 80 out of 150 chapters of the "*Orbis sensualium pictus*" are devoted to the nature and use of nature by a human being. The vision of nature is very utilitarian and has nothing to do with a symbolic or idealistic attitude to nature – for instance: "The Dog is the keeper of the House. The Cat riddeth the House of Mice".

Nature and Possibilities of Education of the Feeble-minded Children: Discourse of Lewis Terman in the 1910s (English)

Mariko Omori (Kyushu University)

In this paper, I will analyze discourse of Lewis M. Terman, the educational psychologist, in the 1910s and argue how he addressed nature as a determinant of intelligence, and possibilities of education for feeble-minded children.

In the 1910s, the eugenic discourse was prevalent and intelligence testing was rapidly spread over education field. In this paper, I will take up writings by Lewis M. Terman, who was one of

the leading figures of the testing movement. Terman was a professor of educational psychology at Stanford University and known for his Stanford-Binet IQ test.

Including Terman, many psychologists, who worked for the development of intelligence tests, believed that children from higher-status families obtained better scores in the tests than the ones from lower-status families. They contended that the difference of the scores came not from the environmental cause but from their innate nature [Ravitch 145]. In the 1920s, some critics like Walter Lippman and William C. Bagley criticized intelligence tests but Terman adhered to his view that education and training did not give any influence upon the test scores. Terman persisted his belief on heredity and racial disparity of intelligence [Lavitch 159]. Furthermore, although Terman explained the racial difference based on his hereditarian convictions, the reasoning was not well founded [Gould 220]. In this way, the previous studies have addressed Terman as a hereditarian psychologist who put emphasis more on nature than nurture.

In my previous research, I argued that immigrant children were discovered as feeble-minded through intelligence tests by Terman and eventually were segregated into special classes. There is no doubt that he contended that heredity had a vital influence on one's intelligence. At the same time, however, Terman suggested segregating the feeble-minded children into special classes for training. Why did he suggest special classes for the "incurable" children? To a certain extent, it seems that he saw the possibilities of education for the segregated children. Thus, in this paper, I would like to argue how Terman discussed nature and possibilities of education for the feeble-minded children.

To answer the above question, I will analyze two major writings by Terman himself: *The Measurement of Intelligence* (1916) and *Intelligence of School Children* (1919). Both books were edited by Ellwood P. Cubberley, who was the contemporary leading theorist of educational administration. According to editor's introduction by Cubberley, *The Measurement of Intelligence* was the initial attempt to provide information of intelligence testing in plain language for general readers. Three years later, *Intelligence of School Children* was published as the same series. The book was written as an introduction for the previous book and expected teachers, students at normal schools, and parents as readers.

Through the analysis of the use of nature in these writings and other supplements, I will argue whether if Terman assumed possibilities of education and training for the lower-scored children.

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10.10 PANEL NATURE, ETHNOCENTRISM AND OTHERING (1)

Chair: Rita Nikolai (Humboldt-Universität Berlin)

The Nature of the Sami People in the Eyes of Early Modern Educators (English)

Daniel Lindmark (Umeå University)

In 1732 a residential school for Sami pupils opened in Jokkmokk Parish in northern Sweden. The school was part of a school system instituted at the Diet of 1723. In December 1732, Dean Carl Solander sent a letter to the Chapter of Härnösand asking for a school instruction to guide the schoolmasters of the Sami schools in their upholding of school discipline. The request was repeated in April 1733 when Solander had visited the Jokkmokk Sami School. In the letter, Solander claimed that the school needed closer surveillance. From other sources, it is obvious that Schoolmaster Lars Malming neglected his duties. The pupils did not receive the necessities they were entitled to according to the financial regulations of 1729. Malming had

made the children work for him rather than teach them, and he was accused of having treated them harshly. Eventually the pupils had escaped (Lindmark 2006, 106–108).

When the School Order of 1735 was inaugurated, it explicitly tried to prevent maltreatment of the pupils. The schoolmaster was requested to adhere to the financial regulations, and the school inspector should make sure that the pupils were properly fed and clad. They were entitled to three meals a day of a decent kind. It was stated that the teaching should be carried out “with gentleness, kindness and great patience”. It was explicitly forbidden to treat the disciples “with harsh and bitter words, let alone stabs and strokes, especially for their tasks”. If exhortations proved insufficient, the schoolmaster should use such corrective means that he not caused any fear of the school “among this poor and squeamish people” (Lindmark 2006, 109–110).

In the opening example, it was obvious to the ecclesial authorities that Schoolmaster Malming had abused his authority. He had treated the pupils badly in relation to formal regulations and the intentions behind the school system. At the same time, the School Order suggested that the teachers of the Sami school system should take into consideration the specific nature of the Sami people. Ideas of such a nature were not limited to the School Order. In 1724, County Governor Jacob Grundel stated that the Sami were not only destitute, but also “slow to learn, by nature as well as habit”. Therefore, prospective Sami ministers should be offered scholarships as a means of encouragement (Grundel 1724). Dean Nils Grubb held similar views of ministers of “Lapp extraction.” By their “Lapp nature and partly their inadequate education” they neglected the duties of their office (Grubb 1723).

In my paper I will do four things: 1. I will revisit the sources of early modern Sami education; 2. I will look for articulations of ideas concerning a specific Sami nature; 3. I will discuss in what way educational practice was adjusted to fit the alleged nature of the Sami; 4. Finally, I will compare the view of the Sami nature in educational sources with the ideas expressed by Carl Linnaeus.

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Viajeros en Río Branco - impresiones sobre la educación de indígenas en la Amazonia en los años 1910 (Español)

Maria Edith Romano Siems (Universidade Federal de Roraima)

El antropólogo alemán Theodor Koch-Grünberg, nacido en 1872, fallece en 1924 en el municipio de Vista Alegre, en el extremo norte de la Amazonia brasileña, en una de las expediciones etnográficas que emprendió por la región amazónica, con el objetivo de mapear familias indígenas hasta entonces poco conocidas. Aunque no es el primer viajero en investigar la región de la actual triple frontera Brasil-Venezuela-Guyana Inglesa, en la época aún en disputa en el establecimiento de límites fronterizos, en el relato del viaje realizado en

el período de 1911 a 1913 que tendría por objetivo final la llegada a las nacientes del Río Orinoco -que no se concreta- presenta importantes registros de sus impresiones sobre las prácticas educativas que presencia se realizan junto a niños, jóvenes y adultos indígenas. En sus apuntes, presenta no sólo el registro de sus impresiones en cuanto a los procesos educativos que observa en el interior de las comunidades, pero también detalla procesos educativos desarrollados en escuelas instaladas en el interior de misiones católicas, destacando las actividades de formación de indígenas en la realización de oficios como: carpintería, cerrajería, taller de carrocería y también prácticas desarrolladas por religiosos en la enseñanza de lenguas y de principios religiosos, reflexionando con cuidado especial en cuanto a la extrañeza de los indígenas en relación a las materias que les son enseñadas y la necesidad de permanecer por largo tiempo sentados, quietos, en conducta disciplinaria completamente diversa de su rutina en las comunidades. En la misión que visita en el Alto Surumu, por ejemplo, registra los procesos de memorización de fragmentos bíblicos y canciones por niños indígenas que, en despedida, lo siguen entonando textos y canciones cuyo sentido evidentemente desconocen como medio de acercamiento con los visitantes no indígenas. El objetivo de este estudio es analizar las perspectivas en cuanto a las prácticas educativas formales y no formales registradas por el etnógrafo alemán en su viaje realizado de exploración etnográfica en el período de 1911 a 1913, reflexionando sobre sus observaciones y análisis con el objetivo de destacar las aproximaciones y diferencias entre las prácticas educativas originalmente practicadas en las comunidades, las prácticas de escolarización que son implantadas por los misioneros y los diversos sentidos involucrados en las concepciones educativas de esos diferentes pueblos. Se trata de una investigación bibliográfica, que se basa en los textos originales producidos por Koch-Grünberg, sus registros fotográficos y análisis de investigadores que nos precedieron en la explotación de esos materiales.

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Eurocentric Views on the African Continent: Africa and African Representations on the Pages of the Brazilian Magazine “Eu Sei Tudo” (1917-1958) (English) Ana Carolina Carvalho Guimarães (Universidade de São Paulo)

This research analyzes images and texts present in the magazine *Eu Sei Tudo*, published in Brazil from 1917 to 1958. This magazine was edited by Companhia Editora Americana from copies of the French original *Je Sais Tout*, which was published from 1905 to 1939. Some articles on the Brazilian editions are either full or partial reproductions of the French originals. The hypothesis formulated here is that a Eurocentric world view – based on cultural

perspectives of Imperialism – prevailed on the pages of this illustrated magazine, so that it produced and corroborated representations full of prejudice and stereotypes about different African countries and populations. It is considered that, as in *Je Sais Tout*, the texts and photos published in *Eu Sei Tudo* disseminated ideals of modernity, civilization and culture proper to the European world – particularly the French one –, from which African territories and populations were seen as synonyms for either backwardness or the exotic. The photographs that “represented” Africa commonly linked the continent to natural landscapes in order to relate it to a wild and primitive condition, whereas the portrayal of European countries highlighted the modernization of the cities, the automobile industry, and the clothing of men and women. Thus, a pattern of European refinement was set out, while Africa and the Africans were treated as the opposite of this. “Modernization” and “civilization” were terms used as adjectives to characterize European behavior and tastes and to define European cities as a model, whereas culture in Africa was considered “picturesque” and African countries were referred to as “primitive”. This research (a work in progress) analyzes all editions of *Eu Sei Tudo* and some editions of *Je Sais Tout*, either on paper or on Gallica’s website, where part of the collection of the National Library of France is available. The theoretical framework is based on the concept of representation, as proposed by CHARTIER (1990), the idea of Social Imaginary, as developed by BACZKO (1985), and on other authors who have supported the discussion on modernization (GIDDENS, 1938 and SEVCENKO, 1998, 2001) and civilization (STAVANS, 1961), as well as on images and photographs (DUBOIS, 1993; MENESES, 2003; KOSSOY 2000 and 2001, LUTTEMBARCK, 2011) and on Imperialism (SAID, 2011 and MACEDO, 2006)

Keywords: Social imaginary. Representation. Stereotypes. Africa. Africans. Modernity. Civilization.

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Tone’ in elementary school teacher training in England at the turn of the 20th century: The case of the Hucknall-Torkard Pupil Teacher Centre (English)

Yukiko Matsumoto (The Health Sciences University of Hokkaido)

In this presentation, I will examine the ‘tone’ expected in elementary school teacher-training in England at the turn of the 20th century, specifically in Pupil Teacher Centres (PTCs), and discuss how the ‘tone’ deemed suitable for the increasingly feminized profession came about and was related to the idea of feminine ‘nature’.

PTCs were a by-product of the pupil-teacher (PT) system introduced in the mid-19th century. PTs were predominantly female pupils chosen as they finished elementary school to work as assistant teachers, and to study for scholarship examinations to enter two-year teacher-training college where they could gain certified teacher status.

Female PTs, usually from upper working-class/lower middle-class families took this course as the only way to gain financial independence in a ‘profession’. With ambition considered ‘unnatural’ for middle-class girls, they were strongly censored and required to have middle-class ‘tone’. While students from ‘elementary’ education ended by becoming young workers, and those in ‘primary’ education continued on to ‘secondary’ education, PTC was an ‘unnatural’ ‘secondary-school-like’ institution, providing part-time academic education beyond the elementary level to originally working-class PTs, with the possibility of higher (albeit vocational) education. While PTs succeeded in national exams, PTCs were castigated by inspectors for their ‘too ambitious’ curricula, and before the 1902 Education Act, it was decided PTCs should be abolished (Robinson, Simon, Widdowson, Jones).

The Hucknall-Torkard PTC on the outskirts of Nottingham was founded in 1904, quite late in PTC history. Nottingham boasted a progressive elementary education, and helped by the local self-made businessman and politician John Mundella (known for his work on the Elementary Education Act of 1870) and its PTs’ good performance in national exams, the city was able to resist the national trend for closing PTCs, although Hucknall-Torkard was turned into a secondary school by 1922 (Wardle).

The PTC’s ‘senior mistress’ and virtual co-principal was Ella Sharpe. From a working-class family, an ex-PT and later a successful psychoanalyst, she was a socioeconomically exemplary PT who crossed the class divide. Her biographies are in keeping with the required ‘tone’: they do not mention her being an ex-PT, but note that due to her Shakespeare-loving father’s premature death, she gave up studying at Oxford and went to Nottingham University to become a teacher, even though in fact her father died much later (Taylor, Wahl, Whelan).

I will examine three HMI reports: from 1906 and 1912 on the PTC, and from 1922 on the secondary school it became. The earlier two inspectors repeatedly commended the ‘tone’, but this word did not appear in the secondary school report. I will also analyse a scrapbook made by the PTC. Ostensibly a gift to Florence Golding, the inspectors’ local contact at the

Nottingham Education Office, (a teacher-training college graduate herself, and a niece of Mundella), it was a strategic argument for the PTC's survival, emphasizing its cultured and feminine 'tone' and including exemplary activities.

I will also discuss how 'tone' was perceived and used in the PTC, and how middle-class family-based feminine 'nature' politics were performed in elementary teacher training.

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10.11 PANEL EDUCATION AND THE OUTDOORS (2)

Chair: Letterio Todaro (Università di Catania)

The use of nature: school journeys in secondary education Portugal (1890s-1930s) (English)
Inês Félix (Umeå Universitet)

The global spread of pedagogical modernity's ideas at the turn of the 20th century (Ó and Carvalho 2009, Pereira de Sousa et al. 2005) supported a growing discussion in Portugal about the use of nature in schooling. By examining the emergence and consolidation of school journeys in the Portuguese grammar of schooling (Tyack and Tobin 1994), my aim is to show how the use of nature was discussed and reportedly carried out in connection to these activities between the 1890s and the 1930s.

Even though undertaken since 1906, school journeys were only put in focus for the first time in a systematic way when in 1923 Faria de Vasconcelos(1) published the *Natural Sciences Didactics*. Vasconcelos' argument was that these activities were "one of the most powerful and effective means for physical, intellectual and moral culture [that] the school has" (1923, 87). In my understanding, this placed the use of nature in relation to two core educational goals for modern schooling's pupils: to learn and to become. On one hand, it was meant to contribute to a 'true', objective and modern scientific learning process through personal observation (Coelho 1891, Lima 1932, Vasconcelos 1909, 1923); and on the other hand, it also contributed to "a better understanding of the Portuguese land and consequently to strengthen the love for the homeland in the students' souls" (Barata 1927, 167).

Departing from Vasconcelos' ideas, this study is based on a crossed analysis of monographs, education press articles, school reports and legislation that were produced in Portugal regarding secondary education in that period. In the analysis use Thomas S. Popkewitz (2002, 2005, 2008, 2014, Popkewitz, Franklin, and Pereyra 2001) theoretical framework to discuss the systems of reason that allowed school journeys to i) democratize the access, acquisition and understanding of scientific knowledge; and to ii) foster each and every pupil's belonging to "collective sites such as the nation" (Tröhler, Popkewitz, and Labaree 2011, 6) through the use of nature.

(1) Faria de Vasconcelos (1880-1939) is considered "one of the most significant [Portuguese] personages for the introduction, study, experimentation and dissemination of the educational guidelines and practices undertaken within the new international pedagogical trends" (Bandeira 2005).

Related sub-theme(s):

Nature and the natural world as educational settings

Nature as a medium and subject of education

Keywords: school journeys, uses of nature, systems of reason.

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Nature and natural world in Italian open air schools (1904-1945) (English)

Mirella D'Ascenzo (University of Bologna)

From the end of the Nineteenth century and the first half of the Twentieth century, the movement of the open air schools developed in Europe and all around the world. Born for medical and hygienic reasons, especially in order to fight against tuberculosis, open air schools contributed to define a new way of educating and teaching, in opposition to the traditional way of teaching, which was mostly made indoors. As a matter of fact they were placed in a

space far from urban reality, in woods, forests, near rivers or the seaside, becoming the new context of life and experience for the children.

Moreover, the context became the very object of a renewed didactic modality which precisely in the exploration, observation and study of the "living" nature posed the center of interesting, developing innovative educational practice such as horticulture, gardening, animal care and walks in the territory.

The paper will focus on open air schools in Italy, still little known in the international historiography. The sources will consist mainly of archival documents and printed texts of the time, as well as photographs and private documents aimed at highlighting the wealth of Italian experiences and their intertwining with the European ones.

It will be offered some Italian examples, not well-known, of such a renewed teaching practice, in line with the new contemporary schools showing their originality in the relationship between childhood and the nature in the school context of the outdoor natural space, interpreted as a space of physical care both as an element of a wider environmental education and not just scientific.

Nature in education: the migration of the “snow class” model from France to Canada (1953-1995) (English)

Sébastien Laffage-Cosnier (University of Franche-Comt), Willy Hugedet (University of Franche-Comt), Christian Vivier (University of Franche-Comt)

In 1950 in France, Dr. Max Fourestier introduced the concept of dividing the school day into two parts. In the morning, students followed activities that were intellectual and classroom-oriented, and in the afternoon, they had physical education classes. This program was implemented in Gambetta Elementary School in Vanves, a city on the outskirts of Paris (Fourestier was Gambetta's doctor). In 1953, he expanded the concept by organizing innovative experiments such as the "forest class" and the "snow class." The snow class was implemented throughout France's educational system in subsequent years. Fourestier, a major promoter of physical education at school, actively promoted his pedagogical innovations internationally. He was a true avant-gardist: his experimental scheduling of school time and implementation of nature classes opened the way for other similar experiments, and movements for the inclusion of nature classes in schools; these had great success with parents, students and teachers in France. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the concept of the snow class was adopted by many countries around the world, especially in Canada.

The purpose of this study is not to review the details of the various school experiments carried out in Vanves, nor to explain Fourestier's concepts of health, nor to underline that the snow class transformed public education pedagogy. Rather, this study aims to show how the snow class model was transferred to another country. Our study shows how Fourestier's international scientific reputation played an important role, and how, through the example of the snow class, the place and role of nature within the French school system arrived in Canada. Our analysis identifies the cultural elements and blendings that facilitated the appropriation of a new model that promoted an educational ecosystem in which children can grow up and learn in harmony with nature.

The nature and educational influences of the Hungarian Pioneer Movement's buildings (English)

Panna Berta-Szénási (University of Pécs)

In this research, the educational influences of new school buildings, erected in the 1970s in Hungary, are examined. Alongside the building of new schools, the Pioneer Movement's new towns and youth camps appeared. These accommodations were built near Hungary's natural treasures, thus providing an excellent opportunity to get to know Lake Balaton, the surrounding mountains and river banks.

This present research introduces these Young Pioneer camps, as well as describes the pedagogical methods and theories that defined the camps' educational norms. The aim is to prove that the nature of the buildings, their location, infrastructure and connection to natural values have undoubtedly determined the pedagogical processes that took place there. In a broader context, the basic question of this research is how work in educational institutions is linked to their environments and to the recognition of nature that surrounds them. In addition, how the different opportunities coming from nature itself appear in the campers' lives is also questioned, as well as, in what ways the time spent there could build the relationship between man and nature.

The various types of buildings provide a wide array of imagery, as we can find examples ranging from tent-filled camps to hotel-like structures. What is common in all of these, is the work of the Pioneer Movement, which was active in the second half of the 20th century. A detailed description of the Movement is not part of this research, but how and in what ways the education to loving nature took place, is examined. As a result of this, the educational contexts of men and buildings are revealed in a natural environment.

During my present research, I mostly examine the sources of the remaining written documents, which include architectural design documents, ministerial decrees, camp reports, as well as educational and architectural press documents, related to the activities. Furthermore, I find it crucial to familiarize myself with the Young Pioneer camps' natural environments by analyzing relevant literature. In order to get acquainted with the buildings that are the subject of this research, the examination of visual databases is also important.

The research is a sub-topic of my doctoral dissertation, which could help reveal more in-depth information about the school-building trends of Socialism. Analyzing the environment of educational situations at these campsites is also considered essential, as the pedagogical program of Socialism also held the organization of extra-curricular activities in high regard.

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10.12 PANEL PLANTS, ANIMALS AND EDUCATION (1)

Chair: Josefine Wähler (Research Library for the History of Education, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Animaux et plantes dans une école de plein air italienne au début du XXe siècle (Français) **Gianluca Gabrielli (University of Macerata)**

En 1917 une école de plein air pour enfants frêles et à risque de tuberculose est ouverte à Bologna. Elle est intitulé à Fernando Fortuzzi, conseiller communal socialiste et porteur, mort pour maladie contractée sur le front de la Grande guerre. Les activités et la vie quotidienne des élèves pendant les premiers ans d'existence de l'école sont reportées dans un journal illustré qui a une bonne diffusion dans le réseau des écoles de la ville et de la région ainsi que dans les autres écoles de plein air déjà activées en Italie. Dans les chroniques de ce journal nous trouvons ainsi précieux renseignements sur le rapport avec le milieu naturel qui émerge de la didactique et de la vie à l'école

Les activités avec les animaux et les plantes et le regard sur les éléments naturels sont profondément différents de ceux-là pratiqués dans les autres écoles de la ville. Ceci transforme l'école Fortuzzi en un objet de curiosité et désir pour les enfants des autres écoles qui vont en visite; l'école devient très vite un objet d'étude pour les autres municipalités italiennes.

Les pédagogues qui guident cette expérience soutiennent que la formule de l'école de plein air doit être principalement adressée aux sujets les plus faibles, soit physiquement que socialement; cependant ils croient aussi que les pratiques hygiéniques de prévention des maladies peuvent se concilier avec les didactiques pratiques liées à la réalité naturelle et à l'activisme pédagogique.

La présence d'un singe, d'un chien, d'une petite chèvre, l'élevage et le soigne du cochon pour l'abattage suivant et la vente de la viande, la préparation du champ agricole, l'installation de

deux ruches, ceux-ci sont quelques-uns des éléments qui constituent un nouveau contexte didactique, intégré aux buts institutionnels de l'école. La gestion directe des animaux et des plantes confiée aux enfants et aux fillettes préfigure des petites formes d'autogestion, inusuelles dans les écoles contemporaines.

L'essai analyse l'approche avec les animaux et les plantes dans cette école en le comparant avec la réalité existante dans les autres écoles italiennes de l'époque et avec les expériences qui avaient été réalisées pendant les années précédentes.

Quels buts didactiques émergeaient de la présence de ces animaux dans l'école? Ces activités à quel rapporte homme-nature faisaient allusion? Quelles consonances et quelles différences émergent entre les activités agricoles et d'élevage pratiquées par les maîtres et les élèves de l'école de plein air et ces sporadiques présentes dans les autres écoles de l'époque en Italie? Comment cette expérience (vivement volute et soutenue par le gouvernement local socialiste installé en 1914) se modifie quand le fascisme va au pouvoir?

Civilizing by means of compassion. The educational project of animal protection and its contribution to the Italian nation building in the XIXth century (English)

Tommaso Petrucciani (University of Macerata)

The relationship between humans and animals is a key-factor in Western civilization since «the idea of man in European history is expressed in the way in which he is distinguished from the animal»[1]. In the XIXth Century -a remarkable shift of sensibility took place so that «sympathy beyond the confines of man» was recognized as «one of the latest moral acquisitions»[2]. It originated the Societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals (SPCAs), characterized by a marked educational inclination. Their efforts «were set against broader political projects to build a forward-looking nation that rejected a barbaric past» and humanity toward animals became a distinctive feature of modernity[3]. In Italy the development of this movement intertwined with the national unification, gaining the support of eminent personalities such as Lambruschini, Cavour, d'Azeglio, Garibaldi, ministers of Public Education and the Royal House, intentioned to bring Italians to the same stage of civilization as other European nations. Focusing on the Italian movement, the paper will underline the educational nature and policy of SPCAs. SPCAs emerged as new laical institutions of non-formal education conceived as a key instrument for a broader project of reform of popular customs which transcended animal protection. They always aimed «at man and at [his] very profit»[4], never calling into question the human dominion over other species and their exploitation for human purposes and concurring to redraw the barrier between humans and animals at the dawn of «a new era of domestication»[5]. Their educational project moved along two directions: - Inspired by the Latin saying “*Saevitia in bruta est tirocinium crudelitatis in homines*”, SPCAs used sympathy for other animals as training to humanity: the social virtue of benevolence to fellow human beings; a God-given restraint to our anger preventing the spilling of other men's blood[6]. Therefore SPCAs were instruments of civilization[7]. Teaching compassion for animals was a way to promote humanity and repugnance for cruelty as sociability feelings essential for the functioning of a society characterized by a growing interconnection and an increasing division of labour and pacified under the state's monopoly of violence. - Removing from daily life cruel and bloody sights did not mean removing from economic life the exploitation and killing of animals. They remained a capital to be valorised. Humane treatment did not mean a treatment without

violence and suffering since they became cruel only if useless, unnecessary, unproductive or counterproductive, therefore unreasonable. Violence should have been commensurate to the purpose in order not to squander capital whereas cruelty was a threat to the wealth of the nation. SPCAs were economical institutions – in the hands of proprietors – aimed at educating lower classes to a new economical rationality in order to improve human and animal capital. Far from encouraging the overcoming of violence, as an instrument of civilization SPCAs concurred to its redeployment (concentration in state's monopoly, razionalization, concealment by walls) driving their education project in the same direction of state and nation building.

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Representations of Animals in Textbooks for Elementary Schools in Israel (English)

Arie Kizel (University of Haifa), Sivan Nadler (University of Haifa)

Our presentation will introduce a study on the critical analysis of animal representation in textbooks for elementary schools in Israel, focusing on science and Hebrew language elementary schoolbooks.

The main research question is what are the ways in which young students' consciousness is designed through animal representation in textbooks. The research focus is on comparing the manners in which animals are represented to that of humans; as well as on hierarchical structures amongst different species.

The research examined the texts considering the concept of speciesism (Ryder, 1972) and the hegemony of the speciesist ideology that banishes unhuman animals from the moral life. The ideology of speciesism establishes man's dominance in all aspects of life, by preferring man's existential interests over all other species (Singer, 1975) and also by negating any mental capacity and basic rights from inhuman being, such as the rights for life and respect (Regan, 1982; Regan, 1983).

The research is based on the work of Michael Apple (Apple 1990; Apple, 1991; Apple, 1993) who argues that textbooks serve as a tool for organizing knowledge and the consciousness of students in educational systems. These systems manage an ideological process that is dominated by hegemonic power-groups that control societies and countries. The research of

schoolbooks serves as a useful tool for uncovering explicit and implicit viewpoints, and especially for exposing hidden agendas (Pingel, 2010).

The study's findings show that the textbooks present a structured and hierarchical concept of inhuman beings. Undomesticated animals are considered natural and the connection between them and men is characterized by a protecting relationship. Some species are presented as deserving man's protection, while other species harm man, therefore, he is forced to protect himself. Domesticated animals represented as unnatural; as well as their connection to man is characterized as part of a "give and take" contract: man supplies shelter, nutrition and protection from predators, and in return he takes from the animals their meat, milk, skin and lives.

In addition, the schoolbooks present a "customer-product" relationship between man and inhuman beings that serve as food, laborers and entertainment. Man is a "superconsumer" and inhuman beings become objects-products for man to control.

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The Botanical Garden of São Paulo and the education of the population (1938-1952) (English)

Luna Abrano Bocchi (University of São Paulo), Ermelinda Moutinho Pataca (University of São Paulo)

The aim of this work is to analyze the educational role of the Botanical Garden of São Paulo during its first years of operation, when his director was the botanist Frederico Carlos Hoehne. The research covers the period between 1938 and 1952, from the inauguration of the institution and the beginning of Hoehne's management to the year of his retirement. The opening of the place was very expected and required by intellectuals during the beginning of the 20th century, when the botanical garden, the zoo and other institutions were considered responsible for sparking the scientific curiosity in the population. The intended progress

would happen not only through the expansion of the public instruction, but also through the increase of certain services and places for leisure and education. Since the first years in operation, the Botanical Garden had already been considered by its creator suitable for its role in the education and instruction of the population, because it was well installed and near other similar establishments. The education principles covered the choice of the cultivated plant species, the proposed activities and the communication with the public. Some initiatives were implemented with the objective of awakening the interest of the public for the national flora, including the elaboration of a printed guide for visitors; the opening of the Botanical Museum “Dr. João Barbosa Rodrigues” and the creation of events like “Arbor Day”. The research used on primary sources the institutional reports of the botanical garden and Hoehne’s publications. The botanical practices, the scientific everyday and the scientists themselves were considered in their relationship with political, economic and social interests. Hoehne was a very important figure in São Paulo state and his actions were connected to a network which supported the developed activities. The documental analysis indicates that, for the director of the institution, the instruction and the knowledge of Botany were connected to the concern with the protection of the nature and love of country. The teaching of biological sciences, additionally, could not occur in any way; it should be recreational, useful and attractive.

10.13 PANEL NATURE AND TEXTBOOKS (2)

Chair: Gabriela Ossenbach Sauter (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

Los discursos sobre la muerte en los libros de lectura escolar en Argentina a principios del siglo XX (Español)

Betina Aguiar da Costa (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

A través de los libros de lectura utilizados en las escuelas argentinas a principios del siglo XX - mientras el sistema educativo nacional estaba en expansión-, se difundieron diversos discursos sobre la muerte que, articulados con una serie de representaciones en torno la temática mortuoria, configuraron una educación sentimental frente a esta.

Entre los discursos que circularon a través de los textos escolares podemos destacar, por su presencia y diálogo con aquel presente histórico: el discurso médico-higienista, con el objetivo de introducir en la sociedad -no sin resistencias- la cultura de la higiene; por ejemplo, difundiendo pautas de prevención y lucha contra las enfermedades y vicios; el discurso del sacrificio patriótico, que se vio profundamente trastocado a partir de la Gran Guerra, entre otros acontecimientos; y el discurso de la muerte desplazada, en relación no sólo al deseo y el empeño de aquella sociedad por desplazar la muerte hacia delante en la trayectoria vital - estaba naciendo la “utopía de la vida larga”, como la llamó José Pedro Barrán-, sino además por el desplazamiento de la muerte de los espacios que ocupaba -en las casas y en la comunidad-, incluyendo rupturas en la relación de familiaridad y cotidianeidad que se tenía con ella (el alejamiento de los niños de la habitación del moribundo o la muerte hospitalizada, son algunos de los fenómenos que comienzan a aparecer en el período).

En esta oportunidad, la conferencia nos convoca a pensar teóricamente alrededor de los conceptos de Educación y Naturaleza. En diálogo con ellos, este trabajo pretende aportar algunas reflexiones sobre el estudio histórico de la formación de la sensibilidad en la escuela, los modos en que se representaba la vida afectiva, las emociones y los sentimientos, y

también reconstruir una parte de su devenir histórico. Entendiendo que las formas de sentir, con sus manifestaciones individuales y colectivas, no son simples reacciones automáticas ni naturales de los sujetos, universales y pre-sociales, que responden a un estado interno, definido comúnmente en oposición a la razón. Las formas de sentir y su expresión son una cuestión social, cultural y colectiva. La cultura crea y recrea la vida afectiva de los sujetos, legitimando reglas de expresión del sentir, imponiendo convenciones, normas y hábitos que indican qué emoción puede ser mostrada y cuál no, a quién y en qué momentos. Todo esto se enseña y se aprende, se transmite de generación en generación, también en la escuela.

En esta presentación quisiera profundizar en la producción de sentidos difundidos por algunos de los discursos en torno a la muerte que atravesaron los libros de lectura, así como destacar cambios notorios en ellos a lo largo de las primeras décadas del siglo XX -en diálogo con los problemas y acontecimientos de la época-. Visibilizando cómo participaron en la modulación de una sensibilidad ante la muerte, estando dirigidos principalmente a los niños y niñas, desde muy temprana edad, pero también en sus familias.

Nature as a Semiotic Text on Reading Lessons in the State of Espírito Santo, Brazil (1940 to 1960) (English)

Fernanda Zanetti Becalli (Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Espírito Santo), Cleonara Maria Schwartz (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo)

The study addresses the history of reading lessons in the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil, from 1946 to 1960, analyzing the teaching models that circulated in the state mentioned, through schools primers that have been prescribed and/or used in elementary schools, during the validity period of the Primary School Organic Law (Decree law n. 8529/1946), and investigating the nature illustrations senses, materialized in the primers, in relation to the texts written for reading lessons. It uses as main sources the primers and federal legislation related to the organization of primary education. Theoretically and methodologically, the work is based on the Cultural History principles, specially, on Roger Charter's reflections (1996). The analysis of documents indicated, in that period, despite, that the primers demonstrate apparent differences on how to work with reading lessons and that the comparative analysis enabled to infer that the reading teaching-learning conception, based on behavioral psychology (Barbosa, 1994), assured permanencies and guaranteed that this lesson could prioritize reading as a decoding process, which the reader learned signification through linguistic codes, and, this way, understood the meaning of the text read in a way that in order to secure the effectiveness of reading, a good decoding was enough. In general, the global method proposed that the starting point for reading lessons was with bigger units of language, so they could sequentially be decomposed in smaller units; however, as we could analyze in the primers, the reading lessons model depended on what was considered as bigger units of language. Some authors, such as, Yolanda Betim Paes Leme de Kruehl (Modern Booklet), understood that bigger unit was the word itself; others, like Benedicta Stahl Sodr  (Sodr  Booklet) and Rafael Grisi (Lalau, Lili and the Wolf), saw the bigger unit as the sentence and, this way, used the method of sentence that initiates the reading lessons with whole sentences so they could later on be divided into word, syllables and finally, analyze the phonetic values of the letters. There were even those who believed that bigger unit of language was the anecdotes (short stories). From such comprehension, Anita Fonseca (Lili's Book) and Ariosto Espinheiro (Brazilian Childhood) used the anecdote method, which starts

with the reading of stories and ends with the sequence previously described. Besides that, those different primers that circulated among classrooms in Espírito Santo, in the period from 1946 to 1960, used nature elements, for instance, landscapes, animals and fruits as semiotic texts (Greimás, 1981) for teaching the written language, because they considered the images as elements necessary for the cognitive development of the students. Thus, primers, when favoring the students exposition to linguistic units fragments, they prioritize the reading conception as a decoding act of smaller units of language for the understanding of meanings that composed the purpose of sentences and texts. Moreover, by presenting nature elements, they intended to link the natural world to the process of reading teaching learning, searching for an approach with the social, cultural and school context related to that historical moment.

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The nature of textbooks? (English)

Lina Maria Spjut (Örebro University)

Related sub-theme(s): The nature(s) of the human being in educational contexts and practices

The nature of textbooks?

The aim with this paper is to discuss the nature of textbook in relation to some of my findings in my newly finished dissertation.

In my thesis I have studied how different imagined communities (B. Anderson 2006) are presented and offered to pupils in Sweden and Finland 1866-2016. To be able to grasp different imagined communities I have studied and compared elementary school textbooks texts both implicit, through text-analysis (N. Fairclough 1992, 2010, 2011) and explicit, through typologies of use of history (K-G. Karlsson 2009, Ulf Zander 2001). The study is comparative (M. Lange 2013) and the textbook results are compared over time and between contexts.

The relationship between Sweden and Finland is quite unique in a comparative perspective. Sweden and Finland are neighbouring countries but has also been one Kingdom from about 1250 to 1809 which has resulted in a 650-year-long common history and Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking groups in both countries, still today.

In Finland the Swedish language is also, alongside with Finnish, an official language, and textbooks for schools in Finland are written in both Finnish and Swedish. In this study Swedish-written textbooks from Finland is compared with Swedish textbooks from Sweden, which gives the study an asymmetric design of a majority and minority perspective.

Results show that the social situation for ethnicities matters when national history is described in textbooks from Finland. Perspectives on history varies between an existential and a national-ideological use of history, but has also democratic influences after 1950s. There are also three larger periods of changes in use of history over time: during the

emancipation of Finland, the second world war, and in the 1960-70s change in the mandatory school system in the two countries. Continuously over time textbooks from Finland argue their existential right as Swedish-speakers to live in Finland and an ethnical imagined community within the national community are offered to pupils. (L. Spjut 2018).

Textbooks from Sweden does not make any difference between nationality and ethnicity. A narrative of nationalism is visible throughout the 150 years of textbooks. Early textbooks are very nationalistic, it fades after WWII, but there are still a banal nationalism (M. Billig 1995) visible. Up to the 1960s minority groups in Sweden where invisible and neglected in Swedish textbooks. After the 1960s a narrative of immigrants and refugees enters Swedish textbooks and Sweden is described as an immigration country. An national imagined community are offered to pupils in Swedish textbooks. (L. Spjut 2018).

Textbooks both have had, and still has a role in creating and educating pupils into national and ethnical communities. Even though ethnical and nationalistic narratives are more implicit today, they are still visible in present textbooks (L. Spjut 2018). It seems to be that nature of elementary school textbooks are to strengthen and fortify excluding forms of imagined communities, while excluding 'the Other'. Nationalism are still an issue in textbooks today, more implicit than earlier, but still there. Shouldn't textbooks aim to be more universal and more including? Is nation and nationalism really the future nature of textbooks?

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Conocimientos históricos, educación moral y cívica en la escuela primaria: la difusión de concepciones republicanas por la Serie Puiggari-Barreto (Español)

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Entre los años finales del siglo XIX y las primeras décadas del XX el Brasil pasó por un gradual proceso de institucionalización de la escuela como lugar ideal para la educación social. Lleno de tensiones y contradicciones, el referido proceso trajo un conjunto de discursos que defendían la ampliación de la educación escolar como base imprescindible para la transformación de la realidad nacional. Dentro de los proyectos implementados por el régimen republicano, los debates relativos a los modelos de modernización dominaron las pautas políticas. A ejemplo de otras naciones latinoamericanas, en la búsqueda de la mejor inserción del país en el ámbito del mundo civilizado, incontables sujetos pensaron un sistema de educación redentor, capaz de liberar al pueblo de un llamado atraso. Para alcanzar tal objetivo, se estableció una perspectiva estética común para garantizar la cohesión de un nuevo orden social, basado en la unificación de las prácticas, de las afinidades y de los sentimientos. En esta investigación analizamos libros de lectura destinados a la educación primaria adoptados en escuelas de la ciudad de Campinas en las dos primeras décadas del siglo XX. Más específicamente, abordamos la serie escrita por los profesores Romão Puiggari y Arnaldo de Oliveira Barreto, compuesta por cuatro volúmenes y editada por la Librería Francisco Alves. A partir de los escasos recursos tipográficos de la época, sus páginas en blanco y negro presentaban la acción de personajes en textos simplificados, generalmente compuestos con sentido humorístico, lo que significaba un cambio en relación al patrón anterior de libros de lectura. Las obras en cuestión estaban marcadas aún por lecciones de tolerancia, respeto, afecto y buenas maneras. Dichas características no representaban una visión innovadora, pues tenían relación con los proyectos educativos de la época. Si por un lado buscaban promover tanto el desarrollo de habilidades básicas de lectura y escritura, como el aprendizaje de aritmética, de las ciencias naturales y sociales, cabe destacar que entre los contenidos seleccionados la preocupación por la educación moral, patriótica y cívica de los estudiantes era recurrente. Estimulados por las perspectivas nacionalistas y las concepciones de la modernidad, los autores trataron de difundir conocimientos históricos y prácticas de memoria que evidenciaban la permanente valorización de hechos, personajes y visiones del pasado, los cuales estaban relacionados a los proyectos socioculturales vigentes. Al analizar estos libros de lectura tenemos la intención de problematizar las relaciones establecidas entre conocimientos históricos, educación y proyectos socioculturales de la modernidad. Dialogamos con referencias de la historia cultural y de la enseñanza de la historia para abordar esta fuente en el campo de la educación. Los libros didácticos son productos culturales paradigmáticos para las sociedades modernas, caracterizándose como vehículos portadores de valores y de conocimientos a ser enseñados. Las reflexiones referentes a las producciones culturales destinadas a los públicos escolares, en la relación con otros productos que circulaban en diferentes espacios de sociabilidad, traen a superficie aspectos de la vida de los sujetos históricos y de sus prácticas culturales, frente al proceso de constitución de nuevas sensibilidades.

10.14 PANEL NATURE, RURAL SCHOOLS AND RURAL EDUCATION (2)

Chair: Susanne Sieker (University of Koblenz-Landau)

Paisajes escolares en el medio rural. Herencias e intervenciones pedagógicas sobre el entorno productivo (Español)

Maria Silvia Serra (Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Educación), Margarita Trlin (Universidad Nacional del Litoral)

El presente trabajo es resultado parcial de una investigación que se lleva adelante en las Escuelas de la Familia Agrícola (EFAs) del Taragüí, un grupo de 15 escuelas rurales de gestión social de la provincia de Corrientes, que busca recoger y sistematizar las lógicas de apropiación del espacio y del territorio, combinando la tradición de las EFAs con innovaciones educativas y gestas emancipatorias. El movimiento de las EFA, nacido en Francia hace 80 años, ingresa a la Argentina como una respuesta a las demandas de la educación rural. Este grupo de escuelas correntinas recoge sus principios, pero los resignifica a partir de la cosmovisión de los movimientos cristianos comprometidos con la realidad social latinoamericana de amplio desarrollo en la década del '60 y la pedagogía freireana, constituyendo una experiencia inédita por sus características específicas y su amplio alcance. Son escuelas secundarias agro-técnicas, que trabajan con modalidad de alternancia, y se encuentran desplegadas a lo largo de la provincia de Corrientes en zonas que pertenecen a diferentes bio-climas.

Desde la historia de la EFAS correntinas es posible desplegar interrogantes específicos acerca de la relación entre educación y naturaleza. El concepto de paisaje nos permite una lectura transversal de esta relación, en tanto tejido conectivo de un territorio, que refleja las conexiones culturales, estéticas, productivas, sociales producidas. Esto nos permite afirmar que operar con el paisaje, como señala Manuel Gausa (2010), induce a crear otro tipo de naturaleza al transformar, activar, detonar sus posibilidades, alterarlas o potenciarlas, desafiando las tendencias fijadas para el lugar y, en cambio, proponiendo vínculos y cruces inexplorados o inéditos.

¿Cómo se configuró el diálogo con el entorno en esta particular configuración de la educación rural? ¿Qué relaciones pueden establecerse entre los modos de entender la intervención pedagógica en los sujetos de la educación rural y la intervención escolar sobre el medio, el paisaje, el entorno natural? ¿Qué herencias del modelo de EFAs de la tradición francesa es posible reconocer, tanto en la forma escolar como en el diálogo entre educación y medio productivo, y qué innovaciones se hicieron, en la Argentina, sobre ese modelo? ¿Qué tipo de paisaje escolar produjo?

El trabajo se propone comprender el proceso de articulación entre educación y naturaleza en las Efas correntinas desde una perspectiva histórica, señalando especialmente las herencias y los sentidos y prácticas que alteraron formas establecidas, lo que resultó en una forma escolar específica que extiende y propaga la escuela al territorio en una trama indisociable.

La realidad geográfica se compone de fuerzas que marcan la evolución, transformación y estructuración de los paisajes. El territorio correntino, en tanto urdimbre que traza y condiciona prácticas y sentidos, define el tejido de una propuesta educativa que no resulta pensable sino desde el paisaje del que forma parte y a su vez contribuye a definir. Este trabajo procura señalar de qué manera las EFAs han logrado constituir una alternativa pensada desde

la singularidad de un territorio casi fluvial, y en una relación ambigua entre tradición y cambio.

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Open Windows: “Tree Planting” in Farroupilha School, Porto Alegre/Brasil (1978-1990) (English)

Tatiane de Freitas Ermel (Universidade Regional Integrada do Alto Uruguai e das Missões), Alice Rigoni Jacques (Colégio Farroupilha)

Farroupilha School, located in the city of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, was established 131 years ago by the German Beneficent Association (ABE), an entity created to assist German immigrants and their descendants who were arriving at the south region of Brazil. With the intention of providing children with knowledge and experiences concerning the nature and the world, the school sponsor acquired, in the year of 1928, Três Figueiras farm, a place situated outside the urban perimeter which, for many years, served as a place for walking, picnic and tree seedling planting, until it became the new school headquarters, in 1962. Some years passed until, in 1978, another property was purchased, the Campestre Headquarters, with an area of 95 hectares, which was used for meetings integrating students, teachers, employees and former students; for community parties; and for environment preservation initiatives. In this place, they also worked on the Farroupilha Private Reserve of Natural Heritage (RPPN), an area of perpetual natural preservation, which covered about 10% of the headquarters' territory. Considering this natural space, this investigation analyzes the two first decades of development of the project “Tree Plantation”, annually executed by 1st grade elementary school students and teachers at Farroupilha School, since 1978, problematizing Nature as a means and an object of education. The research methodology consists of documentary analysis of the institution's Memorial archives, examination of projects and of national and state education legislation, as well as of articles concerning education and nature from Revista do Ensino, an official magazine published by the government of the State of Rio Grande do Sul in this period. The act of planting seedling trees at the time aimed at handling a great concern of the government and, more specifically, of educational authorities who wanted to raise children's awareness of the need of environment preservation; this concern was addressed in 1979, with the implementation of “Project Nature”, instituted by the State

Government through the State of Education and Culture Department, focusing on primary and secondary education. The purchase of Três Figueiras farm in 1928 and, later, the acquisition of Campestre Headquarters complied with the first official educational programs for state public schools elaborated in the end of the 1930s, which aimed at providing children with knowledge and experiences related to nature and the universe of natural phenomena; creating habits of observation, comparison and appreciation, in a direct contact with nature; stimulating the desire for new clarifications and organization of ideas; developing reflective individuals that not only sought to explain practical problems, but also wanted to establish relations for “perceiving” and “feeling” the existing order in nature, the interdependence of beings, and to find, in all this perfection, the revelation of a supreme intelligence (Revista do Ensino, 1940). We found that the project involved the beginning and the end of school life, and that 1st grade elementary school students used to get involved in activities such as drawings, collages, and paintings, also projecting their desires for the future through textual productions. The families also wrote letters to the students, expressing their plans and dreams for the future of the children; all these registers were deposited in a memory trunk, which was delivered to students in the 3rd year of high school, when they returned to the Campestre Headquarters for the Harvest Day.

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Agricultural education and knowledge in the XIXth century Sicily. The Institute of Castelnuovo (English)

Caterina Sindoni (Università degli Studi di Messina)

At least from the beginning of the XXth century, vocational-technical training and, more specifically, training in agriculture were not met with a great deal of attention on the part of Sicilian local administrators and central government. This went against the undeniable and compelling need of revitalizing Sicilian economy, which was far from any kind of technical innovation, tied to a low-income agriculture and characterized by the exploitation of starving poor farmers, labourers and children. Besides this situation, extensively highlighted by a large literary corpus, the XIXth century Sicily did not lack smart or visionary proposals that, already at the beginning of the century, were aimed at enhancing the land's potential wealth and at promoting a modern development of natural and primary resources, as well as at encouraging the rise of a more up-to-date awareness in farmers through the institution of dedicated schools. By means of analyzing unpublished documentary sources, this work aims at providing an overview of such proposals. Furthermore, the analysis will draw attention to the didactic curriculum and will cover the main steps in the journey of the institution of the first vocational college for agriculture on the island, inaugurated in 1847 by Ruggero Settimo, which had already been founded by Prince of Castelnuovo Carlo Cottone (1756-1829) in Piana dei Colli in Palermo as a mere "agricultural seminar" in favour of the "children of the farmers".

Jewish Religious Education and Nature (English)

Moshe Rappaport (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

This paper shall discuss the creation of a Jewish-religious farming school for the youth in British-mandate Palestine. The idea to create a school that will combine Jewish religious education and nature for young Jewish students, stimulated by the late 1920s in a small farm close to the town of Fulda, Germany. The pioneering attempt to form such a school, was made by three eminent mentors: David Intreligator, Rudolph Hertz and Moshe Unna. It should be mentioned that in spite the of the modernization and enlightenment processes that Jews in Europe have been through; nevertheless, many of the Jewish pupils were still educated in the "old" traditional schools (in those Schools pupils were taught only religious studies). Therefore, the idea to combine religious studies, along with agriculture and farming in a rural site, was quite innovative. Yet, unlike similar initiatives, that idea didn't provoke conflicts with the Rabbinical leadership. By the beginning of the third German Reich, the growing antisemitism attacks and the fear of possible consequences, the pupils with their teachers decided to leave Germany. The fact that the pupils were trained in agriculture allowed them to obtain official license from the British authorities to settle in Palestine. In the year 1934 the students and the school's staff left Germany and arrived to Palestine, and settled in a small village located in a remoted countryside, in northern Palestine: "Kfar Hassidim". In Kfar Hassidim, the motive of nature both as the main purpose and as a pedagogic tool - become stronger. Most of the daily studies and activities took place in the nature and in rural surroundings. Their weekly timetable and their daily curriculum contained intensive rural activities and studies outside the classrooms. Furthermore, the teachers used even nature to teach sacral studies, in order to demonstrate and explain the lessons for the pupils. The main idea was not limited to train pupils with farming and agriculture, it rater

reflected a primary goal: using nature as an essential pedagogic tool to educate students. Hitherto, the usage of nature in a Jewish religious school for religious pupils – was unique innovative if not revolutionary in that time. In my paper I will demonstrate how nature become a central aim in that school, and how nature become a medium and subject of education.

10.15 PANEL NATURE, KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGIES

Chair: Harry Smaller (York University)

Transforming power of Education on Nature: A Study of socio-cultural practices in Nigeria from pre-colonial period up to date (English)

Grace Oluremilekun Akanbi (Emmanuel Alayande College of Education), Alice Arinlade Jekayinfa (University of Ilorin)

Human beings are believed to have the capacity for adapting to the natural environment. This is in line with Ali's (1921) observation that though man is endowed with two higher qualities of knowledge and will; he still shares with the other animals, external and internal senses. Knowledge gives man the power to generalize, conceive abstract ideas and possess intellectual truths. His will propels in him strong desire for acquisition of objects which are pronounced by reason to be good after considering the consequences; and which may culminate into cultural practices. In fact, one can say conveniently that the skill of survival is inbuilt in all humans and they hardly have any environment in which they cannot survive through adaptation and adoption. This skill, however, is not static as it adjusts to changes and developments around the world; such is the case of socio-cultural practices in Nigeria that have been revolutionized by education and technology from pre-colonial era till date. Writing, messaging, campaigning during politics, lightening the home environment, packing and moving of goods, hair health, among others, all have been influenced by education and technology as the world is now a global village. Although, according to Kobiowu (2012: 21), "people are reluctant to give up, or relinquish old traditions, values and customs in favour of new ones", it would be interesting to note that as people are being educated and exposed to new technologies, the nature of these socio-cultural practices was consciously adjusting to the dictates of education and technology. This is in conformity with some of the nature of education as spelt out by Parankimalil (2012) as a life-long process; development of individual and the society; modification of behaviour; continuous reconstruction of our experiences; helping individual adjustment; among others. This study is historical, thus historical research methods will be adopted. Pictures of relics of some objects of socio-cultural practices in the pre-colonial, through colonial to the present time will be presented to showcase their transformation. In the conceptual framework of transformative education for global development, coupled with the facts that nature is becoming dynamic and giving room for global best practices, this paper will focus its discussion on brief definition of education, nature, nature of education and nature of man. It will then present the relics in stages in pictorial form; to be followed by discussion on their transformation, with emphasis on proper utilization of nature to improve our socio-cultural practices. The paper will go further to encourage the stakeholders in education to propagate the utilisation of nature in the education enterprise.

Key words: Education, Nature, Nature of Education, Nature of man, Transformation, Pre-colonial, Colonial, Socio-cultural practices

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Development of forestry professional education in Hungary (English)

Zsuzsanna Mária Takács (University of Pécs)

In our presentation we are going to examine the 19th appearance of forestry professional education in Hungary focusing on the engineer training created in the beginning and the creation of lower forestry vocational schools.

The Hungarian forestry professional education started in 1807 in Selmecbánya, in a town now in the area of Slovakia (Banská Štiavnica), with founding the Forestry Educational Institution, which was connected to the famous Mining Academy of Selmecbánya from 1846, this was founded by the German-Roman Emperor Charles the 6th in 1762. However, only the advanced engineer training of the forestry professional education was provided by this, the need for primary vocational schools, the training of forestry professional staff emerged as an important question among forest engineers only in the second half of the 19th century.

An integral part of the historical development of the Hungarian professional education is the institutionalization of the Hungarian primary - and then secondary forestry education, in the creation of which the authors of the articles published through two decades, between 1862 and 1883 in the Forestry Journal founded in 1862 had imprescriptible merits, these authors exposed their thoughts using the awareness raising and influencing power of the press. The journal, as the journal of the Ungarischer Forstverein founded in 1851 and then the successor National Forestry Association (1866), provided the possibility for experts speaking in favour of the development of forestry professional education, and as its result they stated that an independent state primary forester school is needed to be set up. In the autumn of 1883 the Forest Guard Vocational School of Királyhalom opened its gates, near Szeged, and this was the first state primary forest guard vocational school in the country and was followed by three other institutions in the following years in Temesvár-Vadászerdő (Timisoara), in Liptóújfár (Liptovský Hrádok) and in Görgényszentimre (Gurghiu).

During historical researches we can receive extra information related to the given era by examining different press products. We are going to analyse the primary sources used during

our research, the writings appeared in the Forestry Journal in connection with the lobbying activity for the sake of their own professional education, as well as article series introducing foreign educational institutions, which were set as examples for the Hungarian experts dealing with forestry education. In this 20-year period 7.6% of the articles published dealt with forestry education, and in it 0.84% was the number of reports on foreign educational institutions. This rate was not too big but in case of a journal dealing mainly with practical questions of forestry and widening the scientific knowledge of forest engineers can be considered significant. Regarding the issues appeared in the first two decades of the journal and the topics of their articles in them the writings connected to education represent a significant rate and in this context we intend to present the process which led to create this type of school at the end of the 19th century in Hungary.

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Nature, Technologie et Ecologie dans le magistère de l'Église Catholique (Français) **Agueda Bernardete Bittencourt (Universidade Estadual de Campinas), Guilherme Ramalho Arduini (Instituto Federal de Educação de São Paulo)**

Cet étude analyse deux thèmes présents dans les discours catholiques officiels depuis la moitié du XX^{ème} siècle jusqu'à nos jours : technologie (spécialement technologie des communications), nature et écologie. Le but consiste à identifier et comprendre les paradigmes qui soutiennent les argumentations des différents pontifes et examiner la reconversion des discours dans des pratiques structurelles distinctes dans les deux cas sélectionnés. On prend ici comme paramètre d'étude les Encycliques *Miranda Prorsus* (1957), du pape Pio XII, *Inter Mirifica* (1963) et *Communio et Progressio* (1971), du Concile Vatican II, et *Laudato Si* (2015), de François, bien comme d'autres types de documents de la Sainte Sièges, notamment les instructions pastorales *Aetatis Novae* (1992), et *Église et internet* (2002). Ces documents font partie d'une lignée de pensée dont les racines plus profondes se localisent dans les transformations de la Renaissance, quand les grandes navigations et les découvertes géographiques qui en découlent remplissent de chair et d'os un ancien concept théologique de la communion universelle des hommes. Cependant, l'émergence du discours actuel résulte d'un essai d'adaptation à l'intensification des réseaux globaux d'échange d'information, décrit par des spécialistes comme « la société de communication ». Issu d'une vision optimiste des possibilités ouvertes par les nouveaux TICs, dont l'Église voit les outils nécessaires pour réaliser le plan divin de l'évangélisation à tous les coins du globe.

Dans l'État moderne la responsable par l'éducation et la formation du citoyen est l'école, institution créée pour cette finalité. Néanmoins, la concurrence entre elle et l'Église pour assurer la formation éthique et morale se maintient et s'intensifie en périodes historiques de crise. De cette façon, comprendre l'éducation contemporaine implique mettre en relation les différents agents en jeu dedans l'espace éducatif. Par ce raison, nous reprenons une partie des conclusions présentés par l'équipe de chercheurs liés au Projet : Congrégation Catholique, Éducation et État National au Brésil, qui a analysé le mouvement migratoire qui a persisté par huit décennies et il a installé au Brésil une structure capable de permettre la mise

en action de l'institution religieuse dans des espaces sociaux propres à l'État National Républicain, spécialement dans le champ de la scolarisation, l'assistance sociale et la santé. Les professionnels de la religion liés aux congrégations et aux ordres somment un contingent de plus de 40 mil membres (ANUÁRIO CATÓLICO, 2015). Vérifier comme le réseau installé pour faire la scolarisation, l'assistance et l'évangélisation sera ou non reconverti dans un ensemble d'entreprises de communication (radio, télévision, cinéma) capables de faire circuler un projet d'action dans le champ de l'école peut nous permettre comprendre la permanence de l'Église dans ses espaces de pouvoir modifiés.

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Cet étude analyse deux thèmes présents dans les discours catholiques officiels depuis la moitié du XX^{ème} siècle jusqu'à nos jours : technologie (spécialement technologie des communications), nature et écologie. Le but consiste à identifier et comprendre les paradigmes qui soutiennent les argumentations des différents pontifes et examiner la reconversion des discours dans des pratiques structurelles distinctes dans les deux cas sélectionnés. On prend ici comme paramètre d'étude les Encycliques *Miranda Prorsus* (1957), du pape Pio XII, *Inter Mirifica* (1963) et *Communio et Progressio* (1971), du Concile Vatican II, et *Laudato Si* (2015), de François, bien comme d'autres types de documents de la Sainte Sièg, notamment les instructions pastorales *Aetatis Novae* (1992), et *Église et internet* (2002). Ces documents font partie d'une lignée de pensée dont les racines plus profondes se localisent dans les transformations de la Renaissance, quand les grandes navigations et les découvertes géographiques qui en découlent remplissent de chair et d'os un ancien concept théologique de la communion universelle des hommes. Cependant, l'émergence du discours actuel résulte d'un essai d'adaptation à l'intensification des réseaux globaux d'échange d'information, décrit par des spécialistes comme « la société de communication ». Issu d'une vision optimiste des possibilités ouvertes par les nouveaux TICs, dont l'Église voit les outils nécessaires pour réaliser le plan divin de l'évangélisation à tous les coins du globe.

Dans l'État moderne la responsable par l'éducation et la formation du citoyen est l'école, institution créée pour cette finalité. Néanmoins, la concurrence entre elle et l'Église pour assurer la formation éthique et morale se maintient et s'intensifie en périodes historiques de crise. De cette façon, comprendre l'éducation contemporaine implique mettre en relation les différents agents en jeu dedans l'espace éducationnel. Par ce raison, nous reprenons une partie des conclusions présentés par l'équipe de chercheurs liés au Projet : Congrégation Catholique, Éducation et État National au Brésil, qui a analysé le mouvement migratoire qui a persisté par huit décennies et il a installé au Brésil une structure capable de permettre la mise en action de l'institution religieuse dans des espaces sociaux propres à l'État National Républicain, spécialement dans le champ de la scolarisation, l'assistance sociale et la santé. Les professionnels de la religion liés aux congrégations et aux ordres somment un contingent de plus de 40 mil membres (ANUÁRIO CATÓLICO, 2015). Vérifier comme le réseau installé pour faire la scolarisation, l'assistance et l'évangélisation sera ou non reconverti dans un ensemble d'entreprises de communication (radio, télévision, cinéma) capables de faire circuler un projet d'action dans le champ de l'école peut nous permettre comprendre la permanence de l'Église dans ses espaces de pouvoir modifiés.

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The role of nature in aviation education as illustrated by the case of Polish Second Republic (1918-1939) (English)

Magdalena Rzepka (University of Warsaw)

The aim of the proposed paper is to present the role that nature played in the field of aviation education as conducted in Poland in the interwar period. By aviation education the author understands a process that includes actions aimed at education and training of plane pilots, glider pilots and balloon pilots as well as popularising activities of educational character addressed to the general public including children and youth.

This process was not limited to the mere transfer of knowledge and professional training. Apart from that it was also heavily focusing on shaping certain attitudes and promoting values. Due to high popularity of aviation in the interwar Europe such approach was not only Polish phenomenon. Nevertheless, the author intends to focus solely on Polish aviation education as it is especially interesting, considering that Polish aviation itself was practically created from the scratch during that period.

In the Polish Second Republic educational activities in the field of aviation were being undertaken by the state: within the framework of educational system and other, specialised government administration domains (transport, military), social organisations as well as cultural creators.

In the paper the author will describe how the contact with nature was influencing pilots, which skills were being perfected and which attitudes were being shaped by way of facing, often severe, weather conditions up in the air, and how it necessitated the acquisition of specific knowledge.

The author will also discuss how the relations between pilots and nature (especially various situations of struggling with the element of air) were portrayed in aviation press intended for the youth namely magazines "Młody Lotnik" („Young Airman”) (1924-1930) and "Skrzydłata Polska" („Winged Poland”) (1930-1939) as well as in the memoirs of long-distance, record-breaking flights, which were popular at the time among the young readers. An analysis of the values emerging from the contents of these books and selected press articles should contribute to painting the broader picture of the role of nature in aviation education.

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10.16 PANEL NATURE AND THE BODY

Chair: Marc Depaepe (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Education of the body, bodily practices and nature: representations in the 1920s São Paulo press (English)

Samuel Ribeiro dos Santos Neto (Universidade Estadual de Campinas)

This study aimed to interpret the representations about body and nature in São Paulo city during the 1920s, specifically analyzing outdoor bodily practices in their broadest sense (educational, health, sports and leisure practices). Aiming to comprehend our research problem, we assumed that the understanding of nature is always a historical construction (Lenoble, 1990) and that it is, as specifically discussed here, part of a modern imagery emerged in the urban society (Thomas, 1989). In Brazil, the representations of this urban nature were strongly consolidated in the first decades of the twentieth century, especially in larger cities, manifesting themselves in urban planning, sanitation and education policies, as well as in the adoption of new and diverse practices by the population, and in adherence to moral and aesthetic values related to outdoor life (Soares, 2016).

In order to understand how these changes were expressed in the São Paulo press of that period, our sources were constituted by two large circulation newspapers, *O Estado de São Paulo* and *Correio Paulistano*, in their editions from 1920 to 1929. The selection of excerpts – columns, advertisements and notes – contemplated contents that dealt with bodily practices in nature in multiple manifestations: pedagogical methods, medical prescriptions, sports activities, amusements, consumptions, etc. The press, like any source, is always shrouded in interests, never representing a neutral and faithful picture of the real facts, as is sometimes proposed (Luca, 2005). There are, on the other hand, positive peculiarities in using big newspapers to interpret historical phenomena. They enable us to access approximate accounts of everyday practices in the place and period studied and, more importantly, a framework of representations that, although not composing the totality of representations that inhabited a certain social scene, has an extensive range due to the newspapers' circulation and their diversity of sections.

Based on these possibilities from our sources, it was possible to identify a cross-sectional and positive discourse about nature and outdoor corporal, curative and educational practices. This discourse reached different themes of publication, not only school education and medicine, but also sporting practices, spontaneous amusements in parks, new aesthetic values in fashion, and even the advertising strategies of products such as automobiles or fortifying tonics. This points out that the education of the urban and modern body, more autonomous and in contact with the reinvented nature of the cities, was not restricted to the official knowledge that supported it, namely some medical-hygienic and pedagogical conceptions. On the contrary, it was carried out in a wide way through diverse appropriations, institutional or spontaneous, crossing various aspects of life and gaining space for dissemination in the newspapers. Thus, we understand that the new models of relationship between body and nature of the early twentieth century were present in the daily life of part of the population of São Paulo, either by the adhesion and reconfiguration of diverse practices, or by the access to representations about them in the press.

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Gimnasia compensatoria en el aula. La Educación Física a toda hora en la escuela (Español) **Ivan Pablo Orbuch (UBA-UNAHUR)**

Un cuadernillo elaborado por el Consejo Nacional de Educación Física llegó a las aulas argentinas en el año 1949, mientras el país era presidido por Juan Domingo Perón. Su título era Gimnasia Compensatoria en el aula.

En la imagen de la portada del mismo observamos a un alumno sentado en su pupitre haciendo ejercicios. Precisamente esa era la idea del material: introducir la Educación Física en todas las asignaturas escolares, ya que su práctica diaria no es "interfiere en lo más mínimo en la enseñanza de las otras asignaturas, pues tres minutos restados a la hora escolar nada significan y reemplazan en forma útil un tiempo mucho mayor que se pierde en las reconveniones disciplinarias, que son las que realmente perjudican el desarrollo normal de las lesiones "(Gimnasia compensatoria en el aula, 1949: 3)

Por tanto, el cuadernillo intentó ser un firme aliado de la educación corporal que tenía los alumnos argentinos, demostrando el lugar protagónico que de a poco empezaba a tener, en sintonía con los postulados oficiales de la época.

Al interior de la publicación las imágenes nos muestran un grupo de alumnos de nivel primario ejercitándose en clase en dos tradicionales y prestigiosas escuelas, El Instituto Félix Bernasconi del barrio de Parque Patricios sito en Capital Federal, y la Escuela Graduada Joaquín V. González, de la ciudad de las diagonales, dependiente de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata. La trascendencia de esas instituciones educativas sirve como legitimadoras de las prácticas que se quieren implementar. Puede esgrimirse, en la percepción de cualquier directivo que tome contacto con este folleto, que si esas notables escuelas practicaban la gimnasia compensatoria no debían caber dudas de sus altos efectos benéficos.

Un concepto que recorre las páginas del citado documento es que debe desterrarse la antinomia de lo físico con lo mental. En efecto, las argumentaciones hacían hincapié en dejar en claro las potencialidades de este tipo de gimnasia que se haría a toda hora y en todas las clases a fin de dotar a los alumnos de una mejor postura ya que "sólo el cuerpo sigue siendo la envoltura ordinaria que protege a medias el precioso don del conocimiento y la sabiduría" (Gimnasia compensatoria en el aula, 1949: 3).

Las ideas de una educación integral que contemple lo físico, lo intelectual y lo moral también pueden vislumbrarse en el presente documento del Consejo Nacional de Educación Física.

El intento de posicionamiento a la Educación Física como una asignatura prestigiosa dentro del sistema escolar, del mismo modo que el llamamiento a la participación docente se observa con claridad, del mismo modo que el intento por utilizar el mobiliario existente a fin de mejorar la educación corporal de los alumnos argentinos durante el gobierno de Juan Domingo Perón.

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Towards civilization: gymnastics and school scouting as regenerators of the second human nature (English)

Ana Clara Bortoleto Nery (São Paulo State University), Tony Honorato (Londrina State University)

The idea of education as a factor of civilization was put in check with the First World War (1914-1918). Rediscovering the educational and civilizing role of the school has become a necessary task for the transformation of human nature and society. It takes place in the educational discourses the theme of nationalism and that of the regeneration of the man contaminated with incivilities. In Brazil, nationalism served as a flag in combating illiteracy and physical exercises to combat the ills of the health of the social body. Both consubstantiated in institutions such as the National Defense League, Gymnastics Clubs and Schools. Scouting, already present in Brazil since 1910, quickly became a nationalizing school practice. Before Scouting, Gymnastics was an institutionalized activity in the Brazilian school. Scouting and Gymnastics strengthened ties in the period, especially in the 'Sampaio Doria' Reform of 1920, in São Paulo: "Students in public schools were aspiring scouts and the charge of administering the activities was generally the teachers of Gymnastics" (HONORATO, NERY, 2018, p.42). While Gymnastics was seen as a medium in which the "body would attain physical and moral graduations that would elevate man to the condition of evolution and superiority," and that for this reason rational and scientifically systematized gymnastic exercises would be a propitious means of forming an ideal type of the integral and healthy man ", (Id. *ibid.*, 37), the Scouting" had the purpose of nationalizing the great mass of foreigners who inhabited the State of São Paulo; more than nationalizing, the proposal was for the regeneration of the race "(Id., *ibid.*, 41). Thus, our goal is to analyze Gymnastics and School Scouting in Brazil as guidelines for practices of physical and moral regeneration that transform human nature. Methodology: we favor articles from pedagogical journals published between 1902 and 1930 (Revista de Ensino, Revista da Sociedade de Educação, Revista Escolar e Educação), especially those that guide School Gymnastics and Scouting activities that are directed outside the school environment to provide interaction student with the natural environments. The results demonstrate a set of Scouting practices in the Natural Environments and Outdoor Gymnastics conceived as regenerative sources of energy lost by intellectual fatigue, unhealthy buildings, low patriotism, immoralities and artificial places of teaching and urban life. The prescriptions of Scouting and Outdoor School Gymnastics evoke the distance between modern human nature and natural environments as places of learning. Carvalho (1903), in an article in the Revista de Ensino, criticizes the so-called civilized world of the early twentieth century for not educating children as "good animals" and depaupering the race by alienating the new generations from natural environments. For Soares (2016), the ideology of nature

domesticated and invented by the new urban order was present by mixing education and health, healing and fun, morality and civility. Thus, outdoor education, opportunized by Gymnastics and School Scouting, would be a new pattern of behavior to be internalized as the second nature of man as part of the civilizing process.

Keywords: Nature. School Gymnastics. School Scouting. Brazil.

Humanity against animality. Physical education and the nature of the child in German Father`s diaries from the late 18th century. (English)
Sylvia Wehren (Universität Hildesheim)

In the late 18th century and based on the European anthropological discourse, reflections on the difference between humans and animals were a central motive of the German educational debates. One of the questions was what distinguishes 'the human being' from 'the animal'. Another Question was, how the animality of human nature could be overcome?

Closely connected with the philosophical and the epistemological discussions, but partly disconnected from traditional religious ties and feudal divisions, pedagogues took part in the discussions about a modern understanding of human nature aiming at a justification of anthropocentric views.

In the discursive space of the late enlightenment especially the physiological anthropology and its reference to body and corporality new concepts of education developed.

One of the common ideas in this context was, that infants and young children with their uneducated reason and morality and their exuberant physicality were closer to animality than to humanity. The body of the young child also was an expression of animality. Its drives and passions could prevent the development of 'true' humanity. Only education, as Kant wrote in his Lectures on pedagogy (1803), could transform animality into humanity.

Traces of these arguments and this discourse can be found in the German so-called Father`s Diaries (Vätertagebücher), which were primarily opened by Pia Schmid as a source for the History of education. Initiated by a price question from Heinrich Joachim Campe as a part of the publication of his major project, the General Revision of the Entire School and Education System (1785-1792, 16 vol.), fathers with interest in scholarly debates and pedagogy in the context of late Enlightenment began to describe the development of their newborn children. These diaries can be understood as the beginning of German Empirical child research. Empiricism – especially observation and experience –, were supposed to be the base for educational thinking and acting. These diaries also have to be understood in the context of the establishment of pedagogy as a science. They are a hybrid resource between public scholarly contribution and private biographical account. Five father diaries – published between 1786-1799 – are currently known. Based on these and along the discussion of animality and humanity, this lecture takes a look at the construction of human nature and human childhood in educational discourse of the late Enlightenment. With a focus on physical education during early childhood, the issue of nature and naturalness will be examined. Besides socio-historical perspectives, the focus of the lecture lies in discourse-historical perspectives, which aimed to analyze the development of pedagogical thinking.

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11

11.1 PREFORMED PANEL FROM NATURE TO NATION — THE NATIONALIZATION OF SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS EDUCATION

Chair: Daniel Tröhler (University of Vienna)

Discussant: Daniel Tröhler (University of Vienna)

Transfer of medical knowledge into the classroom (English)

Michèle Hofmann (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

Using the example of Switzerland, this paper analysis how medical knowledge was transferred into the classroom in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the course of the hygiene movement, physicians discovered the significance of public schools as the place where the future citizens should learn the importance of health and how to keep well and fit. As of the late 19th century, medical knowledge became more and more part of the elementary school curriculum. In order not to “overburden” the children—especially in the lower grades—this knowledge was mostly integrated into existing subjects such as history, geography or mathematics, instead of creating a separate subject called “hygiene”. Hygiene knowledge was based on universal scientific findings that should know no national limits. However, in the process of curricularization, this knowledge was nationalized. One aspect that is particularly interesting in this regard is anti-alcohol education that became part of the hygiene instruction in Swiss schools around 1900 in the wake of an international temperance movement. Initially, the teetotalers wanted the children to learn about the devastating effects of alcohol (crime, illness, mortality). With this demand they found little acceptance. However, the champions of anti-alcohol education gained attention by focusing on milk and fruit and advocated the teaching of these topics in the schools from the 1920s onwards. Here, the international anti-alcohol endeavors found a specifically national manifestation. Milk and fruit lent themselves to be advertised as typically Swiss. Hence, the teetotalers received the support of the strong agricultural lobby. This cooperation proved to be very productive: Countless lesson planning ideas were published and school campaigns were initiated. What had started out as a great international social reform movement eventually turned into a national measure for promoting the economy. In addition, by focusing on milk and fruit, a belittlement or trivialization of the alcohol issue took place, which stands in sharp contrast to the initial portrayal in the context of criminality, illness, and mortality.

From the “Known” to the “Unknown” – Nationalistic “Description(s) of the Earth” as a School Subject in the Multinational Habsburg Empire (English)

Jil Winandy (University of Vienna)

When primary schooling was made compulsory in the Habsburg Empire with the educational law of 1774, curricula became increasingly scientific, extending from the initial focus on reading, writing and religion to mathematical and scientific skills. This paper addresses the

importance of geographical skills in the formation of “citizens” in the vast Austro-Hungarian Empire. By placing the focus on “Description of the Earth” (Erdbeschreibung) as a precursor of today’s “geography” as school subject, one of the main contributors to Maria-Theresia’s famous educational reform, the Silesian prelate Johann Ignaz Felbiger, described the way in which scientific knowledge transfer should occur. The discussion about “Description of the Earth” (Erdbeschreibung) – or rather “Description of the Empire” – could be coined as first of all the localization of the own nation in a wider context, building on solid foundations of the fatherland and thus legitimizing a nationalistic approach of geography. The exclusive use of two geographical maps (“Anleitung zur Erdbeschreibung, zum Gebrauch der deutschen Schulen in den k.k. Staaten” and “General-Karte von Sämtlichen K.K. nach dem Zustande im Jahr 1781. – Erste Karte zur Erlernung der Erdbeschreibung für die deutschen Schulen der Kayserl. Königl. Staaten” (both 1781)) as teaching material to be used in the Empire’s German schools provides us with historical evidence that geography education was given a particular national character and that it thus followed an agenda of nationalization, paving the students’ way from the “known” – meaning the immediate surrounding – to the “unknown” – the remote parts of the Empire – in order to facilitate the acquisition of scientific knowledge as national relevant knowledge. Thus, through the analysis of geography’s role as a school subject implemented in the Empire’s school curricula, the paper seeks to define factors that shaped identities of people living in the Habsburg heart of Europe, whose different regions were sometimes neither sharing cultural commonalities nor even connected by land.

From Mathematics to Math Education (English)

Lukas Boser (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland)

This paper focuses on how math education became highly nationalized in Switzerland in the nineteenth century. Its research questions are the following: What was taught in math education and how did this content change in the course of the nineteenth century?

At the dawn of the nineteenth century three different ways of how to do math education were discussed in Switzerland. The first way originated in a textbook by the French mathematician and philosopher Condorcet. In this textbook from 1793, Condorcet sketched a math education that was meant to teach the children pure mathematics—which is also the language of science and ultimately represents logic of nature itself. The second way was connected with the Swiss pedagogue Pestalozzi. He developed a math education that was meant to teach the students a divine order of things. Pestalozzi’s mathematics was not rooted in laws of nature, but it was a mirror of God’s laws (i.e. the god-given social order in the world). Finally, the third way of doing math education was proposed by teachers, ministers, and pedagogues who wanted to tie math education to everyday needs. Neither nature nor God were in the focus of such an education any longer but the needs and the logic of local economies. It was this third way that ultimately prevailed, and it was by following this way that people also began to focus on the needs of the nation. National economy, national industry, national history, national territory, national identity—they all became major elements of math education. In fact, within half a century math education had become highly nationalized. The “alchemy” that turns (scientific) knowledge into subject material succeeded in changing the nature of math education in favor of the nation.

11.2 PREFORMED PANEL NATURE, EDUCATION, & IDEOLOGY: THREE GERMAN CASE STUDIES

Chair: Nicole Gotling (University of Vienna)

Discussant: Ulrike Mietzner (Technical University Dortmund)

Nature normalized as “nationalism” in the German Empire: National ideologies as found in textbook historiographies (English)

Nicole Gotling (University of Vienna)

From Rousseau, Voltaire, to Carr, Kohn, and Billig, etc., philosophers and historians of nationalism and the nation have seen that humans are naturally inclined to love their home and what they know, what they live around. With the emergence of nation-states starting at the end of the 18th century (and on through the long 19th century), governments relied on the ideology of nationalism to instill in their citizens a love for the nation (or homeland) similar to their natural love for their home. One of the primary ways nation-states created nationally loyal citizens was through the implementation of national curricula.

In the long 19th century, education went from being a privileged institution to one increasingly designed for the masses. This pattern followed the Western nation-building process as nations were becoming nation-states which were trying to, more nationally than socially, unify their citizens through universal education, implementing new school laws and educational curricula which would showcase national ideologies and create citizens with training in the national values. While the implementation of the national agenda into the curriculum can be seen in many aspects of the system, the focus here is on national (geo-)historiographical evidence found within the concrete materials of history and geography textbooks used in the newly conglomerated German Empire during the 1880s. By looking into the concrete historiographical evidence, I use historical discourse analysis methods to gather evidence of what specific national ideologies were written into students' textbooks and how they learned about the historical events in relation to Germany and “others,” depending on how their histories and geographies were written. The main aim of the work is to showcase what nationalist agendas are meant to be taught to young citizens, especially in terms of specific national values and mindsets.

Five Times the Same? (Im)perfect nature in a changing society (English)

Sabine Krause (University of Koblenz-Landau)

Five children, all conceived in the very same night and born within hours apart, grow up in Germany in Weimar Republic. Their lifelines are entangled because their parent's life is connected to each other. They are friends, meet twice a week at an old wall, never to question their life and being together but to monitor the growing differences between them that society dictates. How is it possible that they all are human beings at the same age, only to live in different circumstances, and to be treated so differently? Is it possible to become a human being only by being made one?

The author Anna Gmeyner wrote the novel “Manja” in 1938 in her exile in London. In her condensed types of humans and families, she gives literary form to social, cultural, and political living and thus uses creative methods to reflect questions of making different kinds of human beings in 1920s Germany. Gmeyner's characters and her detailed observation of

human behaviour gives insights to social changes in that time; the odd friendship of the five children seems to be a “natural” thing while becoming impossible according to social norms. At the same time the author writes her novel against the backdrop of an “active”, ever-present nature that is crucial for defining human beings, for the children’s experiences and plays role in the children’s life contrasting social developments again.

The proposed second paper will scrutinise implied relations of nature and human made societal living on the one hand, and reflect on the possibilities fiction offers to make visible and underline those relations on the other.

Nature perfected as “socialism” in the GDR: Video classroom observations of an East German civics lesson (English)

May Jehle (Goethe University Frankfurt/Main)

Civics courses in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) were based on the Marxist-Leninist concept that human societies pass a process following a set pattern of objective laws of societal development. In the course of history humans became able to understand and make use of these objective laws in order to shape a society in which human nature comes into its own. According to that, students learned in East German civics courses that, as good socialists, they have the duty and volition to conscious acting in accordance with the fundamental economic law of socialism.

Against this background, the paper introduces a historic case study based on the relatively new source of historic classroom videos from the archive of the Academy of Educational Sciences of the GDR (APW). Analyzing a civics lesson from the 1980s on making use of the objective laws of societal development to realize the shaping of a socialist society the paper discusses paradoxes in teaching practice manifested in the source. Based on 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 visuality. Specifically, the paper focuses on the research program of problem-based instruction which builds the framework of the classroom video recordings in the APW. Meanwhile the program was actually intended to facilitate the Marxist-Leninist-oriented dialectical approach to teaching and learning, in this case it rather causes the manifested paradoxes in teaching practice. Therefore, the classroom video documents the limits of a problem-based instruction in teaching social development as a determined process of fulfillment of human nature.

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11.3 PREFORMED PANEL STAGING NATURE IN 20TH CENTURIES' TEACHER EDUCATION

Skeletal, Stuffed, Pinned and in Ethanol – Zoological Specimens in Swiss Teacher Education around 1900 (English)

Adrian Juen (Zurich University of Teacher Education)

Zoological specimens can be regarded as archetypal teaching aids in natural history and biology education. As didactic instruments, they transport a notion and representation of nature. At the turn of the century, teacher education in Switzerland comprised the similar subjects natural history (Naturgeschichte/Naturkunde), biology, zoology and botany. Furthermore, collection inventories of Zurich's three normal schools (teacher training middle schools) and collection catalogues of the permanent Swiss school exhibition Pestalozzianum point towards a broad use of zoological specimens in biology related instruction around 1900.

This indication raises the following questions: How can those ensembles of zoological specimens be characterized? Which species appear, which conservation techniques were used and how were the specimens accumulated? To which extent were the zoological specimens seen as a representation of nature and to which were they appreciated as teaching aids? Which kind of notion and representation of nature can be drawn from the specimens and their contemporary perception?

Additionally, the investigation considers zoological specimens not only as teaching aids but also as objects generally related to schooling and education. It might turn out that the didactical benefit of zoological specimens was limited to a superficial level, and that schools' collections were mainly status symbols. In accordance with this thesis, it appears imaginable that collections enforced a scientific claim by educational institutions and suggested an academic character. Animal representations in general mark world views, particularly because scholarship, science, intellectual supremacy and political power were strongly entwined at the time around 1900. Certainly, the display of animals could as well be an expression of a contemporary, cultural fascination of nature.

Sources:

- Collection inventories of three Zurich-based normal schools e.g. *Detailinventar der Sammlungen und Unterrichtsmittel der Botanik, Zoologie und Physik, 1905-1910* (Staatsarchiv Zürich Z 338.352).

- School reports and programmes e.g. Jahresberichte des Evangelischen Seminars Unterstrass, 1875-1925; Grob Caspar: Das Lehrerseminar des Kantons Zürich in Küssnacht. Zur Feier des 50-jährigen Jubiläums der Anstalt, 1882.

- Teachers' and students' records

- Collection catalogues of the Swiss school exhibition Pestalozzianum e. g. Katalog der Sammlungen des Pestalozzianums Zürich, 1897.

Flowers in papier mâché and embryos in wax. On the re-materialization of nature for educational purposes around 1900 (English)

Michael Markert (Zentrale Kustodie Georg-August University of Göttingen)

Material models were a central didactical tool in natural history education during the late 19th and whole 20th century. Models are mediators between an overtly complex reality of nature and abstract, man-made concepts that save the most obvious characteristic of 'real things' – their corporality. Maybe that is why in Germany alone there were dozens of producers of educational material models around 1900. Some of them had a long lasting, profound and extensive production of teaching aids with a world-wide appreciation like Ziegler in Freiburg or the still existing company Sommer in Coburg.

The historical (and contemporary) products of such firms are widely acknowledged craftworks still to be found in collections at schools and universities in Germany but also the rest of the world. While material teaching models have a stable place in educational concepts today, their oscillation between concreteness and abstraction made them a disputed genus in the realm of teaching aids for natural history around 1900.

In my presentation I will focus on their treatment in contemporary teacher manuals. How did educators think about their relation to the nature-like specimens and abstract wall charts? Were they to replace the pupils' contact with things taken from nature? Were there standards for production and reception of material models? And – as most producers had a portfolio for schools and universities as well – which (dis)continuities exist between these branches of production?

Still there is only little research on the heyday of the production and reception of material teaching aids around 1900, neither from a German, nor from a global point of view. With this in mind, the presentation is understood as a building block giving a cursory overview on the German tradition of model use and the connected style of educational thought.

Sources:

- Sources on model collections at German universities and schools around 1900 as well as the remaining objects themselves

- Historical catalogues from producers and distributors of teaching aids like Markus Sommer (Sonneberg), Osterloh (Leipzig), Schlüter (Halle), Koehler & Volckmar (Leipzig)

- Teacher manuals for 'Biologie' and 'Naturkunde' from the 1870s to the 1930s

Nature in large size format – Otto Schmeil’s wall charts for natural history education (English)

Ina Katharina Uphoff (University of Würzburg), Wiebke Degler (University of Würzburg)

Since the middle of the 19th century, teachers of natural history can resort to a growing number of images to use in their classes. While those images had the format of large books around 1870, their size increased constantly and reached a prominent peak with the images of the reform-biologist Otto Schmeil at the turn of the century. With a format of 110 x 130cm or 115 x 160cm, they ensured an often-demanded, long-distance effect and a high recognizability of details. Numerous reviewers praised their artistic excellence and powerful effect. Today the images mirror, in an outstanding way, the scientific discourse of their time and refer to the features of reformed teaching of natural history.

Schmeil demanded a “morphological-physiological or, briefly, a biological point of view” (Schmeil 1913, p. 22). This view is reflected firstly in a comprehensive textbook on natural history, which made Schmeil one of the most successful textbook authors of his time. Although black and white drawings initially illustrated the books’ texts, eventually colored images were included as well. These correspond with a comprehensive series of educational wallcharts. Schmeil started releasing those at the end of the 19th century while he was still a headmaster in Marburg. With his ‘multimedia system’ teachers could use the books which contained small reproductions of the wallcharts as well as the large sized objects themselves for mediation and staging nature in the classroom.

Under Schmeil’s aegis 22 ‘wallcharts for lessons on botany’ and 27 ‘wallcharts for lessons on zoology’ were developed. They were also part of lessons on natural history and teacher-training abroad, for example, in the Netherlands.

Sources:

- Botanical and zoological wallcharts from the 19th and 20th century (Collection of the Research center for historical visual media at Würzburg University).
- Historical catalogues from producers and distributors of teaching aids
- Teacher manuals for ‘Biologie’ and ‘Naturkunde’ from the 1870s to the 1930s

Nature on 16mm: Biological Images in German Educational Films during the 1970s and ‘80s (English)

Kerrin Klinger (BBF – Research Library for the History of Education at the DIPF)

The presentation focuses on 16mm educational films on biology in the GDR and FRG and questions the purpose of moving pictures as an educational tool. In a sense, educational films on biology display an overall image of nature (mostly as flora and fauna) with its visual codes, scientific description and cultural meaning. In school lessons, the media evoked an exceptional/arbitrary atmosphere: the lights were turned out and windows darkened, the teacher left the front of the room, the film projector rattled and radiated warmth, and the convincing voice of a male narrator left no room for doubt.

In both German states, guidelines for the usage of educational films were published. In the GDR, educational films were explicitly appreciated as particularly affect-oriented teaching materials. One hoped that abstract (and particularly ideological) teaching content would be

more easily imparted through the films' emotional impact. So, beyond the mere forwarding of specialized knowledge, educational films should be used to influence attitudes and transmit positions towards aspects of knowledge. In the FRG, in contrast, moving pictures as teaching aids were discussed in a more skeptical way. Not only timing – when and for what didactical reasons films should be screened in the lesson's course – but also the role of the film in relation to the students' "experience of reality" were considered in the orientation aids for teachers.

To illustrate the educational cinematic strategies the films, 'Die Entwicklung der Bohne' (GDR 1977) and 'Entwicklung des Schachtelhalms (Equisetum)' (FRG 1984) will be used as sources.

Sources:

- Educational films
- Teacher manuals for 'Educational Films' and 'Biology' from the 1950s to the 1970s

11.4 PREFORMED PANEL THE "NEW MAN": A SOCIO-BIOLOGICAL PROJECT OF COMMUNIST PEDAGOGY

The Soviet New Man with a Female Body (English)

Iveta Kestere (University of Latvia), Zanda Rubene (University of Latvia)

The concept of the "New Man" in the Soviet Union applied to both sexes and implied the absolute equality of men and women. In the 1920s, Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, admitted that women in the Soviet Union were still economically dependent "domestic slaves" who had to fight for their liberation. The weapon of this fight was education, because an educated woman would know how to become independent. Education for women was also considered necessary so they could do the same jobs as men. Consequently, Soviet men and women had to receive the same education: boys and girls had to study together and gender differences had to be subdued in the process of raising the New Man. In Soviet schools, everyone had to be good friends and both sexes had to grow up in identical circumstances (Krupskaya, 1927). Soviet pedagogue publications and Communist Party documents were crystal clear on the issue of gender equality. However, our interest is in the actual state of affairs, namely, how was gender equality implemented through Soviet educational practices. Which stories do Soviet textbooks, visual sources, and the pedagogical press use to promote the concept of the New Man, and what hides behind the official narrative? As far as our current studies have shown, the Soviet woman was expected to do the same things men did and, additionally, raise children and manage the household. In fact, she became the most powerful creature or, in Gradskova's words, a Soviet man with a "female body" (Gradskova, 2007).

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The Mission of the Soviet “New Man”: Conquer and Change Nature (English)

Irena Stonkuvienė (Vilnius University)

From 1922 to 1991, the Soviet Union declared a number of global missions to change the world. Plans to build communism all over the world, deconstruct fascism and colonialism, transform nature, conquer the cosmos, and create the perfect individual were widely known throughout the Soviet Union. In particular, the last objective was a necessary condition and guarantee for implementation of the other missions. In 1921, Nikolai Kol'tsov, one of the main creators of Soviet eugenics, suggested adopting a goal that could be attained without limitations and by ignoring sacrifices: “On efforts of conscious work of several generations, to create an individual of the supreme level, a powerful ruler (tsar) of nature and a creator of life” (Kol'tsov, 2012, p. 165). Although Kol'tsov's predictions did not come true and eugenics did not become the “religion of the future”, his ideas were indirectly implemented by eliminating undesired people: “anti-Soviet elements”, “enemy of the people”, “kulaks”, etc. (Bardziński, 2013). The idea of the New Man as master over nature was also not forgotten. The idea gathered momentum during Stalin's Great Plan for the Transformation of Nature and was propagated under Khrushchev (Richter, 1997; Brain, 2010). The concept of the New Man became more intense after breaking into space. Soviet cosmonauts became the most vivid examples of the New Man, proving that impossible missions can be achieved (Gerovitch, 2007).

This presentation will analyse how the ambitions of the New Man to conquer and change nature were reflected in the textbooks and pedagogical press of the time.

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Formation of the "New Teacher" in socialist Czechoslovakia (English)

Jirí Zounek (Masaryk University,), Michal Šimáne (Mendel University)

The takeover of power by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1948 was followed by new requirements for Czechoslovak society. Similarly to the USSR, the "New Man" in the spirit of socialist ideology was to be shaped in socialist Czechoslovakia. The people were to be transformed into active, loyal, and honest citizens whose professional and private lives were to be largely driven by power as dictated by state ideology (Overly, 2006). Unsurprisingly, one of the key areas for creating the New Man was education. Education was to be re-fashioned to not only develop a new intelligentsia loyal to the socialist regime, but also to create new educational staff devoted to communist ideology (Lunačarskij, 1982) – the people needed to raise and educate future generations. Teachers, therefore, were high in the hierarchy of roles created to shape the New Man – the "New Teacher".

The focus of this paper is: How did the communist regime in Czechoslovakia create New Teachers? How was communist ideology reflected in their lives? How did they deal with ideological pressure? The paper is based on archival sources and, especially, oral histories. Research respondents were teachers of primary schools in former Czechoslovakia, who were in active service during the "period of normalization".

Research data show that the Czechoslovak communist regime applied strong pressure to create the New Teacher. Ideology was imposed on teachers in significant ways during training and when teaching. New Teachers met the requirements of the regime in some ways while looking for opportunities to stay true to themselves: to be able to "see their own face in the mirror" next to the required "social face".

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Discrepancies between Ideal and Real Youth in Socialist Hungary: Images of Hooligans, Gangs, and Parties (English)

Lajos Somogyvári (University of Pannonia)

I have analysed visual images in Hungarian pedagogical journals between 1960 and 1970. My presentation will be based upon this photographic database. My main focus is to collect and study the cultural constructs of performances in Hungarian youth culture, including beat-music, long hair, parties, and gangs. The study of everyday life reveals various subcultures in the Kádár era. The media represented the early appearance of a consumer society and the effects of Western popular culture and juvenile delinquency in the late 1960s – all these elements jeopardized socialist ethics and common values (Greene, 2013; Horváth, 2009). Public opinion about the “deviances of youth” was dominated by adults, mostly specialists (psychologists, police, or teachers), which legitimated a special knowledge and discourse, not just in Hungary but also in other countries in the Eastern Bloc (Janssen, 2010; LaPierre, 2012). This discourse (verbal and visual) included the dangers of freedom, alcoholism, jazz music, lack of principles, and sexual liberty. This phenomenon, known as moral panic, came first from the US and Western Europe (Cohen, 2011). These pictures show a different experience about being young under socialism than do traditional sources used in the history of education (Rousmaniere, 2001). It is significant that a separate category of youth problems had the chance to appear (and be judged) in the 1960s in Hungary.

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11.5 SYMPOSIUM CULTIVATING CHILDREN AND YOUTH: TRANSNATIONAL EXPLORATIONS OF THE URBAN AND THE NATURAL (4/4)

Convenors: Tim Allender (University of Sydney), Inés Dussel (DIE-CINVESTAV), Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)
Discussant: Martin Lawn (University of Oxford), Kate Rousmaniere (Miami University)

Dirt and the child: a textual and visual exploration of children's physical engagement with the urban and the natural world (English)

Ian Grosvenor (University of Birmingham), Kevin Myers (University of Birmingham)

The 19th century discovery of 'Nature' coincided with the rapid growth of Western cities. In these cities child rescuers developed 'a taxonomy of space' in which geography determined

destiny (Swain and Hillel, 2010). The privatised spaces of the middle classes were contrasted with the destitution of the slums, and the 'darkness and ignorance', 'immorality and criminality' of industrial centres with the 'innocence and happiness' associated with the pastoral life of the countryside (Mayer, Lohmann and Grosvenor, 2009). This industrial / pastoral divide has been a powerful force in the British national imagination in general and in child welfare discourse in particular (Elson and Shirley, 2017). It is a discourse where the divide is characterised by the use of distinct descriptors of difference: the urban environment for children was characterised by 'dirt, disease and delinquency' and that of the rural by 'clean air, sleep- giving quiet, ready access to a diet balanced by fruit and vegetables ... and emotional enrichment' (Women's Group on Public Welfare, 1943). Yet at the same time as 'dirt' was viewed as 'destructive' and proof of urban neglect it was also accepted in the form of rural soil to be 'fertile' and central to helping sustain life (Forde, 2011). This division between 'bad' and 'good' dirt was consolidated through the visual imagery of the period and the representation of urban and rural children. Child rescuers, and later child welfare policy makers and urban activists faced with ever expanding city populations sought to interrupt the spatial trajectory of destiny. The present paper will contribute to the proposed symposium Cultivating children and youth: transnational explorations of the urban and the natural by first, exploring the emergence of the spatial taxonomy of destiny and its associated vocabulary of descriptors; secondly, it will document the visual duality of 'dirt' as a signifier of both 'risk' and of the 'pastoral'; and finally it will examine some of the ways in which activists in one city sought in the twentieth century to bridge the urban/ rural divide and bring 'nature' into the city.

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Urbanity and Nature Remixed: Corporate Photography and Apprentices' Bodies in Transit (English)

Frederik Herman (University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland), Karin Priem (University of Luxembourg)

While there is a large body of research on corporate photography, little has been written about the visualization of young workers. This paper looks at a specific set of corporate images, namely photographs of apprentices of the Luxembourg steel-manufacturing conglomerate ARBED – and analyzes how these young workers were visualized. The paper draws on a collection of approximately 2,250 glass plate negatives of ARBED's industrial cosmos, originally stored at the company's vocational school, the Institut Emile Metz and now archived at the national archive of photography and film (CNA). The ca. 60 images of young

apprentices contained in the collection put on display the apprentices' bodies and activities in various contexts and environments – in the classroom, the school yard, and the gym; in workshops and the institute's psycho physiological laboratory; at the Belgian coast, in Luxembourg's forests, and in urban spaces like London. A selected number of images was published in promotional brochures, showcasing these places, spaces, and activities and their different levels of "cultured" and "natural" properties. In addition to analyzing these published images, the paper also contrasts them with those that remained "invisible" in the archive. Thematically, the paper concentrates on (1) the various places and spaces – including cities, the natural environment, industry, and schools; (2) the diversity of learning, occupational, and recreational activities; (3) the variations in body and vestimentary "languages"; and, most importantly, (4) the question of how proximity was visually forged between urban and natural landscapes, between work and school in order to make apprentices fit for Western industrialized societies. The images and their contents testify to a constant mix and re-mix of formal and informal curriculums intended to create harmony – also by including pre-industrial spaces and open-air activities as liminal spaces for experimentation that were set apart from the profane while mitigating the risks of industrialization.

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Teaching children to “love the earth”: the cultivation of farmers or “a return to nature”? (English)

Elsie Rockwell (DIE-CINVESTAV)

Examining México’s post-revolutionary New Mexican School through the lens of transnational networks of the early twentieth century brings to the fore the paradoxes involved in teaching children to cultivate vegetable gardens or tend to farm animals. Interestingly, this educational trend was not limited to ‘rural’ schools, but rather was a tradition in progressive schools attending middle-class ‘urban’ children. Thus, Dewey (1990/1915) lamented the loss of “the close and intimate acquaintance got with nature at first hand” that came with rapid industrialization, and placed gardening at the center of his laboratory school for “city-bred” children. This link with first-hand experience was vital to a pedagogy that influenced educators worldwide and that became “ruralized” in Mexico (Bruno-Jofré & Martínez Valle, 2012). One of the slogans was to ‘teach children to love the earth’, a phrase with a long history in pedagogical discourse in both the US and Europe, at times combined with a ‘love of labor’.

I examine this trend in Mexico’s post-revolutionary federal rural education program (1920s) which incorporated agricultural practices and trained teachers in ‘modern’ farming skills to be taught to country people with a millennial knowledge of milpa cultivation (Ramírez, 1981). Archival documents and photographs from the state of Tlaxcala reveal the practices it prompted and reactions it provoked (both adverse and favorable) among teachers, parents and educators. Several ironies appear, such as the fact that the pre-revolutionary programs included ‘agricultural sciences’ as part of the urban higher primary schools attended by the elite, many of whom were children of plantation owners. When farming became part of the rural elementary school programs, locals voiced misgivings on the educational value of having children work on school plots, while the new teachers extolled the benefits of such activities (Rockwell, 1996, 2005).

The particularities of central Tlaxcala where federal rural schools were established frame these contradictions especially well. Indeed, some Nahuatl-speaking towns were classed as urban in the census, given their population density, a fact that challenges the anthropological dissociation of ‘indigenous’ and ‘urban’. Furthermore, many villagers cultivated subsistence agricultural plots and simultaneously worked as laborers in factories or domestic piecework for the region’s prosperous textile industry. This combination led to their contact with liberal and radical ideas and their active enrolment in the revolutionary movement, with demands that went well beyond the state’s intention of producing modern farmers.

In interpreting this case, I refer to two transnational themes. One is the influence of pedagogical discourses disseminated through Teachers College (notably Mabel Carney, 1912) on the Mexican educators who headed the rural educational program. The other is the parallel ‘return to nature’ program for ‘urban’ children, with its romantic slant on rural life. I highlight the similarities and contrasts between two educational perspectives headed apparently in opposite directions.

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11.6 PANEL NATURE AND CHILDHOOD (3)

Chair: Daniel Töpper (Humboldt University Berlin)

Reassessing the Interpretations of the Origins of Project 'Head Start' in the USA (English)

Maris Arved Vinovskis (University of Michigan Ann Arbor)

One of the major changes in the way in which young children were perceived and educated in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s was the development of Project Head Start during the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations. Based in large part on how psychologists, educators, and policymakers now viewed the young child as more capable of learning in preschool settings, the federal government hastily created Head Start summer programs in 1965 and enrolled more than a half million disadvantaged children. While many historians and other scholars have written about the origins and development of Head Start, they usually have been based upon useful oral histories or documents provided by a small group of advisers such as Sargent Shriver and Edward Zigler in the Johnson administration. A few historians are now beginning to reassess their contributions by using more extensive scholarly studies about early childhood development at that time as well as additional information about federal involvement. As a result, there have been major changes in how we now understand the evolving views of young children in the 1960s and 1970s as well as the politics and policies involved with the Head Start program. This paper will be of interest to policymakers and scholars who still disagree amongst themselves on the actual origins of Head Start as well as on the long-term effectiveness of the program in helping advantaged children. It will also be useful to current policymakers in the United States who are engaged in vigorous debates on early childhood education in general as well as the reauthorization of the current Head Start program. Much of the material in the paper will draw upon my earlier work on infant schools in the United States as well as the origins of the Head Start program in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. In addition, it will be supplemented by my more recent, unpublished draft of the politics and policies of the Head Start program in the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations.

Brief Bibliography of Related Head Start Histories Barbara Beatty, *Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the Present* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1995). Andrew Karch, *Early Start: Preschool Politics in the United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013). Elizabeth Rose, *The Promise of Preschool: From Head Start to Universal Pre-Kindergarten* (New York: Oxford University Press,

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The Role of the average child's Nature in educational decisions in Canada and Germany: A historical comparative analysis of assessment processes, 1950-1980. (English)

Michaela Vogt (Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg), John Allison (Nipissing University)

Decisions about the appropriate education of children with special needs in school are in many countries linked to special education assessment processes. 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. Also the educational recommendation as outcome of the process is linked to the extent of the examined gap between the nature of a child seen as normal and the characteristics of the individual case. Regardless of their importance for the educational career of the child, these procedures depend on many factors – often also shaped by cultural practices and therefore sometimes show huge differences nationally and internationally.

The main goal of the study being presented at the talk is to look at these special education assessment procedures in their local and historical surroundings by using a historic comparative approach. The qualitative study therefore analyzes archival data from two cities in Germany and two in Canada from the 1950s to the 1980s (Csapo and Goguen 1989, Ellis 2018). Relying on these sources, the main questions being asked are the following:

1. Which ideas about the normal nature of a child are contained in the documentation of the assessment processes in the different countries and how are these ideas contextually legitimated and connected with historical events?
2. Which conclusions can be drawn about the assessment processes themselves, the educational recommendations at the end of these processes and the influence of historical events by comparing the different countries?

These questions are answered based on a theoretical framework, which refers in parts to Link's (1997) theory of "normalism" (Link 1997). Under this perspective ideas of normality are present in every society such as visions of the normal nature of a child. Special Education 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). The research methods employed in the parallel investigations comprising this study include a historical-contextualizing content analysis (Vogt 2015). With this analysis the ideals of the normal nature of a child contained in the documentation about the assessment processes can be reconstructed as well as the historical, social and cultural surroundings of these ideas. Comparing the results from the different countries, the project refers to the idea of deriving a *Tertium Comparationis* (Bagchi, et al. 2014, Barton and Armstrong 2007, Hilker 1962).

With regard to the expected outcome of the study the analysis leads to certain patterns of constructing and legitimating special education assessment processes based on ideas of the normal nature of a child at a certain age as well as the recommendations when it comes to the further education of the child. If these patterns are of general relevance in the comparative study or only present in certain countries or cities will be discussed in the talk (Richardson and Powell 2011).

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The Plowden Report (1967) and the nature of the child (English)

Caixia Peng (SooChow University)

2017 was the 50th year since the publication of 'Children and their Primary Schools', better known as The Plowden Report. Plowden has been a consistent reference point since 1967 and has come to stand for a 'progressive' style of primary education. One of its assumptions is that the 'natural' child is curious, motivated to learn, and keen on discovery, so the child should best follow the paths of natural development and motivation: "Until a child is ready to take a particular step forward, it is a waste of time to teach him to take it" (p25). One of its fundamental points is that "No advances in policy, no acquisitions of new equipment have their desired effect unless they are in harmony with the nature of the child, unless they are fundamentally acceptable to him."(p7)

The end of Plowden was inextricably linked to the policies of government. On the other hand, the empirical investigations of class practice has increasingly exposed that only a small proportion of teachers surveyed could be classed as 'informal' or 'progressive' (Bennett,

1976). Similar findings were obtained in Nottinghamshire by Bassey (1978) in his survey of 900 primary school teachers. It is said that the shift towards individualization of children's work was, for the most part, complete by the mid-1970s (Kogan, 1987).

In view of these results, could we directly conclude that the assumption about the nature of the child in Plowden is too naively idealistic? We need further investigation.

Firstly, it shows that our knowledge on the nature of the child is far from enough. If we are going to be child-centred, we should actually study this 'centre'. Is the autonomy of the child progressively developed or something given, full-blown from the start? When we encourage children to be themselves, we surely take for granted a vast array of activities and forms of awareness that we think worthwhile within which we encourage children to find the ones to which they are particularly suited. Could we abandon the preset values, enter the world of children and design the activities truly derived from the nature of the child?

Secondly, if sufficient conditions and support is ready, such as the smaller class size and enough qualified teachers who can obtain specific directions about how to implement and evaluate the process of learning by discovery, then shall we find the assumption on the nature of the child in Plowden is still too romantic?

Thirdly, learn by discovery much depends on what is being learnt. The learning of skills, for instance, is very different from learning principles and developing attitudes. The traditional Whole-class teaching could be full of imagination and vitality if the teacher is good at asking questions. If we are more concerned with ensuring that the teachers own right views on children and teachers are encouraged to express these views by various methods rather than confining to the method of discovery, then shall we find the assumption on the nature of the child in Plowden is still too optimistic?

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Between nature and nurture: the diagnosing and treatment of childhood behavioral problems in a Dutch child-psychiatric clinic (1953-1961) (English)

Petronella Catharina Maria Bakker (University of Groningen), Milou Smit (University of Groningen)

As in many other western countries, in the Netherlands child psychiatry did not mature until the 1950s. This paper focuses on the diagnosing and treatment of "problem" children in the university child-psychiatric clinic of Groningen. This clinic was set up by the first Dutch

university professor of child psychiatry, Theo Hart de Ruyter. Its services were comparable to those of a child guidance clinic: diagnosis and treatment by a psychiatrist, observation and testing by a psychologist, and counseling of the parents by a social worker. Like other pioneers in child psychiatry Hart de Ruyter was strongly influenced by psychoanalysis and related theories that search for the causes of a child's emotional trouble first of all in the interaction with the environment (nurture), whereas the child's organic condition (nature) is supposed to be of only secondary importance. Using textbooks, journal articles and a sample of the clinics' dossiers from the 1950s as sources, the paper discusses the diagnosing and treatment of the three most frequently presented childhood behavioral problems (bedwetting, anxiety and school problems) from the perspective of the balance between nature and nurture as assumed causes of the trouble and starting point for treatment.

11.7 PANEL THE NATURALIZATION OF CULTURE AND SCHOOLING

Chair: Felicitas Acosta (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento)

"The natural criterion". Attainment and the grouping of children in 19th-century European elementary schools (English)

Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt University Berlin)

Processes of shaping mass modern schooling had to face numerous challenges over time. This affected not only the more material aspects of providing buildings and materials for schools. Rather, the question of managing large groups of children in a manner that observers and the public could deem as being suitable to education remained one of the major challenges for a long time (Hamilton 1989; AUTHOR 2015). In this respect, the question of classifying children in crowded elementary schools haunted educational discussions all over Europe (and beyond). In this paper, I will analyse the use of the 'natural' while discussing criteria for grouping schoolchildren. The paper presents evidence of a major shift in the construction of the 'natural' when deciding over the allocation of a child to a particular group or class. It will argue that 'naturalness' indeed remained a strong criterion for these kinds of decisions, but the very content of this naturalness shifted decisively in the 19th century. Before age became the new natural concept for grouping children at the end of the century, the long shadow of attainment as the natural criterion prevailed. Only a school class composed of children equal in attainment seemed to be 'natural'. Age, time spent at school, and moral condition were certainly considered, but they were seen as secondary to the more natural criterion of attainment. In the 19th century, the promise of a more systematic approach to attainment in different teaching systems reinforced its prevalent position in the educational culture of the time (Giolitto 1983). Only when attainment became too complex to ascertain, age emerged as the new 'natural' criterion, propelled by the advancement of psychology and biology. I will discuss this transformation of the 'natural' in the history of social technologies in the classroom by looking at a large sample of Western European teaching manuals from approx. 1830 to 1900. I will analyse the arguments for and against attainment and age in French (23), British (19), Spanish (35) and Irish (2) teaching manuals that discuss the issue of grouping, a sample totalling 230 editions. I will describe not only the pace and logic of the shift towards age as the new common natural criterion for grouping children in Western Europe, but I will also propose to discuss the varying national paths of this transformation of the 'natural'.

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Un/Natural Early Reading: Social Class and the Uses of Nature in the Campaign Against Reading Instruction for Young Children in the United States, from Common Schools to Nursery Schools (English)

Barbara Rachel Beatty (Wellesley College)

Nature was used as a philosophical, pedagogical, and scientific rationale in the campaign against early literacy instruction in the United States. Deemed necessary for religious salvation and nation building, before the nineteenth century literacy instruction, sometimes beginning as young as age two, was not differentiated by social class. Although many young children from lower social class backgrounds were not taught to read, the standard alphabetic method was the norm.

With the advent of the romantic construction of childhood in the first half of the nineteenth century, early reading was termed unnatural. Play became the recommended natural approach. Left out of the discourse were poor and immigrant parents, whose Catholicism and beliefs in traditional methods aligned more closely with early direct instruction.

Close reading of documents from the century bounded by the common school and nursery school movements reveals complex social class tensions in the transatlantic debate over early reading instruction. While advocating for common schools in the 1830s and 1840s, Horace Mann equated early reading with rejection of the beauties of nature. Along with many other Protestant education reformers, Mann advocated late literacy instruction and a supposedly more natural, less didactic approach.

In the kindergarten, as is well known and will not take up much explication, play was prescribed for early learning; reading was academic pedagogy put off until about age seven. Although Froebel's methods and materials, influenced by Pestalozzian object teaching, were formalistic and artificially naturalistic, they were promoted as natural. For some children from lower class and immigrant backgrounds and children of color, however, kindergarten play was advocated as manual training for future laborers and social control.

At the end of the nineteenth century, developmental psychologist G. Stanley Hall added scientific rationales. Hall issued dire warnings about how teaching reading too soon severely damaged children physiologically and psychologically. Echoing Hall, John Dewey argued that early literacy instruction was unnatural, strained young children's nerves, and should be put off until about age eight, and then should be taught experientially. With the growth of developmentalism, learning to read through play, not early direct instruction, became strongly associated with pedagogical progressives and middle-class parents, and prescribed as natural and appropriate for all young children, including from low-income families, regardless of parental opinions.

In the early twentieth century, nursery school educators rejected traditional early literacy instruction entirely. Caroline Pratt warned parents that there would be no teaching of

reading to young children at her Play School in New York City, but was unable to enroll children from the low-income and immigrant families she had hoped to attract.

Carefully chosen snapshots from primary sources will be used to illustrate and analyze social class tensions and uses of nature in the anti-early literacy campaign in the United States, and to suggest some implications for the present.

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El gusto es una evolución. La educación de los sentimientos estéticos en el análisis científico de Rodolfo Senet (Español)

Ignacio Frechtel (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

Entre los años 1914 y 1919, Rodolfo Senet (1872-1938) publicó una serie de artículos en la revista *Archivos de pedagogía y ciencias afines*, de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata, sobre educación estética. Luego de su publicación en La Plata, en 1923 los artículos fueron compilados y publicados en España por la editorial madrileña Francisco Beltrán.

La obra llevaba por título "La educación de los sentimientos estéticos. Origen y evolución", y en sus seis capítulos presentaba la posición de Senet, que el argentino construye a partir de una crítica de autores como Friederich Schiller y Herbert Spencer, crítica a partir de la cual buscará desentrañar el origen de esos sentimientos. Entre esos argumentos, el principal será sobre la "utilidad" del sentimiento estético, en el sentido de que lo bello se asocia en la evolución humana a lo que primeramente fue útil para el ser humano. Coherente con un positivismo alineado a la teoría de la evolución, para Senet, el sentimiento estético está

Íntimamente relacionado al instinto de conservación: el triunfo sobre una situación, un problema, con su posterior recompensa, originan una consecuente emoción estética, que por eso está relacionada con la búsqueda de satisfacción y bienestar. Lo bello será sinónimo de lo útil y de lo bueno, y su separación “equivale a admitir las ideas abstractas como sin relaciones con las sensaciones” (Senet, 1923: 12), lo cual implica que el sentimiento estético está asociado solamente a una afectividad positiva, mientras que las emociones pueden ser positivas o negativas.

A partir de un estudio evolutivo filogenético y ontogenético, Senet desarrolla una categorización que divide a los sentimientos estéticos en cuatro tipos evolutivos que van de menor a mayor grado de desarrollo: motores, sensoriales, sexuales e intelectuales. Cuatro formas de clasificación que, desde una matriz de pensamiento normalizadora, serán un esquema para clasificar a las personas.

Más allá del conocido pensamiento positivista de Senet, lo que nos interesa destacar en este trabajo es la propuesta de educación estética que el pedagogo elabora para las escuelas argentinas, sostenida en la convicción acerca de la educabilidad de los sentimientos estéticos de los alumnos sin distinción. Para Senet, no hay “nada más injusto que restringir los sentimientos estéticos a las reacciones que puedan provocar las obras de arte o las bellezas de la naturaleza. De este criterio estrecho nace la clasificación limitada que divide a los individuos en dos grandes grupos: con gusto estético y sin gusto estético, y la compasión o el desprecio de los primeros por los segundos” (Ibid: 212). Para el pedagogo hay una injusticia que se deriva de la monopolización de la estética por parte de lo artístico.

En conclusión, este trabajo se propone sumar una lectura de un aspecto poco conocido de la obra de este pedagogo argentino, agregando elementos para una mayor comprensión de su obra.

11.8 PANEL NATURE AND PEDAGOGIES (4)

Chair: : Josefine Wähler (Research Library for the History of Education, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Die Einfachheit und die Authentizität in den Prinzipien der Reformpädagogik von Freinet (Deutsch)

Attila Horvath H. (Eötvös Lorand University Budapest)

Der Beitrag stellt die Beziehung zwischen der Nature und den Prinzipien von der Freinet-Pädagogik in den Mittelpunkt. Die Nature gilt als Schlüsselbegriff in den Theorien und Praktiken der europäischen Reformpädagogik. Die Natur wird einerseits als idealer Ort der Erziehung, andererseits als Erziehungsziel betrachtet. Durch die Analyse des Werkes von Freinet mit Titel „Les dits de Mathieu“ könnte man den Prinzipien von der Freinet-Pädagogik und ihren naturistischen Grundlagen näher geraten.

Das Ziel ist die Argumentation von Freinet, die von naturnahen Lebensweise entstammen, darzustellen. Es wird analysiert, wie der französische Pädagoge das Bildungswesen seiner Zeit als Subsystem der Gesellschaft von einer naturnahen Perspektive kritisierte. Aufgrund Freinet ist es die Dialoge mit Nature notwendig, aber selbst die Nature von ihm nicht als unveränderliches Phänomen wahrgenommen ist.

Mit der Hilfe von der Freinet-Pädagogik ist es möglich zu verstehen, wie die Natur ein Teilbereich der Kultur, der Pädagogik bildet. Es ist fraglich, mit welchen Methoden man das Wissen über die Nature im Volk identifizieren kann? Im Konzept von Freinet ist die kollektive Weisheit des Volkes und das von der Generationen angehäufte originales Wissen als die wahre Quelle der Pädagogik betrachtet werden. Freinet tritt nicht gegen die Wissenschaften auf und sie werden nicht als Gegenbegriff vorgesehen, nämlich wird ein Dialog zwischen der Wissenschaft und der originalen Weisheit angeregt. „Der geniale Forscher sollte immer die Einfachheit (Natürlichkeit) und das Leben in seiner Wirklichkeit erzielen“.

Die Grundthesen von Freinet werden in solchen Metaphern konzipiert, die die dörfliche Gemeinde als idealer Ort für die Erziehung der Jugendlichen darstellen. Auf dem Lande kann man durch die Pflanzenanbau und Tierzucht den engen Kontakt mit der Natur ständig aufrechterhalten. Die schulische Aufgabe wird mit dem folgenden Vergleich angeführt: "Lass uns kein Pferd haben, das nicht durstig ist". Statt des Zwanges und des einheitlichen Unterrichts wird bei Freinet die auf die individuellen Bedürfnisse und Interessen basierende Pädagogik als Vorbild beschrieben.

Als Forschungsfragen werden analysiert: 1. Was für eine Argumentation wird bei Freinet zur Formulierung seiner naturnahen und naturorientierten pädagogischen Grundprinzipien verwendet? 2. Wie weit funktionieren die Einfachheit und die Glaubhaftigkeit als Schlüsselbegriffe? 3. Wie wurden und sind heute die Grundprinzipien von der Freinet-Reformpädagogik adaptiert?

Über die Reformpädagogik von Freinet und über die Schule von Vance konnte man erstmal im Jahre 1938 in der Zeitschrift „Auf dem Weg der Zukunft“ in Ungarn lesen. Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg wurden noch für kurze Zeit die früheren reformpädagogischen Gedanken in der Presse erwähnt, aber nach der kommunistischen Wende 1948 wurden sie aus der offiziellen Pädagogik verbannt. Nach dem Tod von Freinet (1966) erschien noch ein längerer Artikel in der Fachjournal „Pädagogischer Rundschau“, der die pädagogische Tätigkeit von Freinet objektiv darstellte. Im Jahre 1972 wurde „Die moderne französische Schule“ in Ungarisch veröffentlicht. Seit den 1980er Jahren interessierten sich die ungarischen Pädagogen für das Konzept von Freinet. Nach der Wende werden seine pädagogischen Prinzipien in erster Linie in den Kindergärten verwendet.

Die Forschungsergebnisse können durch Dokumentenanalyse realisiert werden. Durch den Vergleich von Monographien, Studien, Schuldokumenten und Zeitschriften könnte die Problematik in einen neuen Kontext gestellt werden, damit die ungarische Reformpädagogik mit neuen Motiven ergänzt werden kann.

Playing as a teacher's work within natural environments in Brazilian's early childhood schools: analysing some influences and suggestions for educational practice (English)

Alessandra Elizabeth Ferreira Goncalves Prado (Federal University of São Carlos), Alessandra Arce Hai (Federal University of São Carlos)

Play has held a fundamental role concerning the knowledge and practice of teacher in early childhood educational field. In this context, we can highlight that previous teaching planning, especially close to the nature in outdoor environments, betwixt other activities, brings benefits for children.

Researches have been studying about natural environments for learning (specifically playing) in many countries, including Brazil. However, there is a long path that researchers went through (Rousseau, Froebel, Vygotski and his group, for example). We can expand this subject thinking about the variety of pedagogical ideas being translated to early childhood Brazilian teachers, in order to guide their training and activities. Arce, Simon & Depaepe (2015, p. 3) explored this topic by the travelling of Decroly's ideas to Brazil, reflecting in that practice as historically grounded by societal needs and conditions in order to reproduce/transform a particular form of societal life. Even apparently static, they say that this does not imply the inexistence of changes, but the transformations may take decades to materialize. It reveals the complexity of such a theme as 'the conceptualization of practice' particularly here by looking the learning through 'Play in nature' among 'hybrid phenomena'.

In this paper we intend to consider the need to expand our understanding about the relations between education, society and nature, including the topic of early childhood teachers practice about children's playing outdoors. The basic sources for the analysis are: publications of the forming teacher Heloisa Marinho (new school movement in Brazil) and her influence in the 1930s until the 1970s. The other author is Madalena Freire and her well-known book 'A paixão de conhecer o Mundo', edited in the 1980's. Finally, the magazine published by the Brazilian government in the 1980s, to early childhood teachers, named 'Revista Criança'. When searching for a counterpoint on the ideas of the consulted publications and their influence on educators, it was possible to perceive that learning in nature did not mean, or implied great revolutions or rearrangements in daily teaching.

In short, the nature-kindergarten practices have been discussed for a long time. Nowadays we understand it as fundamental, in time that environmental consciousness is not only a social but worldwide need. It is important to understand how to historicize theories of play (outdoors, in the classroom) as a conceptual tool in the work of the preschool teacher and the conectivities with home, school, communities. That's one of the reasons why is important to comprehend, in a historical view and in a more enlarged form, the interplay of nature, society and education (in terms of social and cultural construction), where teaching practices should not be detached from all these ascendancies.

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The Utopian Garden: The German Kindergarten Movement and Nature during the Revolutionary 1840s (English)

Nisrine Rahal (University of Toronto)

The kindergarten, founded by Friedrich Fröbel in 1837 in Bad Blankenburg, was imagined as a “garden of children” from which would issue a “new spring of humanity”.^[1] Within the natural community of the garden, children would learn to develop relations with each other as productive citizens. Teachers played the role of gardeners (Kindergärtner), cultivating children with methods such as play, in order for them to grow independently and in unison with the natural environment. Teachers themselves were not only gardeners but also vital parts of the natural environment. The Kindergärtnerin, the female kindergarten teacher, maintained a “natural” essence (due to her gender) that made her the perfect teacher for young children.

Fröbel and his followers hoped that the kindergarten would become a model institution for the growth of a regenerated German community. The ideological construction of the garden was steeped in the rhetoric of nature, freedom, and love. It is from this basis, pedagogues and activists argued, that the garden of children would help give birth to a new nation and community. My paper examines the utilization of “nature” in radical revolutionary educational pedagogy, particularly focusing on the kindergarten movement during the 1840s.

It was from the construction of natural childhood, education, and womanhood, brought together in the supposed natural garden, that a new humanity would emerge. Underlying this pedagogical philosophy was the ideal of freedom from social strictures that were believed by activists to impede the development of children. And it was from this perspective that the garden provided a route to not only construct a new future, but also criticize the pedagogical methods undertaken during the early 19th century.

My paper therefore provides a discussion of two interrelated topics. First, I elaborate on the construction of an educational and pedagogical space where revolution was made possible. Within this I will show that the concepts of childhood, womanhood, and play were further layered in the rhetoric of “nature” in order to legitimize a new institution that went against traditional religious education. Here, I further unpack the notion of “nature” and what this meant to these 19th century activists. Second, I examine the revolutionary impact that this would have and the threat it posed to traditional state and religious authorities.

A new idealized image of childhood, womanhood, and education threatened the social status quo holding society together. The kindergarten, due to its radical platform promoting democracy and freedom, was banned in 1851 and labeled as a socialistic and atheist

institution. I therefore hope to provide a case study on how 19th century educational reform movements turned to nature as a method for social and cultural change beginning with children.

[1] Friedrich Froebel, Die Kindergärten als um- und erfassende Pflege- und Erziehungsanstalten der Kindheit, der Kinder bis zum schulfähigen Alter und der deutsche Kindergarten als seiner Musteranstalt dafür insbesondere." (1841). 2-4

School groups and the intuitive method: spaces where nature contributed to the didactic-pedagogical process (English)

Cintia Lima Raphael (Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho"), Silvia Maria de Oliveira (Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho")

This paper presents partial results of the research in development, whose main objective is to investigate, find and analyze aspects of schooling in Piracicaba, a city located in the interior of the State of São Paulo, in the late 19th and early 20th century. Based on that, it's necessary to emphasize the crucial importance that school groups had in the schooling process of children from 1893 (year of the creation of the school groups in the State of Sao Paulo); the use of the intuitive method in these educational institutions and the consequent presence of nature in this scenario, acting as a supporting element in the learning process of the graduate primary school. It should be noted that Piracicaba is a city born on the banks of the Piracicaba River, and this connection between the city and the river that originated it has always been very present in its society, which could not fail to figure in the Piracicaba school context. It's a historical research, as to the approach, and a documentary research, as to the sources. From this research proposal, the following guiding questions emerged: What's the role of the external environment (nature), in which these institutions were inserted, in the effective application of the intuitive method, also known as "lessons of things", to the transmission of the encyclopedic contents that were taught in school groups? Could such a close proximity to nature be seen as a facilitator in this process? It is believed that the geographical context in which the students of that time and place lived could not be disregarded in the choice of didactic resources that teachers used. Bringing this context to the classroom, especially when we talk about teaching natural sciences, using concrete materials, such as school museums, animals, plants and the direct observation of nature in its dynamics, must have had the its share of importance in conducting the teaching / learning processes adopted at the time. The present research is based on theoretical considerations about the history of education in Brazil, school groups, school model of São Paulo and the intuitive method of authors such as SOUZA (1998), VALDEMARIN (1998), NERY (2015) and CARVALHO (2011). Its specific objective is not only to add knowledge to the field of the subject, but also to contribute to the development of related research. So far, we have as partial results, based on the analysis of the material researched, that the intuitive method, based on concrete experiences, found in urban school groups, especially in the interior of São Paulo, a good environment for its application, since in these country cities a deeper contact with nature provided the students with a closer perception of these elements of nature used as educational resources, which would allow a more efficient assimilation of the contents that were transmitted to children.

KEY WORDS: Education. History of Education. Intuitive method. Nature. Piracicaba-SP-Brazil.

11.9 PANEL NATURE, ETHNOCENTRISM AND OTHERING (2)

Chair: Thomas Koinzer (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

A human zoo for a living lesson of colonialism in Porto (1934) (English)

Luís Grosso Correia (Centre for Research and Intervention in Education)

The first Portuguese colonial exhibition was held in the Crystal Palace gardens of the city of Porto, between June 16th and September 30th, 1934. The exhibition, inspired in other similar events that took place in Europe (Marseille, 1922; Antwerp, 1930; Paris, 1931) since the 1880s, was organized by the Porto Industrial Chamber. It aimed to show, through exotic staging, the variety of ethnic groups of the Portuguese empire (from Cape Verde to East Timor), their architecture, social organization, way of life; to propagate the colonial ideology of the nationalist authorities through a new device (the exhibition), also addressed to schools; to join supporters for the economic development and effective occupation of the Portuguese overseas territories (Correia and Silva, 2015).

The exhibition had many purposes (social, ideological, politic, economic, scientific, cultural and educational) in order to satisfy all types of audiences of the metropole, including the illiterates (circa 50% of the population aged over 10 years old at the time). The exhibition, by staging the natural way of living of the native inhabitants of the Portuguese colonial dependencies, could also reflect, like a mirror, or play an additional role concerning the fabrication of the national identity, the modernity of the Portuguese people, its normalcy (see Blanchard et al, 2011) and the political legitimation of the authoritarian Estado Novo regime, formally established in the previous year (1933). In the context of this dialectic process, the exhibition could be considered a tangible lesson of colonialism (Marroni, 2013) and a symbolic event to promote, in the public space and with a massive adhesion, the affirmation of the specificity of the regime by ceremonial pedagogy (Schriewer, 2009), based in a constellation of historical myths, visual representations, ethnic shows (with some half-naked adults and naked children), prejudices about the degree of civilization of the figurants and their “natural” and free sensuality (Freud, 1930/2005). This human zoo was, then, a living performance of the taxonomy of human nature according to a Western colonist perspective (Correia and Madeira, 2018) and an eloquent experiment of the fabrication of the colonized by the colonizer (Fanon, 1961/1977: 7).

This paper aims to discuss, based on a critical approach to the Porto exhibition’s primary sources of information (reports, photos, newspapers and magazines), the socio-cultural role played by colonial exhibitions in Western countries in the 1930s (see Educational Yearbook, 1932) and their educational significance.

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Adventure, Character Formation, and Japanese Youth: The Educational Role of Boys Magazines in Early Modern Japan (English)

William Robert Stevenson (Doshisha University)

The Meiji era (1868-1912) began with only a scattering of Japanese living or traveling abroad. By the end of the period, Japanese were living overseas in increasingly large numbers, forming communities across the Pacific and beyond. In addition, a small but influential band of Japanese explorers and adventurers were traversing the far reaches of Asia, Oceania, the Americas, and even the Polar Regions. Although few in number, stories of their exploits—both real and imagined—filled the pages of youth-oriented exploration and adventure literature, informing the views of a generation of young Japanese. This paper takes a historical approach to Japanese exploration and adventure literature, focusing in particular on the widely-read magazines *Shōnen sekai* (Youth World), *Tanken sekai* (Exploration World), and *Bōken sekai* (Adventure World). It begins with an overview of the genre and shows how, with the support of public figures such as Ōkuma Shigenobu, Shiga Shigetaka and Miyake Setsurei, it gained momentum in the final years of the Meiji Era. It then examines the recurring and overlapping themes within the genre, including courage, manliness, the natural world, and the appeal for distant lands and foreign places. Finally, it argues that these themes, and the resulting combination of adventure, exploration, and conquest, not only laid the groundwork for later school-based travel and adventure clubs, but that they also provided fertile ground for the widespread acceptance of expansionist ideologies that swept through the nation in the early twentieth century.

Von der Natur zur Kultur – Bildsamkeit von Sinti und Roma (Deutsch)

Jane Weiß (Humboldt University Berlin)

Die seit ca. Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa wahrnehmbaren/sichtbaren Sinti- oder Roma-Gemeinschaften kamen „als Figuren der Städte, des Handels, der Wissenschaft und Kultur“ im Zuge ihrer Konstruktion als „Zigeuner/innen“ nicht in Frage, sondern wurden

pauschal dem Rand der Gesellschaft und der Natur als „Wildnis“ zugeschrieben (Bogdal 2011, S. 11). Für sie wurde Außenseitertum, Unwissenheit/Aberglaube und Irrationalität im Gegensatz zu gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe, Wissen und Rationalität gesetzt. (vgl. ebd.) Ins Schwanken gerieten diese Setzungen im Zuge der europäischen Aufklärung, in der die Idee von Bildsamkeit als universalistisch galt, jedoch gleichzeitig für als fremd markierte und marginalisierte Menschengruppen diskutiert wurde. Auch für Sinti und Roma wurden Erziehung und Bildung als sogenannte Zivilisierungsperspektive samt ihrer Grenzen erörtert (vgl. ebd.). Die sich in dieser Zeit entwickelnde Forschungsrichtung, die „Zigeunerkunde“ (später als Tsiganologie bezeichnet) sowie machtpolitische Akteure thematisierten permanent die Bildsamkeit von Sinti und Roma (vgl. Schuch 2016).

Mit dem Empirismus der Jahrhundertwende und der sogenannten Rassenhygiene bzw. Eugenik wird auch die Messung und Ausgestaltung der Intelligenz von Menschen aus Sinti- oder Roma-Gemeinschaften zu einem wichtigen Bezugspunkt. In Deutschland definierten sogenannte Rasseforscher/innen die geistigen Fähigkeiten von Sinti und Roma als „Getarnte[n] Schwachsinn“ (Ritter 1937, S. 19) und befanden einen „geistige[n] Entwicklungsstand niederer Naturvölker“ (Justin 1943, S. 66). In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland avancierte Hermann Arnold zum „Zigeunerexperten“ von Bundesregierung, Behörden und Wohlfahrtsverbänden und trug diese „Befunde“ weiter. Er sprach Sinti und Roma die Fähigkeit zum abstrakten Denken ab und plädierte u.a. für Sonderbeschulung. (siehe u.a. Arnold 1966).

Die „Natur von Sinti und Roma“ wird in diesen Konzepten konstant „primitiv“ konnotiert und hierarchisch unter Europa bzw. europäisch gesetzt. Gleichzeitig wird diesem biologischen Rassismus ein kultureller beigeordnet, der nicht nur auf Homogenität und Abgegrenztheit von Sinti/Roma-Kultur und europäischer Kultur, sondern auch auf die Höherwertigkeit der europäischen besteht. Die vorgeblich begrenzten bzw. spezifischen geistigen Fähigkeiten von Sinti und Roma werden zwar von Anfang an als „natürlich gegeben“ (biologisch) gesetzt, gedeutet werden sie jedoch immer im Kontext der als ebenso spezifisch und essentialistisch gefassten Roma-/Sinti-Kultur. In dieser werden sie durchaus als funktional begriffen, außerhalb dieser als dysfunktional. In der Ablösung von biologistischen Konzepten erfolgte im Nachkriegswestdeutschland eine Verschiebung des argumentativen Schwerpunktes von Natur auf Kultur. Die konstruierte spezifische Lebensweise von Sinti- oder Roma-Gemeinschaften, inklusive der vorgeblichen Selbstexklusion aus den Bildungssystemen, wird von der bundesdeutschen Nachfolgenergeneration der Tsiganologen in den 1970er Jahren romantisch verklärt und Sinti und Roma zu naturnahen antikapitalistischen Aussteigern stilisiert. (vgl. Münzel/Streck 1981) Nunmehr wird das Naturkonzept der vorgeblich begrenzten Bildsamkeit endgültig zum Kulturkonzept.

Bildsamkeit ist die „Betriebsprämisse des Pädagogischen“ (Tenorth), eine spezifisch begrenzt konstruierte Bildsamkeit hat Folgen für die Fragen von gesellschaftlicher Inklusion und Exklusion im Allgemeinen und in das Bildungssystem im Besonderen. Der Beitrag wird sich rassismuskritisch mit ausgewählten tsiganologischer Arbeiten seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert auseinandersetzen und diskutieren, wie die spezifisch zugeschriebene Intelligenz von Sinti und Roma im Wechselspiel von Natur und Kultur zu einer spezifisch zugeschriebenen und konstruierten Bildsamkeit gerinnt, die zu einem Großteil Ausschlussmechanismen aus den europäischen Bildungssystemen von Sinti und Roma bedingt.

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Marketing life: a case study of material culture, medicinal plants and experimental instruments (English)

Laura Cházaro (CINVESTAV)

In the late 19th century in Mexico, the Porfirio Díaz government (1876-1910) collaborated with physicians to commercialize products elaborated in the scientific institutions. In the laboratories of the National Institute of Medicine (IMN, 1888) and the Institute of Pathology (IP, 1899), efforts were carried out to transform “Mexico’s natural bounty” into marketable products. Those laboratories were planned to propitiate relations with public Hospitals in order to have access to patients, draw samples, take measurements and test autochthonous medicines.

The doctors that participated in those projects belonged to the National Academy of Medicine (ANM), the most influential medical organization in the country. The goal was to explore, measure and legislate Mexico’s national territory and all living things in it, paying special attention to elements associated with the “indigenous”; that is, plants, animals and subjects that symbolized the glorious past of Mexico while embodying an uneasy present that had to be integrated into the national regime. The IMN’s physicians proposed extracting active substances from autochthonous flora and fauna and transforming them into pharmacological products and industrial chemicals. To achieve this, government and doctors organized a broad trade network with European scientific and medical instruments makers. Over a period of years, they imported an arsenal of devices, medical instruments and experimental gear from France, Germany and England, including sphygmographs, cardiographs, galvanometers, kymographs and spirometers.

In this essay I attempt to analyze these projects of nationalization of Mexican nature from the perspective of the intense circulation process of medical instruments. For that, I consider two dimensions: one, which has to do with the circulation and adoption of medical instruments in School of Medicine and in the laboratories of IMN and IP. This is a dimension about practices of knowledge. The second dimension, has to do with how those institutions acquired the instruments. My hypothesis is that the clinical and laboratory experiences adopted in the School of Medicine and in the laboratories were dependent on the market that was established with the producers of German, French and English instruments. The idea is to question how the epistemological side is or is not connected with the global circulation of knowledge and objects.

The medical projects that investigated the "Mexican autochthonous nature" to transform it into marketable merchandise, ended however in an utter failure. The medicines produced in those laboratories were never commercialized, either in Mexico or abroad. However, the circulation of instruments modified the medical knowledge of this time. Experimental practices with precision instruments were introduced in the School of Medicine and in the hospitals. In addition, a thorough look was favored over what was enunciated as "Mexican Nature": statistical tables, graphs of measurements of patients classified as indigenous, active substances of medicinal plants, geographical and geodesic measurement of the territory and its climates. As a result, from the School of Medicine, based on an arsenal of instruments marketed in Europe, "Mexican nature" was reinvented as a political wealth, restricting it to national boundaries, although produced by an intense international exchange of knowledge and instruments.

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11.10 PANEL PLANTS, ANIMALS AND EDUCATION (2)

Chair: Esbjörn Larsson (Uppsala University), Johannes Westberg (Örebro University)

"Escola do Sítio": nature as a place for knowledge (English)

Agda Cristina Brigatto (University of Campinas), Lúcia Helena Reily (University of Campinas)

The military dictatorship regime in Brazil (1964 - 1984) aimed to promote policies of modernization, industrialization and growth of the Brazilian economy under the slogan "Brazil a Great Power" (Ferreira and Bittar, 2008). The demand for qualified labour meant that education should provide for training for the workforce (Saviani, 2013; Clark, Nascimento and Silva, 2006). At a time when many traditional schools in Campinas, São Paulo, were Roman Catholic, conservative and or technically oriented, a group of concerned parents and educators got together in 1976 to establish the Escola do Sítio. This was a time when several "alternative" schools (as they called themselves) in this emerged in Campinas (Penteado 2010; Ferreira, 2004)

The Escola do Sítio followed a Piagetian approach, understanding that knowledge is constructed through interaction between the individual and his socio-physical environment while seeking to resolve problems; as a result, through a process of assimilation and accommodation, old schemes could be transformed through adaptation, and new schemes could be constructed (Becker, 2009; Piaget, 1964; Piaget and Inhelder, 1986). This proposal provided a fresh approach in relation to other schools: wearing uniforms was not required, schooling promoted close contact with nature and greater freedom for learning for students as well as teachers. The contemporary concept of Place-based Education (PBE) is an educational approach using local activities (economical, cultural, social, ecological, etc.) to involve students in their social context when developing school projects. The Escola do Sítio was built on a 6,000 square meter rural property, with abundant vegetation, a vegetable

garden cared for by the children, and several small animals. Though some animals had been acquired by the school as part of the educational program, small animals (i.e. frogs, caterpillars, birds, butterflies and spiders) were attracted there because of the rich floral vegetation. Some animals crossed into the school area from neighboring properties. The most famous animal was Estrela (Star), the white horse owned by one of the school employees. (Nogueira de Sá, 1995). The aim of this paper is to understand how this environment enabled a unique pedagogical and relational experience at a time when the military dictatorship was in full swing. To this end, we carried out semi-structured interviews with the founders, early teachers and former students; videos and photographs of the school routines from different periods since the initial foundation were analysed. We also consulted literature and research published about the historical trajectory of the school. During the interviews, the participants described how plants and animals were used in pedagogical practice. They showed how the children became aware of preservation issues as they established relations with the natural world and experienced life cycles as they communed with nature and cared for plants and animals. The evidence gleaned from the interviews revealed the academic and affective engagement of staff and students who lived the experience of the Escola do Sítio, as described in the PBE, a testimony to the construction of meaningful relations that this place full of life forged with knowledge.

Green Zone in the Soviet classroom: Case of Latvia (1964-1991) (English) Kitija Valeina (University of Latvia)

Analyzing numerous photos of classroom and drawings in textbooks, it turns out that no Soviet classroom was left without green-plants and flowers. Bringing plants to school was an integral part of the Soviet school tradition. The flowers, brought by children from own gardens, served as classroom decorations or was a gift for teacher. Teachers received flowers at various occasions, e.g., on the first day of school, which was September 1, on the Teaching Profession Day in October, on the International Women's Day on March 8, on the final day of studies, graduation ceremony, etc.

Plants were carefully cultivated: specially assigned students watered flowers and green-plants, and cleaned dust from leaves. Plants and flowers became a permanent special 'green zone' in the Soviet classroom, which can be considered as one of the materialities of classroom culture. Analyzing the 'green zone' in the context of Soviet pedagogy, it comes out, that plants and flowers functioned not only as a decorative element, but also was part of the communist upbringing program. However, the function of 'green zone' in Soviet pedagogy has not been analyzed yet more detailed in academic literature.

Therefore, the aim of my study is to discover the role and meaning of the 'green zone' in Soviet classroom culture. How the 'green zone' was used to realize the objectives of Soviet pedagogy? What were the functions of the 'green zone' in the classroom culture? Was the 'green zone' important not only in the official but also in the informal classroom culture?

To answer these questions, I analyzed 200 photos of classroom, 50 pictures in textbooks and 10 interviews with former Soviet students. In addition, I studied educational documentation, e.g., Soviet orders / guidelines for setting up educational establishments. Pictures in textbooks and documents illustrated the ideal classroom, while photos and interviews revealed casual reality, pupils and teachers emotions and attitudes.

Research is based on theories of visual literacy (Collier & Collier, Grosvenor, Braster, Posser, Priem) and classroom culture (Grosvenor, Herman, Lawn, Kestere).

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A 19th century „zoological“ model in Swedish and Hebrew children literatures (English) Basmat Even-Zohar (Tel Aviv University)

Nature, love of nature and the natural sciences became a major focus of attention in European cultures since the end of the 18th century. Both the Romantic and the scientific-minded Enlightenment movements gave Nature a central status, creating new cultural, educational and scientific repertoires with Nature as a prominent component.

During the 19th century, two relatively peripheral national cultures were in the process of building a new national childrens' culture in their own languages: I shall present the cases of modern Hebrew in then-Ottoman ruled Palestine, and modern Swedish in Sweden.

Both cultures share an affinity to the German speaking cultures, and both of them rely heavily on translations from German for both their literary and their educational materials for children, in regards to Nature.

At that time, childrens' literature and child education were not separate activities within the national cultures, but intricately connected in many ways. For example, many of the writers of literary texts for children were also teachers or held higher positions in the educational system, many book titles specifically stated "for the education and entertainment of children" in various wordings, and the main purpose of most, if not all of the textual and non textual activities connected with Nature was to convey both knowledge and moral values of various kinds.

One typical model of literature for children about the subject of Nature was a combination of a scientific description with personifying anecdotes. For example, when conveying information about animals, this literary-cum-educational model was comprised of the following parts components:

Each text usually focused on one animal species.

The text would start with a zoological and geographical description of the animal.

Short anecdotal stories were embedded in the scientific facts about the animal.

Many of these stories were of a journalistic character, including names and dates.

The character of the stories embedded in the zoological and geographical description depended on several parameters, which will be described.

As Göte Klingberg writes (Klingberg 1998: 11), concerning Swedish childrens' literature of the 19th century, though many of these stories were translated from German, the origin of many of them, both translated and "original", was not always clear. It seems that the same stories, or at least very similar ones, were circulating around in European childrens' literatures, in a way that made it hard to identify the origin. The same holds true for modern Hebrew childrens' literature of that period: even when the published books did write details such as name of authour, name of translator and the language from which the text was translated (most did not, and some freely admitted "free adaptation" of the text), it was no guarantee.

The focus and intent of these books was to give the children a scientific knowledge in zoology, but from an anthropocentric perspective including a moral judgement of "good" animals or "bad" animals.

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The multifunctional nature of the “Garden of Knowledge” - The historical background for the interpretation of educational traditions of the Botanical Garden of the University of Pécs in Hungary (English)

Zsuzsanna Huszár (University of Pécs)

The garden is a micro-environment that refers to the Universe as a whole. The garden as a construction and as a composition is a unique, traditional medium and at the same time it is the result of the interaction between nature and human. From a historical, social and

pedagogical point of view, a garden is an instrumentalized place which has a special importance. Making and caring for the garden can express the human longing for safety and the need for collecting and wondering. The garden as a half-natural, half-social territory is a special domesticated place. This place can express the sense and sensibility and desire of human for the so-called good life. This cultural object requires a specific attention and care. The garden can have many different functions for its users; the garden can be a work area or a scientific site, observation post or shelter, adventure park or sanctuary, church, labyrinth, sporting area, refreshing area, outdoor school, live museum or "nature capsule". Gardens and their pedagogical aspects are important and „classico-modern” areas for theoretical research, as well as educational development and practice. The theoretical framework of the explanation comes from the cultural history of gardens. During the interpretation of a garden as a social object we try to analyse its natural, social, pedagogical and symbolic aspects. In the seventies of the 20th century, the environmental pedagogy and the museum pedagogy carried conceptual, thematic, as well as methodological connections. Botanical gardens are linked to museums by the triple function of collection, research, and presentation.

This lecture as a partial mapping cannot do without the historical approach. What are the specific features of the pedagogy of gardens in the 21st century? If we need practical, methodological development, in a sense, the question is: what is the pedagogical potential of the gardens. What kind of social and cultural significance did it gain in the course of time? The goal of the presentation is to analyse relevant original documents and use the most important aspects and elements of regional researches about the history of the university to show what were the functions and the pedagogical potential of the Botanical Garden in Pécs since its founding at the beginning of 20th century, as well as what are they nowadays in the 21st century, more than 100 years later?

The results of this research are connected with the pedagogical research in teacher training in Pécs, and came partly from the partnership with the Janus Pannonius Museum. The works of historian Andrea Pásztor (Pásztor 2015) are most important to thinking about it.

11.11 PANEL NATURE AND SCHOOLING

Chair: Betina Aguiar da Costa (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

Integration/distinction between school and nature in Minas Gerais (Brazil) in the late 19th century (English)

**Wenceslau Goncalves Neto (University of Uberaba, Federal University of Uberlândia),
Carlos Henrique de Carvalho (Federal University of Uberlândia)**

It is intended to present "new" spaces and "new" subjects that emerge at the end of the XIX century in Brazil, seeking to understand the nature that the school assumes in this process, as well as the way in which it is promoted the integration/distinction of the same with nature and with society. This binomial, integration/distinction can be identified from the imperial period (1822-1889), when the school was structured nationally and several laws advocated the dissemination and institutionalization of public education, although illiteracy persisted in more than 80% of the population until the end century. With the proclamation of the Republic in 1889, new horizons were expected to open up for education, but the Federal Constitution (1891) did not specifically address popular instruction, tacitly transferring this

responsibility to the federal states, and primary education remained a challenge to be faced and an alternative for the diffusion of republican principles and consolidation of the new regime. Thus, the states promoted reforms in their education systems based on the modern principles that came from Europe: teacher training, school management, inclusion of more children, architecture and methods. In the state of Minas Gerais, this movement will be triggered by the approval of the public education law in 1892 and school regulations in 1893. In the same direction, we find similar prescriptions in cities of the interior, such as Uberabinha, which also approves law of instruction and regulation school in 1892. These documents established the guiding principles of public instruction in the state and in that city delimiting the school as a singular unit, marked by rationality, aimed at the formation of the new republican man, as a distinct social space of the nature that surrounded and enveloped it. We highlight four categories of analysis present in the legal instruments: architecture, teacher-student relationship, hygiene care and relation with the environment. About architecture, there are determinations on the location of the building, number of rooms, dimensions of the classrooms, housing of the teacher separated from the school, use of the walls for distribution of school material, etc.; on the teacher-student relationship, it is prescribed that they should be marked by affection, by example, prohibiting all forms of physical punishment, in addition to the requirement of proof of previous good habits on the part of the teachers; concerns about cleanliness, hygiene and vaccination of children are constant, in an attempt to promote physical health, change of habits and culture in general; and the child's integration with the environment appears in different forms, such as the prescription for playgrounds or gardens for playgrounds and school practices, as well as concern for ventilation and clarity in school spaces. The analysis of the documentation shows that the state and municipal governments sought to delimit the school as a space for the formation of the child in harmony with the principles of society that was sought to implant/preserve as well as with nature, which can not be ignored in the preparation of the child to the world that awaits her.

Nature as a key for educational innovation of Oporto's Modern Institute (1914-1918) (English)

Helena Isabel Almeida Vieira (CITCEM)

This article intends to show how nature was a key factor in the educational innovative character of Oporto's Modern Institute, a private elementary and secondary school, founded by José de Oliveira Lima as a response to the lack of modern educational institutions in the city, that forced many young people from Oporto to study abroad. This boarding and semi-boarding school ran between 1914 and 1918. Despite its ephemeral functioning, it was a perfect example of educational and pedagogical innovation during the First Republic in Portugal (1910-1926).

Oporto's Modern Institute distanced itself from the traditional school style of the time and was influenced by the spirit of the New Education. It was created from the ground in the Bela Vista Steading, considered as an innovative learning environment for its functional, hygienic and healthy spaces in full articulation with the nature, as well as by the transversal pedagogical practices that it implemented to ensure the integral development (intellectual, physical, moral and civic) of students.

This school was considered the first of its kind in Portugal and its architectural construction obeyed to a previously designed and meticulously studied plan so that nothing was lacking. A rigorous school hygiene was sought and this was soon achieved by choosing the perfect place of implementation. The Steading Bela Vista, with its 80,000 square kilometers, the adjoining agricultural lands and surrounding woods were the perfect space to achieve it. For that reason, in the press of the time this school was considered a true sanatorium.

In this context, nature was not only a key factor in guaranteeing the essential conditions of hygiene, it was also the stage for the application of pedagogical activities in full harmony with nature, such as the practice of outdoor sports and the realization of walks, as well as the practice of scouting in its surrounding woods.

This article results from a set of research that has been developing in the scope of a research project - INOVAR - "Routes of pedagogical innovation: Schools and reference experiences in Portugal in the 20th century", with the ultimate goal of contribute to the study of Oporto's Modern Institute. Due to the inexistence of studies about this school, for this work was developed a research in diversified and dispersed historical sources that were after systematized through qualitative methodologies. Despite the gaps found, from the educational program of Oporto's Modern Institute, its construction license, photographs, postcards, daily press and a documentary of 1916, it was possible to trace the innovative profile of this educational institution and understand the role of nature in its educational project.

Les enjeux Les enjeux d'une éducation à la nature à l'école primaire en France entre 1870 et 1914 (English)

Pierre Dasi (Université de Caen)

Pourquoi les républicains-pédagogues de la Troisième République décident-ils d'introduire l'étude de la nature à l'école primaire aux alentours des années 1870 ? Pourquoi les disciplines scolaires, les activités éducatives, les contenus enseignés reposent-ils dorénavant sur l'étude des phénomènes naturels ? Pourquoi les musées scolaires, les planches d'animaux ou de végétaux colonisent-ils, à la même période, les écoles ? Pourquoi la leçon de choses s'intéresse-t-elle d'abord à l'environnement des élèves ? Et pourquoi les jardins, les promenades ou encore les caravanes scolaires trouvent-ils dans l'exploration de la nature leur justification ?

A la bousculade de ces questions, les historiens de l'éducation opposée des réponses stimulantes. Les uns se tournent vers l'histoire des sciences, d'autres préfèrent invoquer la construction de l'État-nation, une rubrique de l'éducation nouvelle, certains s'interrogent sur le renouvellement des méthodes pédagogiques. Rares sont ceux qui témoignent de la volonté de l'Ecole républicaine d'éveiller au sentiment de la nature. Aucun ne s'est aventuré à proposer une vue d'ensemble sur l'entrée de la nature à l'école primaire. Dans l'écheveau, qui a été créé, nous avons ramassé des éléments susceptibles de mettre à jour des connexions qui permettent d'éclairer les présences de l'éducation à la nature. En accord aussi, au foisonnement des sources, toute l'attention nécessaire. Au rendez-vous des productions scolaires, les cahiers d'élèves, les discours, les manuels, les herbiers et les jardins se télescopent pour dire les façons de décrire la nature. Elles ne laissent pas de doute sur la fabrique d'une nature, mais une tentative de rationalisation des phénomènes naturels et de

l'autre, une inclination vers un merveilleux exercice exercé à l'égard des âmes tendres. Mais il est possible de pousser l'analyse plus loin. Car toutes ces traces permettent de comprendre que la modernisation des méthodes pédagogiques doit beaucoup à l'étude de la nature mise en œuvre dans les classes du primaire. Que la méthode intuitive, l'enseignement par les yeux ou les activités des élèves à examiner la nature, cela ne fait guère de doute. Et la multiplication des planches didactiques est là pour entester. Mais, sans rien céder aux mutations pédagogiques observables dans les classes, l'analyse de la résistible ascension de «l'enseignement dehors» articulé autour des jardins et des sorties scolaires viennent éclairer la volonté des autorités républicaines de faire de la nature l'un des leviers majeurs de la modernité éducative. C'est ce que nous nous proposons dans cette communication.

Mots-clefs: jardins scolaires, promenades scolaires, nature, planches didactiques, musées scolaires, méthodes actives.

Influence of Education and Nature on Sustainable Environment in Nigeria, 1977 till date (English)

Hannah Adebola Aderonke Okediji (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Oyo State)

Education has closely linked and identified with nature since the traditional African Society, and these two phenomena have wielded great influence on sustainable environment in Nigeria. While imparting knowledge, skills and abilities to improve on the nature of citizenry in Nigeria, genetic characteristics and inborn tendencies must be taken into consideration in determining the kind of environmental education that will be based on a more organized policy which tend towards Nigeria's educational philosophy of unity, and formation of self reliant and egalitarian society. In the bid to expatiate on the issues mentioned above that this study examined the influence of education and nature on sustainable environment in Nigeria, 1977 till date. Historical research method was adopted for the study, data were collected and analyzed by using primary and secondary sources of information, such as oral interviews, internet materials, articles in journals, essays and textbooks. The study focused on the definition of concepts, historical background of environmental education in Nigeria, influence of education on sustainable environment, 1977 till date, influence of nature on sustainable environment, 1977 till date, national policy for environmental sustainability in Nigeria, 1977 till date, challenges of sustainable environment in Nigeria, 1977 till date and also offer few recommendations for improved environmental sustainability in Nigeria. The findings of the study revealed that: education and nature are interwoven and also exert great influence on sustainable environment in Nigeria, education has been the process by which knowledge, characters, behaviours and innate tendencies of man is moulded in order to produce a new breed of scholars capable of adding value to the nation. Policies were made to ascertain environmental sustainability capable of improved healthy living and preservation of natural resources for both the present and the future generations, develop citizens to discover their full potential, encourage citizens to participate in environmental sanitation and inculcate community and traditional values in the keeping of the environment. Challenges such as inadequate funding, lack of resources for successful implementations of policies, poverty, lack of understanding of the principles of ecosystem and other natural laws for preservation of the environment by the rural community in Nigeria, lack of adequate skills to create a friendly environment at both formal and non-formal levels of education inadequate personnel,

bribery and corruption and other social vices which hampered sustainable environment in Nigeria. It is therefore recommended that; environmental education should be introduced to the educational curriculum at all levels, education must be seen as a tool for moulding lives, who will later develop the society and not an instrument for creating political crisis, there must be enough budgetary allocation for education and development of natural environment to meet UNESCO minimum benchmark, natural endowment must be promoted through sustained empowerment and vocational skill acquisition programmes for children, youths, women and other adults in the society, enough educational instructional aids must be provided in schools, enough qualified professionals should be adequately provided, government policies must be backed up with strong political will and the issue of security must be handled with care.

Keywords: Influence, Education, Nature, Sustainable, Environment

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11.12 PANEL NATURE, SCIENCE STUDIES AND EDUCATION

Chair: Attila Nóbik (University of Szeged)

Nature's Courtyard: Crossing the Fences between the History of Science and the History of Education (English)

Josep Simon (Universidad del Rosario), Jose R. Bertomeu Sánchez (Universitat de València)

The historical study of science education lies between two academic fields, the History of Science and the History of Education, which in the last half century have acquired a great degree of disciplinary maturity and specialization. These two historical specialisms have developed independently different definitions, research objects, methods and approaches to the study of science education. For instance, the History of Education has commonly focused on the study of primary education, while the History of Science has privileged university education. The former has centred on topics such as school disciplines, curriculum, textbooks, citizenship, gender, childhood, pedagogy, teacher training, institutions, policy or empire, while the latter was focusing on topics such as scientific disciplines, epistemology, treatises, experimental practices, material culture, controversies, tacit knowledge, internationalization, popularization or expertise. Paradoxically these two academic disciplines have rarely interacted, although there is a growing body of scholarship crossing the academic and institutional fences that separate them, and combining intellectual perspectives from both fields on topics such as textbooks, pedagogical practices or the material culture of the classroom. In this paper we will first present a big picture of the work produced by these two historical disciplines in the study of science education. Second, we will describe our two decade experience in this field, and our efforts to bridge the boundaries that separate the different approaches concurring in the historical understanding of this research object. Finally, we will suggest future avenues for further cross-fertilization of these two academic specialities resulting into mutual enrichment of their respective intellectual endeavours.

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Pombal Reform of University and Nature Studies Development (English)

Aires Antunes Diniz

With Marquis of Pombal, Portugal entered in an Enlightenment period as a consequence of his political action as Prime-Minister of King José I. Before he absorbed scientific ideas as Academy of Illustrates in Portugal member and after as Fellow of London Royal Society. Transferred as ambassador to Vienna he becomes member of a Austrian Scientific Group led by Gerhard van Swieten, doctor and adviser of Empress Mary Theresa.

With 1755 earthquake and also lack of natural scientists, he take conscience of Portuguese scientific backwardness and Educational and Scientific Reform need of Natural Scientist, what implies Religious Changes and Company of Jesus expulsion at 1759. So, within New Curriculum appliance to a network of Primary and Secondary Schools, a new and necessary elite was educated. On account of this, University Reform was done at 1772 with many members of Catholic Hierarchy applause, including Pope.

New Statutes of University recommended that Medicine Students must learn European languages, mainly English and French, in which were written and published many fundamental textbook of Medicine and also of Natural Science matters, linking Portugal to European and North American scientific movement. So, with many people educated within this new milieu, after the end of French Napoleonic Invasions, at year 1812, appeared *Jornal of Coimbra (JC)*, a Portuguese scientific magazine published at first times mainly about medicine using a network of Municipal Doctors that report his practices and local research

about diseases. Finally JC entered at normality being published until 1820, when happened Liberal Revolution.

Tomé Rodrigues Sobral, a professor of Chemistry in Coimbra University, that suffered at 1810 the revenge of General Massena that burned his books, papers and scientific instruments, because he had produced gunpowder to combat French Army, report at this magazine how he applied Morveau method to stop at Coimbra a disease contagion at August 1809. Many other Portuguese scientist wrote at this magazine and some like Jacob de Castro Sarmiento that lives at England, published his works about medicine and José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, a Brazilian published about botany, geology, physics, mathematics and directed hydraulic works for river Mondego regularization, continuing engineer Estevão Cabral works described carefully at JC. It was the beginning of an enlarged scientific attention to European Science and on account of this many scientific books and also scientific journals was bought as recommended basic materials for advancement of Natural Sciences. Consequently, it was highlighted that Faculties of Philosophy, Mathematics and Medicine were Natural Sciences Schools for its teaching and research. Here, Chemistry and Pharmaceutical research was linked to Medicine, as applied natural science, where was used Quina that comes from South America as a raw material to produce remedies for many diseases.

So, at JC, Humboldt voyages was observed attentively, being read, discussed and cited carefully and also many foreign doctors, chemist, biologist was studied, discussed and divulgated at JC that was sold also at Europe, as it was referred proudly at its pages. After, many Portuguese scientific naturalists appeared and so accompanying Darwin at 1832.

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Keywords: Enlightenment, Educational Reform, Natural Sciences, Chemistry and Pharmaceutical research, Alexander von Humboldt voyages.

The Educated Animal: What Can Historians of Education Learn from Primatology? (English) Kira Mahamud Angulo (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia), Pablo Jáuregui Narváez (Fundación BBVA)

The paper aims to bring the science of ethology into the field of education, by proposing that recent findings on animal behavior, specifically in primatological research, can make significant contributions to the theory and history of education, by compelling us to rethink the concept of human nature. Educational projects have been based on national (political and economic) objectives, on philosophical theories on human nature, and on the results of socio-

psychological research on students (sociability, cognitive levels, information processing, emotions, and feelings). The educational community, and historians of education, are guided and inspired by research in sociology, pedagogy, psychology, and –more recently– neuroscience. But, what is our degree of knowledge of and communication with researchers who study other animal species? How much of this scientific knowledge do we incorporate to our studies of education? Are we aware of aspects of human nature which we share with other animals? As the thematic proposal of the congress states, “nature has been defined as one of the aims of education insofar as education was defined as the creation of a second nature in humankind, a transformed nature, which produces ‘real’ humans from untamed animal-like creatures”. Education has sometimes been defined as the means to free the child from the savage animal nature.

However, ethological research has increasingly shown how aspects of our behavior which are considered both “good” and “bad” are shared with primates, and are therefore not uniquely human. Violence and the abuse of power are present in chimpanzee societies, but so are empathy and solidarity, competitiveness as well as collaboration. Within the economic domain, there are exchanges of services in primate societies, as well as a sense of injustice in the face of inequality. Indeed, as the leading primatologist Frans de Waal has shown, much of what we call ‘morality’ has deep roots in our inherited animal nature; and although, unlike apes, we are qualified to universalize our empathy beyond our tribe to the rest of humanity, the essence of our compassion for others is shared with our closest cousins in the tree of evolution.

Three reflections may emerge from these findings. First, to what extent have our education programs been based on the consideration of certain aspects of our behavior as uniquely human and exclusively culturally constructed? Second, shouldn’t we incorporate the findings of modern primatology and ethology into the curriculum for the teaching of social, religious, political and economic relations? One positive lesson from this scientific research on other species is that we are more than capable of being kind, generous, compassionate, and collaborative because such ‘moral’ faculties lie deep within our biological nature, and hence do not have to be culturally or artificially imposed on the child. Third, could these findings be also incorporated in the teaching of natural sciences and biology towards a more comprehensive respect towards animals?

The study invites scholars to reflect upon the relation between education and nature under the light of a new perspective on human nature that may enrich research in (history of) education.

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11.13 PANEL NATURE, HOMELANDS AND IDENTITIES

Chair: Julie McLeod (University of Melbourne)

Natural Formation of Patriotic Subjects through Local Education? The Love of Hometown as basis of Love of Homeland in 1930s-Era Imperial Japan (English)

Toshiko Ito (Mie University)

This paper explores Imperial Japan's strategies of forming patriotic subjects through Local Education (kyodo-kyoiku). Local Education, first adopted in Japan in the late 19th century and initially inspired by the American concept of object lesson (Ito 2008), reached its climax in the 1930s under the influence of the German concept of heimatkunde (Spranger 1923; Hansen 1933). In the official view, Local Education was designed to awaken the love of one's hometown, thereby intensifying the love of the homeland.

In the 1930s, the official view of Local Education was challenged in two ways. Firstly, prominent geographers and exponents of Japanese New Education organized to form the Local Education League (kyodo-kyoiku-renmei). This organization fomented dissent from the government-sponsored type of Local Education, redefining Local Education as an objective, scientifically oriented practice rather than a vehicle of sentimental identity formation (Odauchi 1931; Odaka 1933). Secondly, backers of the People's Rights movement pointed out that the populations of Taiwan and Korea, colonized by the Japanese, had to content themselves with forms of Local Education that lacked the hometown as an authorized object of love (Pak / Hwang 2011). They demanded that, among those populations, the love of hometown – in the sense of sentimental identity formation – should be diminished to foster love of the Japanese Empire. The controversies about Local Education, though, subsided within the 1930s.

How did the Local Education movement succeed at establishing the hometown as vehicle of sentimental identity formation during this period? I approach this question through a discourse analysis of the controversialists' arguments in the journals published by the Local Education League and, respectively, the Ministry of Education. For this analysis, I use the theoretical framework of othering as proposed by Jock Young in his sociological research (Young 2007). According to Young, conservative othering, in which the qualities attributed to others are essentialized as a part of nature, leaves no room for education. Liberal othering, by contrast, in which the qualities attributed to others are not essentialized, allows change and improvement through education. The difference between these two types of othering affords a perspective on the strategies used to form patriotic imperial subjects through Local Education beyond the controversies of the 1930s.

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"A common bond between us all"? Armistice commemoration in late-1930s British schools (English)

Susannah Wright (Oxford Brookes University)

In interwar years Britain, as elsewhere, the signing of the armistice to end the First World War on 11 November 1918 was commemorated annually. This soon became an act of 'collective remembrance'. [1] Communal rituals were performed by war memorials in town squares and village greens, in churches, in workplaces, in schools, and in private homes, in order to commemorate the war dead and celebrate the signing of the peace. These "invented traditions" [2] were intended to connect individuals divided by occupation, age, gender, and social class in a purportedly common endeavour. These "national days" were assumed to forge and reinforce a national nature. They would create a "common bond between us [sic] all". [3] A shared connection to a significant, and traumatic, historical event, would result in a shared response of enlightened patriotism. But collective acts of remembrance did not preclude the possibility for contested interpretations. Different constituencies vied to define the meaning and rituals of armistice observance. [4] And individuals could join in but bring to

the event their different personal experiences and thoughts,[5] and the passage of time and concerns of the moment could layer older interpretations with new and potentially challenging meanings.[6]

This paper considers such tensions as they relate to armistice commemoration in schools. Schools as sites for acts of collective remembrance have not yet received sustained attention in the growing body of research into remembering and memorialising the First World War. I focus on 1937, 19 years after the end of that conflict, and a time of rearmament and gas mask fitting. This was seen either as a necessary caution given an increasingly hostile international situation, or irresponsible warmongering which would put Britain on an unstoppable trajectory towards another major conflict. A uniquely rich historical resource, moreover, survives for that year. Accounts of armistice commemoration written by teachers (27) and pupils (9) for Mass Observation, the newly founded British social research organisation, are examined. Though by no means representative of the teacher or pupil body, these provide a snapshot of what went on in different types of schools, urban and rural, primary and secondary, and the authors' own part in and thoughts about the commemorations.

Armistice commemoration in schools, these accounts show, often followed common patterns which connected to rituals and forms in the wider civic sphere. Yet these patterns were also inflected by the spaces, timings, age of pupils and teachers, and power relations of the school institution. Teachers and pupils, as political actors, engaged in common rituals but found outlets for their different attitudes to armistice commemoration, and ideas about war and peace more generally. A national nature, constructed from rituals which purportedly joined teachers, pupils, and others together through their connection to a historically contingent wartime experience, proved elusive.

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'The mother kangaroo and her baby': Space, assimilation and the Mt Margaret Aboriginal Mission School, 1934-1949 (English)

Beth Marsden (University of Melbourne)

The Mt Margaret Mission operated in a remote region of the Australian state of Western Australia from 1928 to 1975. Aboriginal children lived at the mission throughout this period—often without their parents—and attended the Mt Margaret Mission School. Here, they received instruction according to the West Australian Education Department curriculum, in subjects such as geography, mathematics, history and English. The students wrote narratives and essays, and participated in standardised testing in accordance with the state curriculum. They produced accounts of Australia's 'discovery', and recounted information relating to the 'trouble with the natives' experienced by those who first settled on Australia's eastern coast. Students also produced maps of the Australian continent, charting the routes of European explorers across the country.

This paper argues that the curriculum and classrooms of the Mt Margaret Mission encouraged students to produce school work which—superficially at least— re-wrote the Australian landscape in such a way as to legitimise settler-colonialism. It contends that Aboriginal students at Mt Margaret Mission School were encouraged to create products illustrating the natural world in a way which legitimised settler-colonialism in Australian, and the dispossession of Indigenous people. I argue that the content of curriculum, in this context, was intended to have an assimilative influence on the children who were tasked with completing maps showing the routes and progress of white explorers, to demonstrate knowledge of key dates and explorers, geography and industry, and were encouraged to develop a perspective of the Australian and the world such as that held by European settler-colonialists. This paper also suggests that the space of the school within the Mt Margaret Mission was an attempt to add a layer on the landscape imbued with the authority of schooling and the perceived educative value of the European-style education students experienced at the mission.

This research is based on archives held by the University of Melbourne, which includes artefacts from the classroom at Mt Margaret: test results, photographs, reports, and student work, including numerous maps, drawings, narratives and other texts. These rare archives demonstrate the ways in which students of Mt Margaret engaged with narratives of settler-colonialism. The school work produced by these students demonstrates the ways in which they were encouraged by their teachers to view the landscape and to understand the settler-colonial history of their country.

11.14 PANEL NATURAL AND 'ANTI-NATURAL'

Chair: Jona Graz (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Educación Moral en la prensa brasileña en la década de 1970: una enseñanza antinatural (Español)

Italo Ariel Zanelato (State University of Maringá), Alessandro Santos Rocha (State University of Maringá)

La investigación objetivó analizar la divulgación de la Educación Moral y Cívica en los periódicos brasileños en la década de 1970, la cual surgió a partir del Decreto---Ley 869 de

1969. Por lo que se comprende el carácter de obligatoriedad como siendo antinatural, o aún, no participe de la naturaleza humana. Para alcanzar tal objetivo, la metodología utilizada se basó en el análisis bibliográfico y documental de los periódicos brasileños de la década de 1970. Entre ellos, el *Jornal do Commercio* y *Diario de Noticias*. Establecido lo Decreto, ocasionando la obligatoriedad de las respectivas disciplinas en las escuelas, hecho que se puede confirmar al leer la noticia encontrada en las páginas del Periódico *Diario de Noticias*, que en 22 de marzo de 1970 afirmaba “Colegios no podrán dejar de enseñar Educación Moral y Cívica”. En la época, se afirmaba que la meta de las nuevas disciplinas era “no más dejar vacía las mentes de los niños y adolescentes en relación a distintos valores espirituales, morales y nacionales, para que se fueran ahorrados de la propaganda político-ideológica de los enemigos de la democracia. En esta perspectiva, la escuela debería ofertar aquello que algunos sectores más conservadores afirmaban no poseer en la sociedad, la moralidad y civismo, instrumentos para mantener las buenas costumbres y el mantenimiento del orden. De acuerdo con Waksman (2002) por veces la moral se aplica en las escuelas como currículo oculto. En los gobiernos dictatoriales, algunas imposiciones fueran hechas a la sociedad y no se quedaron ocultos, como la moral atada al catolicismo, tal como encontramos en el *Diário de Notícias*, 21 de enero de 1970, en la materia titulada “Tradición Cristiana”, el Decreto---Ley es referenciado como salvación para la juventud que se pierde al erotismo extranjero. Vinculando aún a frases del entonces Presidente Médici “[...] como en todos los días de este comienzo de mi Gobierno, me volví a Dios [...]”. Durkheim (2010), afirma que la educación moral es independiente de la educación religiosa, y tiene el propósito principal de la socialización en los hábitos de la comunidad. La educación debe entonces consolidar la autoridad y la disciplina, promoviendo un modelo de ciudadano socializado en los valores de la comunidad en que la escuela está inserta. Por otro lado, surge en el siglo XX, un movimiento que formula un pensamiento diferentemente de las enseñanzas morales, llevando el rechazo de la idea de que la institución escolar debe imponer un modo cualquiera de moral. Surge así, la “clarificación de valores”, permitiendo la discusión entre todas las posibilidades. A partir del análisis es posible considerar que la finalidad de la educación moral a los individuos, específicamente en la década del 70, no se refiere a la formación moral y cívica. En ese momento se evidenció una formación obligatoria, a la vista de la Democracia, y así, antinatural, cargada por la obligatoriedad de determinado modelo moral y cívico, que uniformizaba el pensamiento de la sociedad brasileña.

Heilender Auszug? - Erziehung und Natur bei Thomas Mann und Rilke (Deutsch) **Krisztina Cseppentő (University of Pécs)**

Bildung heißt immer eine Art Auszug aus der Höhle, ein Ausgeführt-werden aus den jeweiligen Zuständen. Zugleich bedeute sie ein Eingang in eine größere Freiheit, in deren Raum man (dem/ der Einweihenden, Aufwachsenden) etwas Neues begegnet. Da Bildung jedoch ein Prozess ist, vollzieht sie sich zumeist im Rahmen eines Bildungswegs, einer Wallfahrt. Dieser Weg wird in der Literatur immer wieder in Form von (konkreten oder symbolischen) Reisen dargestellt, die auf die Natur Bezug nehmen. In diesem experimentell-interdisziplinären Vortrag wird anhand von ausgewählter Texte von Thomas Mann und Rilke veranschaulicht, wie auffallend transparent die Natur zur erzieherischen Zwecke gebraucht wird bei diesen zwei Autoren.

Nehmen wir Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge oder aber Den Zauberberg in die Hand, um zu sehen, was versteckt bleibt: „das hinter allem Handeln wie Kulisse“ (Rilke: Der Auszug des verlorenen Sohnes, Neue Gedichte) unsichtbar waltet und die Handlung mitbestimmt: die Natur. Auf Textbeispielen werden wir sehen, in wie fern die beiden Zeitgenossen auf die »natürliche Natur« benutzen um den Wunder-Erziehung zu bewirken. Nicht nur auf der Mikro-Ebene des Textes, sondern auch darüber hinaus: sie erreichen die Leser und laden sie in einen neuen – gesellschaftlichen? - Raum der Freiheit ein. Mit Hilfe von Begriffen wie Turners Liminalität und Foucaults Heterotopie werde ich versuchen zu zeigen, dass diese literarischen Texte eine Fundgrube für die Bildungsgeschichte sind.

The Institute of Education and the contested meanings of nature (English)

Tom Woodin (University College London)

The Institute of Education, University of London, now UCL Institute of Education, has been an important setting in which ideas about education and nature have been developed, discussed and disseminated. It has played a crucial role in the development of teacher training and educational research, not least in the 'foundation disciplines' of history, sociology, psychology and philosophy, in Britain and beyond (McCulloch and Cowan 2018). Throughout this history, the relationship between nature and culture has shifted significantly in educational thought and practice. In the early twentieth century, nature study, championed by Clotilde von Wyss and John Adams, involved direct engagement and experience of the natural world and would later feed into science education. In fact, the whole idea of science was paradoxically connected to traditions of progressive and child-centred education involving the scientific examination of children. It invoked specific educational techniques and interventions, not least the troubled history of intelligence testing. In turn, the focus upon disciplines and forms of knowledge, which became dominant from the mid-century point, had the effect of further distancing education and culture from one another. More recently, the impact of digital technologies, the focus on learning and the influence of policy have all contributed to instrumentalist models of educational research which have sidelined nature as a meaningful concept.

This presentation will assess the changing understandings of nature in reflecting upon the process of updating Richard Aldrich's *The Institute of Education 1902-2002: A Centenary History*. Aldrich (2013, 2014), a previous president of ISCHE, himself became interested in the idea of human nature in relation to evolution and science and he problematised the distinction between nature and nurture. The strength of Aldrich's final pieces of work built directly upon the understanding of historical change that he had developed in working on the Institute history. The new edition of the book will continue the history up to 2014 when the Institute merged with UCL. It will also offer a final overview chapter of the past, present and future in relation to educational research. The presentation will critically reflect on the way that disciplinary and departmental boundaries affected our understandings of nature and education. The specific institutional history thus provides a useful lens to understand historical slippages and contests over the meaning of nature in education.

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“Civilizar por las letras”: el proyecto educativo del alagoano Thomaz do Bomfim Espindola para el Imperio brasileño (1853-1885) (Español)

Edgledede Oliveira Clemente da Silva (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro)

El presente trabajo presenta un estudio sobre el proyecto educativo del médico Thomaz do Bomfim Espindola (1832-1889) en el Brasil Imperial a través de las relaciones entre escolarización y civilización. Este intelectual, entre los demás en el siglo XIX que se interesaron por las cuestiones educativas, actuó intensamente en la institucionalización de la escuela a partir del discurso de una sociedad civilizada y moderna. Como integrante del Partido Liberal de Alagoas, ocupó los cargos de diputado provincial entre los años 1868 y 1884, de diputado general en las legislaturas, de 1878 a 1881 y, de 1881 a 1884 y de presidente interino de la misma provincia, en los mandatos de 1867 y 1878. También actuó en la educación como director general de estudios y profesor en el liceo alagoano y en el liceo de artes y oficios, ministrando las disciplinas de Geografía, Cronología, Historia e Higiene. (1883) y de la “Reforma de la enseñanza primaria y varias instituciones complementarias de la instrucción pública” (1883) junto con Rui Barbosa y Ulysses, en el marco de la “Reforma de la Enseñanza Secundaria y Superior” (1882) Viana. En esta investigación, privilegiamos las producciones de este autor referentes a la Educación, que son: el periódico “O Academico” de 1853, la tesis de doctorado “Dissertação inaugural acerca da influencia progressiva da civilização sobre o homem” de 1853, los informes de la “Instrucção publica e particular da Provincia das Alagoas” elaborados en la condición de inspector general de los estudios, en los años 1866 a 1868, los informes de la presidenta de la provincia, cuando asumió el cargo en los años 1867 y 1878, las obras tituladas “Geografia Alagoana ou Descrição Fisica, Politica, Historica da Provincia das Alagoas” del 1871 y “Elementos de Geografia e Cosmografia oferecidas à mocidade alagoana” del 1885, los anales de las sesiones de la cámara de los diputados de los años 1878 a 1882, período en que actuó como diputado general, opiniones de la reforma de la enseñanza primaria, secundaria y superior de 1882 y 1883 y las diversas noticias de los periódicos. El análisis de estos documentos ayudó en la crítica de las proposiciones de Thomaz Espindola que circulaban en las instituciones escolares alagoanas en la segunda mitad del período imperial. Para esta elaboración, nos basamos en las orientaciones de Bloch (2001) para pensar el proceso de construcción de las fuentes documentales. Revistas de Certeau (2008), que la producción intelectual está permeada por el campo de las “estrategias” y configurada por el lugar social de quien escribe. Para ayudar en la comprensión del tiempo histórico y de las elites del Imperio brasileño, hicimos uso de las interpretaciones de Alonso (2002) y Carvalho (2011). Sobre la educación en ese mismo período, seleccionamos los escritos de Gondra; Schueler (2008), que tratan sobre la constitución de la escuela en Brasil. Por último, hicimos uso de las contribuciones de Elías (1993) sobre la comprensión histórica del concepto de “civilización” y de Chartier (1991) sobre “apropiación” a fin de evaluar el empleo de determinadas referencias por parte de Espindola. Siendo así, este trabajo contribuyó a analizar el proceso de la constitución de la escolarización brasileña, articulado con

determinadas concepções de civilização assumidas e defendidas por Thomaz do Bomfim Espindola no século XIX.

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11.15 PANEL HUMAN, NON-HUMAN, SUPRANATURAL

Chair: Fanny Isensee (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Suzanne Karpelès (1890-1969): entangling the human and the non-human in temporalities of stasis and change (English)

Joyce Goodman (The University of Winchester)

This paper analyses intra-actions between objects, bodies, discourses and materials in the work of Suzanne Karpelès, the first woman graduate of the École des langues orientales of the École pratique des Haute Études in Paris and the first female member of the École française d'Extrême-Orient. Karpelès was posted to Indochina in 1922 and became founding director of the Royal Library in Phomn-Penh (1925) and of the Institute of Buddhist Studies (1930). Here her projects included translations of sacred texts, the establishment of the first Khmer language journal and the production of secular texts, including Khmer folktales and history books (Edwards 2007, 1889-192). Karpelès also inspected pagoda schools during her provincial tours and drew on her links with the French National Council of Women (CNFF) and the International Council of Women to set up her educational cinematographic initiative in Indochina (Author, 2018).

The paper analyses two vignettes of Karpelès' work by attending to what has tended to be cast as non-human nature. It focuses on how Orientalist understandings of empire as progress and stasis entangle in Karpelès' initiatives with the Buddhist cosmologies to which she was drawn and with her feminist agenda of change. The analysis recasts agency as an enactment in which material and human agencies are mutually productive of one another and frames relationships between objects, bodies, discourses and materials through Karen Barad's (2007) notion of intra-action through which both humans and non-humans are seen to emerge.

The paper uses analysis of the entanglement of the human and non-human to explore multiple temporalities in Karpelès' activities as they relate to education, empire, religion and feminism and are assembled in ways suggestive of tension. These tensions include her French

associationist and colonialist espousal of pagoda schools for Cambodian children (whether male or female), which she considered better adapted to 'native mentalities' than the French 'colonial' schools favoured by their parents. At the same time she worked to open secondary schooling for girls at Hanoi and Phnom Penh and higher education for women. At the Royal Library and the Institute of Buddhist Studies her educational role fell within one of the pillars of the French civilising mission seen as ideally suited to the humanitarian interventions of colonial women in empire. Yet, she also ran against the grain of French colonialist discourses that saw the core mission of French colonial woman as setting up home to provide a model for the racial and cultural preservation of 'authentic' Frenchness; and at the Estates General of Feminism (organised by the CNFF within the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris), Karpelès drew attention to individual indigenous women with whose work she was acquainted, which contrasted with more usual representations of indigenous women as an undifferentiated group (See Biottin 2010, Edwards 2007, Filliozat 1969, Ha 1999). The paper concludes by raising questions about how researchers approach the boundaries between what is seen to constitute human and non-human nature in their work.

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Looking for Jesus in God's Second Book: Absences and Paradoxes in the Visual Culture of Sunday Schools in the UK and the USA 1900-1950 (English) Sandy Eleanor Brewer (Oxford Brookes University)

The epithet of nature as God's other book has a long and continuing history. Echoes of Guido de Bras' 1619 reference to 'a beautiful book in which all creatures, great and small, are as letters to ponder the invisible things of God' are to be found in nineteenth century hymns for children and referenced in early twentieth-century guides to nature teaching in the Sunday school. Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), referred to God's second book as 'that universal and publick Manuscript that lies expans'd unto the Eyes of all.' But in the early twentieth century, the fear was often expressed that this was a manuscript that was no longer so 'publick' as urban populations expanded and proximity to nature receded.

It was within this context that nature teaching became incorporated into the Protestant Sunday school curricula in the UK and USA, but, as will be argued, there were problems that teachers encountered in formulating child-centred lessons which also addressed biblical content. This paper will argue that the promotion of Jesus as the children's friend, a recurring trope used in the first half of the last century to engage the interest of younger children, could also be an impediment to teaching a theologically grounded Christian education.

By focussing on the visual culture of Sunday schools in the USA, and to a lesser extent in the UK, this paper documents how looking at God's second book provided access to an 'embarrassment of riches' for teachers and publishers, while arguing that this perceived educational bounty was also fraught with pedagogic dangers; that of succumbing to sentimentality and, in the worst examples, simply collapsing into banality. By reference to the analysis of teaching materials published by the Providence Lithograph Company, it will be argued that nature was frequently replaced with an almost Disneyesque Arcadia; that extra-biblical versions of Jesus were substituted for the New Testament gospels. Reference will be made to relevant visual para-texts reflective of this tendency but not necessarily widely circulated in Sunday schools. The paper is informed throughout by David Morgan's work in the field of religious visual culture and looks beyond the materiality of pictures themselves to consider the matrix of relationships in which they were used.

The paper concludes by asking to what extent the progressive move to a child-centred pedagogy in Sunday school teaching during the period 1900-1950, was theologically compromised by the incorporation of nature teaching that sentimentalised children and contributed to fictional – although popular - depictions of Jesus divorced from the Bible.

Reports of wild children deprived of social contact and education: portrayals in the cinema (English)

Lucia Helena Reily (University of Campinas)

Reports of wild children raised by animals during early childhood, and stories of children held captive in their own homes, deprived of social contact and education, have long intrigued developmental psychologists and educators, raising the question "What makes us human?", as discussed by Pino (2005) from a sociocultural approach. Case studies of children reclaimed from the wild or from hidden dungeons are of interest because they provide opportunities for looking historically at concepts of language acquisition, learning processes and social interaction through the perspective of those in charge of the study or in care of the child brought back to social coexistence. Depending on the quality and reliability of the reports, as well as the kind of intervention, treatment, or care forthcoming after retrieval from the confined or deprived context, such cases provide insights into the age-old issue of "nature versus nurture" (Morato, 2013). This special chapter of cultural history has also instigated major art film directors such as François Truffaut, Werner Herzog, and Samira Makhmalbaf, who produced films based, respectively, on reports of the wild boy of Aveyron, the foundling "Kaspar Hauser", and the Iranian sisters hidden away at home in Teheran. The aim of this study is to investigate in the cinema how the issue of wildness is portrayed from finding the child or teenager through to the process of formal or informal acculturation and education. How do the films portray similarities to animal and human behavior, using cinematography resources? The study required the consideration of specific filters related to when the cases were written up and how they were represented in the cinema (Bordwell, 2013). The analysis

of this material is supported by literature available on the wild boy from Aveyron (Itard, 1801; 1807; 1894; Banks-Leite; Galvão, 2001), on the “lost prince” Kaspar Hauser (Masson, 1996) and on Genie, the wild child (Curtiss, 1977), though specific literature on the Iranian sisters has not been encountered. Four films were selected for analysis: “The Wild Child”, directed by François Truffaut (Baecque; Toubiana, 2000), is based on Jean Itard’s reports to Parisian scientists circa 1797, in which he described his efforts to civilize and educate Victor, a wild boy found wandering in the forests of Aveyron. “The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser” (German title: *Jeder für sich und Gott gegen alle*), directed by Werner Herzog, presents the mystery surrounding the emergence of Kaspar in Nuremberg in 1828 as a 16 year-old boy who had been kept in a dungeon since early childhood. “The Apple” was filmed by Samira Makhmalbaf. In this documentary, Makhmalbaf followed the girls during their early encounters with other children, while attempting to understand the arguments for keeping them enclosed at home. “Secret of the wild child” is also a documentary that addresses ethical issues related to how deprived children are put to scientific use in studies that do not prioritize the child’s unique needs. The results show that the issue of assessment of primary or secondary retardation is addressed in significant ways in all the films.

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Dialektik des Humanismus – erziehungswissenschaftliche Perspektiven auf Mensch-Tier-Relationen (Deutsch)

Constanze Gülle (Humboldt University Berlin)

In der erziehungswissenschaftlichen Betrachtung von Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen dominiert die Dialektik des Humanismus, in der Tiere als etwas Anderes oder Fremdes zu betrachtet werden. Wilhelm von Humboldt prägte den Gedanken, dass Bildung und Erziehung des Menschen als Relation zur Welt und dadurch nicht abseits von der Welt, zu der auch Tieren gehören, stattfinden. Ich gehe von der These aus, dass humanistische Vorstellungen von Bildung und Erziehung nicht in der Lage dazu sind, Mensch-Tier-Relationen mit aufzugreifen. Die Frage ist nun, wie Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen innerhalb erziehungswissenschaftlicher Perspektiven gedacht werden können, um sich der Dialektik des Humanismus zu nähern, sie zu durchdringen und möglicherweise aufzubrechen. Ziel meines Vorhabens ist es, den humanistischen Vorstellungen hier eine Perspektive entgegen zu stellen, die mit posthumanistischen Erkenntnissen der Human-Animal Studies und unter Einbezug von aktuellen relationalen bildungstheoretischen Perspektiven eine Sichtweise vorzuschlagen, die in der Lage ist, die Beziehung von Mensch und Tier nicht mehr als gegensätzliche, sondern als verwobene zu betrachten. Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen können aus posthumanistischer Perspektive von einem humanistischen Ideal, wie es Humboldt formulierte, kaum profitieren. Der Gedanke des Fortschritts durch Bildung und Erziehung mittels vernunftgebundener Handlungen ist anthropozentrisch. Dem Humanismus inhärent wäre laut Braidotti (2014, S. 21) die Dialektik des Selbst (Menschen) und des Anderen (Tieren). Grundlegend für diese universalistische Haltung und ihre binäre Logik ist ein abwertender Begriff von ‚Differenz‘ (vgl. ebd., S. 21). Um diese Differenz hinterfragen zu können, scheint der Blick auf aktuelle relationale Bildungstheorien interessant. Hans-Christoph Koller zum Beispiel formuliert mit seiner Theorie der transformatorischen Bildungsprozesse eine Sichtweise, die explizit auf das Andere und die Welt rekurriert und verdeutlichen will, dass nicht allein ein Gegenstand, egal wie facettenreich, existieren kann, an dem sich abgearbeitet wird. Vielmehr besteht um diesen Gegenstand herum eine Problemlage, die althergebrachte Lösungsvorgänge ins Wanken bringt und neue Strategien provoziert (vgl. Koller 2012, S. 16). Damit das Andere bzw. diese Welt als solche erkannt werden kann, sei weiterführend mit Norbert Ricken auf eine Theorie der Anerkennung verwiesen, durch die etwas als etwas bestätigt wird, aber gleichzeitig auch respektiert wird, dass dieses etwas nicht bedingungslos affirmativ gestaltet ist. Das Andere kann sich dem Selbst entziehen, dabei bleibt trotzdem ein Einfluss des Anderen bestehen, denn auch das Entsagen des Anderen hat Auswirkungen auf die Selbsttätigkeit (vgl. Ricken 2009, S. 13). Die Dialektik des Humanismus wird durch relationale Perspektiven erweitert. Differenz und Alterität werden nicht als per se minderwertig betrachtet.

Die Schwierigkeit der Einbeziehung von tierlichen Positionen besteht nun in der methodologischen Aufarbeitung von tierlicher Erfahrung und Subjektivität, aber auch in der Herausforderung, diese Perspektiven nicht als konträr, sondern als miteinander verwoben zu sehen. Rosi Braidotti schlägt eine Sichtweise vor, Relationen zwischen Menschen und Tieren, aber auch zwischen „sozialen, psychischen und ökologischen Umwelten“ sowie Relationen, die „alle nicht-anthropomorphen Elemente“ umfassen (vgl. Braidotti 2014, S. 65), zu beleuchten. Sie bezeichnet diese Vielzahl an Relationen als *zoé* (vgl. ebd., S. 65). Eine solche egalitaristische Auffassung einer Welt als *zoé* ist eine posthumane, da ihre innewohnenden

Subjekte bestehende Bedeutungssysteme, wie das humanistische Bildungsideal, verwirren (vgl. Braidotti 2014, S. 80). Eben jene Verwirrungen können als Irritationen betrachtet werden, die laut Koller gegebenenfalls Ausgangslage für Bildungsprozesse sein können. Dieser Blick schenkt Bildungstheorien eine Perspektive, sich für Kreativität und mögliche unkonventionelle Spielräume einzusetzen, die ermöglichen, bestehende Ordnungen zu verlernen (vgl. Sternfeld 2014, S. 17f.). Dadurch können neue Handlungsstrategien für relationales Bildungsdenken innerhalb von Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen offeriert werden und die Dialektik des Humanismus wäre um animalistische Ansichten erweitert. Die Notwendigkeit einer solchen Erweiterung ist nicht zuletzt im Sinne zum Beispiel für eine Bildung zur Nachhaltigkeit relevant.

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11.16PANEL NATURE, MODERNISM AND MODERNIZATION

Chair: Magdolna Rébay (University of Debrecen)

Scenes from everyday life: childhood and nature (English)

Maria Eduarda Ferro (Universidade de São Paulo, Universidade Estadual de Mato Grosso do Sul)

This paper aims to present preliminary reflections of the research carried out at the doctoral level in the Postgraduate Program in Education of the University of São Paulo (USP), Brazil. The research takes as empirical documentation the photographic collection of Francisco Tavares de Santana, a photographer who recorded images of the region of Itaporã, in the present state of Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil, in the early 1960s. Santana developed in this region (then belonging to the territory of Mato Grosso) activities in the field of photography that lasted for more than 50 years, having captured images in public and private spaces of the daily life and of the people of an eminently rural locality that had just been elevated to the category of municipality. Due to the theme of the relation between Education and Nature, proposed by ISCHE 40, were highlighted for analysis of the collection of Santana photographs

that had as main or secondary subject the child figure in relation to the natural environment. In order to select the images, the 1960s and 1970s were chosen as an approximate temporal cut, during which time the locality underwent transformations inherent in the transition from the condition of agricultural colony to a municipality. The children portrayed are in spontaneous or posed scenes, in contact with animals and plants, in various circumstances, from leisure to work. They give news of various childhoods, permeated by economic and socially distinct realities; ethnic plurality (marked by the presence of native peoples and the arrival of emigrants from different Brazilian states and foreign immigrants) and cultural and religious diversities.

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Return to nature in the middle of the urban environment? Pedagogical work of Eduard Štorch in Prague during the interwar period. (English)

Jiri Hnilica (Charles University Prague)

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, European society was undergoing major transformations linked to the modernization process. The key challenges were the phenomena of the secularization, the industrialization or the emergence of an urban society, the nature was disappearing out of everyday life, and natural environment becoming an increasingly protected area. Responses to the burning challenges were seeking in all fields of social activity, nevertheless, they were concretized in pedagogical thinking; child became the focus of the attention. A "century of the child" just begun. At the same time, a movement calling as a return to nature was formed (scouting, tramping, etc.). For understanding the holistic development of social changes a transnational view is necessary as a suitable method of comparison. In this direction, our contribution is intended to be orientated.

One of the most fascinating pioneers of new pedagogy and, at the same time, a major activist in all sports and outdoor activities (skiing, summer camps, school excursions, scouting) in the Czech lands was a teacher, archaeologist, writer, skier, scout – Eduard Štorch (1878-1956). Štorch promoted so-called eubiotic reform, what is part of the Central European Lebensreform movement. Such a conceived education should not only educate a pupil but the aim was change him in depth. Without contact with nature it was not possible. With his innovative pedagogical thinking, absorbing many European experiences, Štorch tried to realize this conception in a project called Children's Farm. It was founded in 1926 on one of the Prague islands, in the middle of an industrialized environment, in the heart of industrial periphery with a very large proportion of the working and poor population. If the project ceased to exist seven years later, it became a major landmark of alternative pedagogy in the Czech environment. Our contribution wants to introduce Štorch as a specific (also quite complicated personality), it wants to show how this teacher was "searching" the lost nature. What did he actually try to create in the periphery of Prague? In what environment and how were children educated on his "farm", using what goals and methods? Was his efforts isolated? How react Czech society? What were the reasons for the failure of the project and Štorch's disillusionment.

The contribution will not only be a biographical case study into the life of one of the leading pedagogic innovators of the Czechoslovakia, it will open a space to compare different chronologies of pedagogical thinking in Central Europe, to draw attention to circulation and transferring of concepts and finally to the importance of reform movement from below, it means by teachers and enthusiasts, even outsiders. We would like to draw attention, finally, to the phenomenon of seeking the nature in the industrialized city, perhaps an utopian search for a "lost paradise"?

Tradition als Bezugspunkt der Bildungsreform: Die neu interpretierten konfuzianistischen Lehren der menschlichen Natur zur Begründung der chinesischen Bildungsreform (1894-1912) (Deutsch)

Xiaolian Luo (Humboldt University Berlin)

Theorien sind auf keinen Fall absolut abstrakt, sondern reflektieren immer das kulturell spezifische Pattern; Das Wissen und das Erkenntnis sind in diesem Sinne nicht nur durch ihr Inhalte, sondern auch durch die in den sozial-kulturell spezifischen Kontext eingebetteten Bedeutungen bestimmt. Die Rückbesinnung auf die konfuzianistischen Lehren der menschlichen Natur von den reformorientierten Intellektuellen in den letzten Jahren der Qing-Dynastie liefert ein Beispiel dafür, wie die klassischen Lehren im veränderten Kontext neu interpretiert wurden und damit eine wichtige Rolle bei der Modernisierung chinesischen Bildungssystems spielte. Vor über zweitausend Jahren wurde eine grundsätzliche These von Konfuzius gegeben: "Von Natur aus sind die Menschen einander ähnlich. Durch die Erziehung entfernen sie sich voneinander." (Konfuzius, 1982:126) Dieser von Heiliger aufgestellte Topos und die daraus derivierten Lehren von seinen Anhänger, wie "dem zweiten Heiliger" Menzius bildeten die Summa der konfuzianistischen Lehren der menschlichen Natur aus, die sich im Kontext der tausendjahrelangen hierarchischen Ständegesellschaft evolvierte und immer zur Legitimierung einer nach moralisch-ethischer Vervollkommnung sowie hoch disziplinierten sozialen Pflichten erstrebende Bildung diente. Die Situation veränderte sich seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, während ein kulturelles Krisenbewusstsein unter chinesischen Intellektuellen vorm Hintergrund der aufeinanderfolgenden Niederlagen Chinas gegen westliche Mächte weitgehend hervorgerufen wurde. "Zur Rettung des Landes" war die Forderung nach Reform universal zum Ausdruck gekommen. Während in dieser Zeit das Ausland in den Augen vieler Reformers sicherlich schon ein Vorbild - für die Reform anfänglich im militärischen und technologischen Bereich, folglich in anderen sozialen Bereichen - darstellte, wurde die traditionelle Elemente universal als Argumentationshilfe für die Reformen zurückgegriffen. In den Reformoptionen im Bildungsbereich wurde die konfuzianistischen Lehren über die menschliche Natur weitgehend erneuert interpretiert, selektiv beleuchtet und als ideologische Instrumente zur Begründung eigener Reformoption ausgenutzt. Durch die neuen Erläuterungen der obererwähnten Lehren von Konfuzius untermauerte Kang Youwei beispielsweise die Notwendigkeit einer neuartigen Bildung , die sich nicht nur an "die konfuzianistische Essenz" als auch an "westliches Nutzen" parallel orientierte, während der andere Reformers Liang Qichao auch an Jahrhundertwende zur Verwirklichung der Mädchenbildung durch die neu Interpretation einer goldenen Regel von Menzius anregte. Die traditionellen Klassiker spielten deswegen nicht rein eine negative Rolle zur Hemmung der Einführung modernisierten Bildungsreformen, sondern ein gutes Instrument zum Abschied und zur Abschaffung der alten Bildungsidee und Bildungsform im Gewand der konstituierten Tradition. Bei der Erklärung zur Bildungsentwicklung aus der Perspektive vom Umgang mit der

Tradition als Alterität wird die Externalisierung-Theorie in die vorliegenden Forschung eingeführt, indem die Wahl externer Bezugspunkte - entweder anderer Gesellschaften oder der eigenen Tradition - und die Anreicherung mit von ihnen her beziehbarem "Zusatzsinn" (Schriewer, 1987: 648) hervorgehoben wird. Infolgedessen sind zwei Schwerpunkte durch die Analyse zur zeitgenössischen Diskussion über Bildungsreform im Forschungszeitraum kennzeichnend: (1) Welche originale Aussagen aus den konfuzianistischen Klassikern über menschliche Natur wurden als Bezugspunkte für die Bildungsreform ausgelesen und (2) wie wurden diese gut selektierten Lehren zur Begründung eigener Reformoptionen neu interpretiert.

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The Deutsche Schule zu Porto: a modern education proposal at the authoritarian Portugal (1953-1974) (English)

Francisco Miguel Araujo (University of Porto)

The Deutsche Schule zu Porto (Colégio Alemão do Porto) still remains as one of the oldest foreign educational institutions in Portugal, integrated and sponsored by the German governments ever since its establishment, welcoming both students from German and Portuguese citizenship seeking alternative educational contexts. Hereupon, with a historical path that showcases the complexity of historical-political dynamics of 20th century Germany, including its temporary closure twice after the world wars, from 1953 to nowadays prevails as a leading private educational establishment in Northern Portugal.

As an educational system teaching from preschool to secondary level fully recognized by the (so then) Federal Republic of Germany – it had earned the German school abroad status by the Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister in 1956 – one of its main goals has always been to offer an education unlike to the most conservative official Portuguese school's curriculum.

Through new pedagogies and mind-sets with focus on natural and exact sciences (with the ever 1st astronomical observatory in a national school) and in humanities and arts (underlining artistic and cultural education importance) for student's enhance, all of its aperture for modernity was in contrast with the horizons of a country that was living in an authoritarian regime and dealing with an increasing isolation in international affairs till 1974.

This proposal communication aims to elucidate in brief traces the history of the Deutsche Schule zu Porto and its interconnections with the international surroundings, looking to combine a foreign educational model with the reality of its host country, but without ever giving up on its educational spirit and practices. Even more relevant when dealing with a set of ideological and political constraints that the Portuguese Estado Novo (1933-1974) had insisted on perpetuating in youth formation.

Throughout the study case of its educational proposals in the development of a modern and unbiased curriculum, analyzing its organization and educational mission and action it will

reveal how its role has enlarged the future horizons of its students, many of them which have been engage in high roles in economic and political life. As well as retrieving some data from Oral History that is being developed with alumni about their experiences and importance of an alternative dialectic process of education and formation for the evolution and construction of their human being nature.

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